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THE
F R E E D - M A N :

A Monthly Magazine,

DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE FREED COLOURED
PEOPLE.

PUBLISHED FOR
THE BRITISH & FOREIGN FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY.

ESTABLISHED 1863.

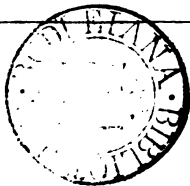
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THE FREED-MAN.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN presenting to our readers the First Number of "The Freed-Man," it will be felt, we think, by a very large and influential party of philanthropists, that we are meeting a want universally felt by the friends of the freed slave in this country. The Magazine in the reader's hand has been called into existence under the following circumstances. From various parts of the country the enquiry had been transmitted to the metropolis, whether it was intended to publish a cheap periodical to serve as a medium for communication between the friends of the Freed-men at this momentous period of the Freed-man's history. Amongst those best informed as to the practical means to be taken to submit the claims of the perishing millions to the Christian charities of the people of the three kingdoms, there was no difference of opinion as to the need of the immediate appearance of such a Magazine as this. Some gentlemen in London determined to commence the matter as a private undertaking, and a gentleman having had long connexion with the press, both at home and abroad, was solicited to conduct the proposed periodical. It was felt however to be very desirable to obtain the sanction of the Freed-Men's Aid Society, under the able presidency of Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., M.P. This was deemed to be important, inasmuch as this Society has claims to general regard which none other can possess. It is presided over by a gentleman who possesses an historic name. More than that, Sir T. F. Buxton feels the deepest interest in the work, and is moved by the most sincere desire to promote the interests of the Four Millions of Freed-men whose claims we advocate, and for the sad necessities of whom we are for a time to plead. When applied to in the first instance, now between two and three years ago, as to the formation of a Society for the aid of the panting and dying fugitives from Slavery, Sir Fowell entered at once cordially into the proposal. It was at first suggested to form only a female association; but the President of the Freed-Men's Aid Society promptly and energetically said "No—we will have a Society in which men shall take their part." That Society was formed, and it made its début at St. James's Hall, at a public meeting which must be memorable in the history of this movement, under the auspices of the Buxtons, the Hugheses, the Ludlows, and

the Thompsons, of the metropolis. The Rev. John Curwen was appointed the Secretary, and, as long as his other important engagements would permit, devoted himself entirely to the interest of the Freed-Men's Aid Society. Circulars and appeals were sent by thousands throughout the entire country. The results anticipated were thought not to be fully realized; but such was not the case. Many who did not respond at the time were deeply affected by the case as then presented, and treasured up the facts communicated in their hearts, to use at another time. Many to whom the first appeal was addressed, who did not then respond, are now among the most active and munificent supporters of the work in the whole kingdom. We ourselves at the time were so deeply engaged on the more general question of the American war, that we had not time to respond in any way to the able appeal then made. Time rolled on, till at length that remarkable man, Levi Coffin, came to this country. He came not to beg, but to tell the tale of human sorrow and suffering that had befallen at that time only the thousands—now they are millions—of the exodus from bondage. He brought letters of introduction from well-known American writers and preachers to a gentleman who had identified his name with the party of freedom in America, and to a well-known and highly esteemed minister in the Society of Friends. It was two gentlemen—one residing in Lincoln's Inn, and the other in the Temple—that united on this occasion to invite a number of leading and benevolent gentlemen to meet Mr. Coffin at the house of Dr. Hodgkin, in Bedford Square. About seventy invitations were issued. Strange to say, for a London meeting in the midst of summer, almost that number attended. Mr. Coffin's testimonials were examined and approved. He told his tale simply, but well. Several members of Parliament, who were present, spoke approvingly, when it was proposed to make further efforts on behalf of the freed slaves of the Southern States. Among those who spoke may be mentioned Mr. Bright, Mr. Gurney, and Mr. W. E. Forster. A committee was formed, when Dr. Frederick Tomkins and F. W. Chesson, Esq., were appointed Honorary Secretaries. The former gentleman, by his long residence in America, and his personal acquaintance with slavery, his having been present at the time of the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, and his familiarity with American parties and politics, as well as by the deep and lifelong interest he had taken in the coloured race, was deemed peculiarly qualified by the friends of the movement to take an active part in it.

Through the kindness of Samuel Gurney, Esq., M. P., a second meeting was called at his own private residence, at Prince's Gate, Hyde Park. There were present at this meeting a large number of noblemen, members of Parliament, and leading ministers of the various denominations of Christians. Levi Coffin again told his simple story of wrong and suffering. At his recital all present were deeply affected. An impressive speech was also pronounced by Charles Buxton, Esq., M. P. A number of ministers and gentlemen addressed the meeting, and the coloured African Episcopal Bishop closed it with prayer.

Dr. Frederick Tomkins had previously put himself in communication with the Secretary of the Freed-men's Aid Society—the Rev. John Curwen—who was also present at this meeting, when, upon the proposal of Dr. F. Tomkins, a union was effected between the newly formed committee above referred to and the Freed-men's Aid Society; or, to speak more correctly, the entire committee appointed at Dr. Hodgkin's was merged into the committee of the Freed-men's Aid Society. The meeting at Mr. Gurney's formed an epoch in the history of the Society. An Address was issued and circulated throughout the country; Levi Coffin, Dr. F. Tomkins, and Dr. Massie visited all the great centres of the three kingdoms; they were met by no opposition, but by many kind and hearty supporters. Almost twenty auxiliaries were formed, and others were stimulated to commence their labours on behalf of the suffering and perishing freed negroes of America. One of the active members of the Freed-men's Aid Society, acting on behalf of the Society, visited the United States and inspected the actual condition of tens of thousands of the coloured people in the camps, in the field, and in the schools. These facts were communicated to a London journal and to a leading journal in one of the largest provincial towns. An increased interest was excited. As new helpers came up "to the help of the Lord against the mighty," new organizations arose, until recently the National Committee has been formed. The same body of friends to the freed-man—happily strengthened and increased—that commenced the work in the Metropolis now present to you "The Freed-man." The Freed-men's Aid Society—a name known throughout the three kingdoms—felt it to be its bounden duty, however much toil it might involve, to undertake the conduct of this Magazine. Its pages are open to correspondents who may choose to avail themselves of it as a means of communication, whether they reside in America or in our own loved home. The desire felt for such an organ in the country, the fact that more than one gentleman was prepared to start it as a private undertaking, and that it has been entered upon with the hearty and unanimous consent of the Committee of the Freed-men's Aid Society, seem to leave nothing further to be desired as far as the commencement of the undertaking is concerned. The friends of the cause are requested to communicate their ideas freely and, our limits compel us to say, concisely. You will not only help us, but you will help the perishing by aiding our circulation.

At the meeting at Dr. Hodgkin's, little more than a year ago, we started to raise ten thousand pounds. We have more than quadrupled that sum; and now we start for a quarter of a million. The cause requires it—loving gratitude to America demands it.

THE BOSTON CONVENTION.

BY DR. FRED. TOMKINS.

THESE has just assembled in the city of Boston one of the most important gatherings that New England has witnessed for many a day: The Convention of Congregational Ministers and Delegates from various parts of the Northern, Middle, and Western States of America. The Convention is much more than a gathering of pastors and leading members of the Congregational body. If it were only this, it would be of special interest to the Independents of England; but would not merit special notice in connexion with the Freed people of the Southern States. The fact is, the leading minds of the Northern States are determined to carry out what they denominate the New England principle in the South. It may be asked what are we to understand by the New England principle? The answer is simple and obvious. Responsible Government, Free Churches, Free Press, and Free Schools. New England men do not intend that the dreary spiritual, mental, and moral darkness of the South shall any longer continue. Hitherto they have never been able to plant their churches, their schools, and their presses in the South. They were able to send Dr. Judson to Burmah, David Brainard, at an earlier period, to the Indians, Dr. Armstrong to the South Seas, Dr. Bliss to Syria, and a host of others to every imaginable spot in the world, almost without let or hindrance of any kind. But Southern intolerance, and the just dread that Northern principles reduced to that practice which Northern men know how to adapt and work so well, made the Southern mind resolve to keep the Apostles of New England at bay. Taking but a limited view of things, they acted wisely. Taking a larger view, they acted with the most consummate folly. It is said that Jefferson Davis used to stand, when arrivals came at his landing-place, and with a stick in his hand, with a stern countenance and a harsh voice—like Clearchus, of whom Xenophon mentions similar things—warned every Northern man not to defile by his presence and his tread the sacred soil of the South. “Noli me tangere,” ye Northern Demagogues and Puritans, was the fallen rebel chieftain’s motto. This, indeed is scarcely a phrase strong enough; for not only did he say “Hands off” the institution—the domestic institution which I am at all hazards resolved to defend—but “Feet off” the soil where I command. No policy seemed more natural and proper for the defence of Southern rights of property; or, to speak in plain English, and without an euphemism—of Slavery. What Jeff. Davis did on the rich soil of his muddy bend in the Mississippi, is a type of what the whole South did. “At no time during the last twenty years dare I,” said Mr. Beecher to the writer, “have gone South.” A number of rowdies were always on hand ready, for a “mint julep” or a “gin sling,” to do any rough business for the Southern chivalry. Such a state of things, like some unobserved cause beneath the skin, produced irritation, inflammation, and at last a foul fester, corrupting like a very gangrene the whole body of the South. The moral disorder became propagated by metastasis. To the parts

where it did not originate it was communicated. The result we know. If the flaming sword of war is in its final stroke directed by the red right hand of infinite Justice, then the God of Battles has smitten for ever the foul and cruel thing for which all these efforts at defence were made—Slavery—to destruction. The course Southern politicians have taken in precipitating this catastrophe by appealing to the sword, issuing as it has in the loss of so many noble lives of men born both at the North and the South, is ever to be deplored.

Now, and not till now, have Northern men contemplated invasion. Now indeed it must be admitted they do. The eagle is bending his mighty pinions for a new flight. The brightness of a Southern sky and the fierce rays of a Southern sun, will not dim or bedazzle his scathless eye. That eye can cleave the blazing sun uninjured. Steady as it makes its upward flight, it looks across the Potomac to the Gulf, or over the highest peak of the Alleghanies, even to the Rio Grande. Has not the mighty bird already scaled the Rocky Mountains and perched at every part of the slope that declines till bounded by the silver fringe of the Pacific? The same spirit is at work now everywhere in the Northern mind which operated when our miserable pedantic James the First declared that he would "harry" the fathers of these very men out of the kingdom. It is the same spirit which wrought in the minds of these men's forefathers when at Leyden, already beginning to be prosperous, they determined that their children should not be Dutchmen, speaking the hard guttural of the Low Countries, but Englishmen. Hence, the expedition of the Mayflower and the Speedwell. It is the same spirit which prompted the Kansas and the Nebraska expeditions from the North, and it is a spirit that leads to action which must ever result in victory.

— *equidem credo, quia sit divinitus illis
Ingenium aut rerum fato prudentia major.*

The North will not only dominate over the South in the battle-field—sad it is to think that the South should have challenged such an issue,—but also in the better struggle of commerce, education, and morals, now about to take place. This is the meaning of the Boston convention. There is something, moreover, approaching the sublime as we see these men rising up in the old South Church in Boston, or in the Church at the corner of Boston Common, wending their way to the Old Colony Depot; then by rail, forty miles, to the rock—the granite rock, a piece of which now lies before us, and it is the only granite rock in the locality—to the old town of Plymouth. They pass down that narrow but withal pleasant street. Our English deputation, consisting of Drs. Vaughan and Raleigh, see that modest Pilgrim Hall on their left hand before they arrive at the rock. In that hall Daniel Webster, in his best days, thundered forth one of those orations the echoes of which, like the ripples in the broad bay a little lower down the street, will last—"though men may come and men may go"—for ever.

These men in Plymouth are like Hannibal swearing by the gods at the altars

of his country. They are pilgrims at one of the worthiest shrines the world has ever known. They look with outstretched eyes adown the main to Cape Cod on the one hand, and the home of Daniel Webster on the other, and then they ascend the green knoll in the old grave-yard. Dr. Vaughan, we venture to say, is more impressed by this peculiar knoll—not so high as the Dane John at Canterbury, though something like it—than even by the rock itself, which Carlyle only needed to see to apostrophize as he has done the “Mayflower”—“O, poor rock,” &c.

As you stand with your back to the town, on your right is the school-house, and on your left is the church; and beneath the soft sod of the knoll on which you tread is the grave of the first Pilgrim Father, who was a deacon in that first Church at Plymouth. It is on this spot that these New England men have gone anew to proclaim their creed. They do it beneath no temple made with hands, but beneath the concave clearer and bluer than Dr. Vaughan ever beheld in his own England. Dr. Vaughan is a wise man, and too well read an historian not to come home a wiser man for this scene in the midst of which he stands. Deep must have been his regrets—as deep are ours—that he ever misunderstood, as he certainly did, this great movement. But he understands it now; and his “British Quarterly” in the future will give no unpleasant or perplexing utterance on this question.

We have called attention to this Boston convention, a report of the proceedings of which may be seen in the British papers, because the Freed-men’s Aid Society have something to do in inducing the Congregational Union to send the gentlemen to America who compose that deputation. As the following extract will show, it urged upon the Union the claims of the Freed-men:—

*Congregational Union of England and Wales,
4, Blomfield St., Finsbury, E.C.*

DECEMBER 6, 1864.

At a Committee meeting held this day, W. H. Warton, Esq., in the chair, the Rev. J. Curwen and Dr. Fredk. Tomkins, were received and heard as a deputation from the Committee of the Freed-Men’s Aid Society. It was then moved by the Rev. Dr. G. Smith, seconded by the Rev. J. C. Galloway, M.A. and supported by the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, and unanimously resolved—

“That this Committee without offering any opinion on the merits of the War now raging in America, but deeply deploring the horrors of that gigantic conflict and earnestly desiring the speedy advent of peace cannot but heartily rejoice that the course of events connected with that fearful struggle, has led to the emancipation of many thousands of coloured people, long held in hard and unrighteous bondage. Believing that a large proportion of these freed Negroes are necessarily placed in circumstances of want and suffering, this Committee learns with satisfaction that “the Freed-Men’s Aid Society,” has been formed in this Country to co-operate with Christians and philanthropic persons of various denominations and especially with the Congregationalists of the Free States in alleviating the calamities of this newly enfranchised people, by furnishing them with food, clothing, and religious instruction; and would earnestly commend the claims of this Institution to the consideration and support of the Independent Churches of this land.”

Subsequently to this resolution being passed, the Secretary of the Freed-men's Aid Society waited upon Dr. Smith, and urged the matter of a deputation to America as of paramount importance at the present time. Having returned himself recently from that country, he affirmed that it would certainly help to promote a good feeling between the two countries. The morning of the Union at which the American question was to be discussed arrived; Levi Coffin, who had been refused audience on a technicality at the Hull meeting, and Dr. H. M. Storrs, who was not to have been heard, were conducted to the platform—not by the officials, for the Secretary of the Freed-men's Aid Society had been told they could not be allowed to speak, that Dr. Cleveland was to speak, and that one American was enough. Dr. Fred. Tomkins, the seconder, wisely refused to speak, only briefly seconding the resolution: he pointed to Levi Coffin and to Dr. Storrs on the platform, and asked the meeting if they would not hear them. Dr. Halley mounted that platform and uttered some noble and eloquent sentences, which it is hoped will never be forgotten. The meeting became enthusiastic, and all the defences that timidity, or want of knowledge, or interest, or all combined, had set up, were swept away in an instant. Levi Coffin and Dr. Storrs were both received with enthusiastic cheers, and delivered themselves of impressive speeches. The deputation to America, declined when suggested in private, was now desired by every one, and Drs. Vaughan, Raleigh, and Smith were deputed. We regret that the latter gentleman has not appeared on the scene. As advocates of the Freed-men's cause, we also regret that he should have been so timid and reluctant upon this question in the past. But we are not disposed to write harsh words; because officials, who have to harmonize between parties of different opinions, must be somewhat conservative. We do, however, deeply regret that Dr. Smith was not at the Boston convention: we believe he will be able to explain his absence. Before leaving, both he and Dr. Vaughan were invited to the Westminster Palace Hotel meeting. Dr. Vaughan did attend, and made a masterly speech; Dr. Smith did not. Is it that Dr. Smith is disinclined to pronounce his palinode? Or is it that he has not arrived at a state of mind in which he feels disposed to make it?

In closing these remarks, let us impress upon all who, like Dr. Smith, have stood aloof for the last four years from this movement, that, whilst the leaders of the party of American freedom and of the Freed-men in this country have not numbered in their ranks some of the middle class, and whilst the aristocratic class with some noble exceptions has stood aloof, men who have made sacrifice for a principle and a cause which are now triumphant are apt to know the importance of the position they have won, and resolve to keep it. It is quite true that there is an aristocracy of office and of wealth in this country, but there is also an aristocracy of virtue and of intelligence. The cause of the Freed-man did not secure the former—perhaps has not secured it yet; but we have ever maintained that it has all along secured the latter.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. STOKES, Manchester, will see that his suggestion has been attended to.

Dr. STOKES' Speech will appear in our next number.

All orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed for the present to ARLISS ANDREWS, 7, Duke Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The Freed-Man.

AUGUST, 1865.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

BY F. W. CHESSON.

"The Freedman" could not well appear on a more auspicious day than this the anniversary of the greatest act of justice which the British nation has ever performed. The publication of a first number on the first of August is a mere coincidence: let us, however, hope that it is a fact of happy augury. The associations of the day—the recollections of the great work which our fathers accomplished exactly thirty one years ago—the traditions of the manner in which the emancipated negroes conducted themselves on what the historian has happily designated their "passover night"—are eminently calculated to stimulate the zeal, and strengthen the confidence of those who are called upon to labour at a somewhat similar although an infinitely more momentous conjuncture. Some of our readers will remember, all will have read, the incidents of that memorable day. We know how gloomy were the vaticinations of the hostile; and how much of

anxiety was mingled with the religious faith of even those who believed that God would protect the emancipated negro not only from revengeful passions, but from the overflowing exuberance of his own joy. Apprehensions extended far beyond the limits of the West Indies or of Great Britain. "The Carolina planter" says Miss Martineau "looked well to his negro quarter to see that his 'hands' went not abroad after dark. Garrison and his band sat waiting for tidings—with more faith in the negro temper than any one else, but still with some anxiety for the cause." The eight hundred thousand human beings who were endowed with the rights of men put every evil prophecy to shame, and more than realised the hopes of their best and least doubting friends. Their last night of slavery was spent, not in roystering pleasure, but in devotional exercise. The chapels throughout the islands were thronged with black worshippers who came to thank the Great Father of mankind, who had made them free and equal, for having restored them to their birth-right; and when the clock struck twelve and the hour of deliverance had at length arrived, myriads of prayerful and rejoicing voices were borne by the midnight air up to the very gates of Heaven. "Let justice be done though the heavens fall" said the old heathen—a saying which, although hackneyed by repetition, deserves to be repeated until the last yoke is broken and the last shackle removed. But the heavens did not fall—they also rejoiced; and every circumstance connected with this great event conspired to furnish another splendid example of the truth that the

extirpation of a wrong never leads to evil results, and that true safety lies in the strict and unhesitating performance of justice. If our American brethren had grasped in its length and breadth this great law of Christian morality, they would have been spared the accumulated miseries of the most colossal war of modern times.

Up to a certain point we may establish a parallel between 1834 and 1865. In both instances emancipation not only harmonized with national security, but was essential to it. After the abolition of West India slavery, there were no more insurrections, no more martyrdoms of missionaries, no more social disorganization. Slavery was the direct instigator of every species of violence; Freedom made every man, black or white, a conservator of order. So, in the Southern States, "the peculiar institution" was in the nature of a conspiracy not only against the liberty, the virtue, and the happiness of individual men, but against the peace and security of the state. With its downfall the social fabric will again rest on natural bases. The only enemy the nation has ever had occasion to dread is destroyed; and the mighty chasm which has hitherto separated the North from the South will, in due time, be filled up. It was not to be anticipated that a great war—the act, be it remembered, of slaveholding marplots—would make the transition from darkness to light as free from disturbance as it was in our own West India islands. In the very nature of things many evils will occur which the friends of freedom would gladly avert, but which they can only mitigate. Some

of these untoward circumstances have already been magnified, and put in the worst possible light, by the pro-slavery journalists of America and Great Britain. But experience has abundantly shown, that the free-labour system, wherever it has been fairly tried, has achieved a material no less than a moral success which puts the vicious economics of the slave system to the blush. While we write, the telegraph makes the announcement, on the authority of the most anti-negro of American newspapers, that "the new crop of cotton in the state of Alabama is very fine, and that the free-labour system is working well." Alabama is the state in which John Mitchell desired to have a plantation stocked with fat negroes: it was, as may be supposed from the brutal aspiration of this double-dyed traitor, one of the worst of the slave states, socially, morally, and politically. Yet Alabama, in the very infancy of her regeneration, has reason to rejoice in the stupendous change which is taking place within her borders. Can any one suppose that there is anything in the case of Alabama to make her experience exceptional? The negroes, like any other class of men, will work for wages, if their payment is combined with just treatment. The most active and thriving traders on the West coast of Africa are natives not only of mixed but of pure blood. But to argue in favour of so self-evident a proposition is to call in question the common-sense of mankind—we are therefore content to leave it to time to demonstrate in the Southern States the truth of this natural law.

The Americans have exhibited their

superiority to our emancipation policy of thirty years ago by deciding to make freedom immediate, and not gradual, wherever the Federal power extends. In this, as in other matters, they have given proof of their ability to profit by the lessons of history. "General Howard," says the telegram, "has instructed his subordinates throughout the South that no apprenticeship system or other substitute for slavery will be tolerated." Thus, the manumitted bondsmen of the South escape one grave danger. They are free-men in a real and genuine sense. Their enfranchisement is not a mere sentiment; it is a fact. It now remains for the friends of this newly exalted race, in both the old world and the new, to assist them by every means in their power during their progress through a transitional state. If the sentiment which Terence puts in the mouth of one of his characters—"I am a man and cannot help feeling any sorrow that afflicts mankind"—could excite the universal enthusiasm of a Roman audience, how much more is it incumbent upon a Christian people to respond to the appeal which comes to them from four millions of the lowliest and most suffering of God's children who have only just emerged from the house of bondage? The memory of the First of August, 1834, inspires us with the hope that now, as then, England will be foremost in the work of duty, and the last to desert the cause she has once loyally espoused.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

WE invite attention to an Appeal about to be issued by the National Committee inaugurated at a meeting

held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on May 17th last, under the presidency of His Grace the Duke of Argyll. This Appeal is most timely and important. The National Committee has been formed not in any way to supersede or to interfere with the full and free exercise of existing societies; but in order to register and report the operations of the Freed-men's Aid Societies formed or hereafter to be formed in Great Britain. This, indeed, is its principal function. In addition to this, it hopes to be able so to combine the sympathies of our countrymen in general with the views and feelings of those already interested in the cause of the Freed-man, as to impart a national character to the entire work. Its other objects, though very important, are subsidiary to these. It is not the intention of its founders to form a new society, nor to divert the funds of existing societies into a new treasury. Its first idea was not to receive contributions at all; but, following the model of a somewhat similar organization in the United States of America, to influence and advise, and nothing more. It is obvious, however, that for the most inexpensive organization some funds must be required. The National Committee will, without doubt, have such needed funds placed in the hands of its treasurers. Should a surplus exist, most certainly that surplus will be wisely appropriated. Lest, however, the friends of the cause should suppose that a new society has been formed, we have deemed it necessary to inform them that such is not the case. There appears at present to be no tendency for the various societies to

unite. The Freed-men's Aid Society—the oldest society in Great Britain—proposed such a union with the Friends' Central Committee,—a unification of officers, of committee, and operations. Sir T. F. Buxton, the President of the Freed-men's Aid Society, was quite in favour of such a union; but, after careful conference, the proposal was declined. That committee felt that it had a circle in which it could work, at least for the present, best alone. The Freed-men's Aid Society, which has formed nearly twenty auxiliaries in various parts of the country—the Friends' Central Committee—and the Midland Freed-men's Aid Society, with its head quarters at Birmingham—will thus continue to labour in their several spheres for the great and urgent work in which all are at present heartily engaged.

The following is the address of the National Committee, to which we invite special attention.

An Appeal to the people of England, from the National Committee of the British Freed-Men's Relief Associations.

Respected Fellow-Countrymen—The freedom of the coloured race in the Southern States is no longer the doubtful issue of a sanguinary conflict; but a fact accomplished by the peace, sanctioned by law, strictly maintained in the measures of restoration now in progress, and guaranteed by the honour and interest of the nation. The yoke of Slavery in North America is broken, and will not be reimposed.

But it is one thing to deliver a vast community from bondage, and another to fit them for the duties and privileges of freedom. The first step does not necessarily involve the second, which is the great problem remaining to be solved. Self-adjustment to the duties and privileges of their new position; independently of friendly guidance and special help from without, is an absolute impossibility.

The degrading influence of two centuries of Slavery; the suddenness of the present transition; the violent process by which the fetters were snapped; the impoverishment of former employers; the passions incident to defeat; and the interests that are still adverse to emancipation, place that people, as a whole in a position of absolute helplessness, beset with immense perils;—their very freedom a powerful temptation to idleness, disaffection, and violence. Children without recognised parents; mothers and fathers without the ties of marriage; the diseased, the maimed, and the aged, unlettered, untrained to habits of self-support;—what a field for philanthropy!—what a demand upon the prompt and efficient help of all that acknowledge their duty “to do to others as they would have others do to them!” Food, clothing, shelter, medicine, education, implements of industry, and patient training in the useful arts, are the obvious want of a people so circumstanced, and such help, for a time, must come, and come abundantly, from external sources.

And on whom rests the obligation to supply this indispensable temporary aid? It is freely admitted that the Government and people of America are bound to do what they can to meet this great and sudden necessity. And let it not be forgotten that the American Government by the supply of rations; and the people, by the formation of several very efficient Freed-Men's Aid Associations, and individual sacrifices of the highest order, all freely and efficiently rendered amidst the pressure of a gigantic war, and the anxieties of its sudden collapse, have clearly acknowledged their full share of obligation in this work of humanity.

But does this duty rest upon America alone? It may not be deemed expedient for the British Government to intermeddle. But we, the people of England, are bound to aid this enterprise by our duty to the negro, to ourselves, to America, and to the world at large.

Whoever may be to blame for the recent war, and its disastrous effects, the negro is innocent. He neither originated the strife nor took advantage of the opportunity it gave him of inflicting revenge for past wrongs; and by his patience under injury, and readi-

ness to respond to calls of justly requited labour, has won for himself a fair title to the sympathy, respect and assistance of the civilized world.

By our own past conduct to the negro race, we have placed ourselves under special obligation to come forward and help them freely in their present exigency. Whether the first cargo of slaves was conveyed to North America by the English or the Dutch, it is undeniable that we at a very early stage participated in this nefarious traffic; and we, as a nation, have largely shared in the profits of this cruel and unrighteous toil. Our entreaties, reproofs, deputations, and example, helped to stimulate the Anti-Slavery action of the Free States; and we, by our past sacrifices, and persistent Anti-Slavery policy, have earned the reputation, and incurred the responsibility of the special friends of the African race.

Nor can it be denied that we have a debt to discharge to the American people. To say nothing of our common origin, and the many ties of kinship that bind us together, no true Englishmen can ever forget their generous action towards us in the Irish Famine of 1847. and in the more recent distress of Lancashire. The aggregate assistance thus spontaneously rendered by America to England in the time of our need is estimated at not less than £250,000.

Then let us not overlook the bearing of this good work, on the general interests of the world. Let the African race in America be well cared for, and duly raised to the full dignity of citizenship, and many of them, of their own accord, will prove the best pioneers in the future civilization of the Continent from which, in the days of the Slave-trade, they were so cruelly torn. And by our generous aid to America, in the present circumstances, we may help to lay the foundations of a friendship which no future mistakes will be able to shake; and cement an alliance which will be of the greatest advantage, not only to the two nations themselves, but to the freedom, peace, and prosperity of mankind.

Happily for our credit as a nation, we have not to appeal for the first English contribution to the proposed object. Already several Freed-Men's Aid Associations are at work in

our land, and have unitedly contributed, in cash and goods, at least £40,000.

But what is this gift among so many? and what proportion does it bear to the power, ability, obligations, and philanthropy of Old England?

Impressed with the conviction that this work should be conducted on a different scale, and become a fair expression of the national character on such a question; it has been agreed, after a special Conference of Delegates of different District Associations, at a Public Meeting under the presidency of His Grace the Duke of Argyll, to form a Central Board, bearing the name of the "National Committee of the British Freed-Men's Aid Associations."

While this "National Committee" leaves to each Association to raise and remit contributions as may be deemed in each case most appropriate; it will endeavour to gather up and report, from time to time, the progress of this work at home and abroad; to advise local Committees on questions that may arise; to assist in forming additional Auxiliaries; to direct the visits of Deputations; to receive and appropriate contributions entrusted to it; to give the necessary testimonials and introduction to any duly authorised advocates from abroad; to obtain and publish reports of contributions obtained by such visitors; and to take such further action as may be deemed advisable, so as to make this effort truly national, and really worthy of the British name.

Such then, fellow-countrymen, is the important work to which, in the providence of God, we, as a people, are clearly called,—such the reasons for our action,—such the outline of the scheme by which it is proposed to carry it into effect.

FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY.

President—Sir T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., M.P.

SPECIAL APPEAL.

AMERICA in 1846 assisted us when famine desolated Ireland, again in 1862-63, when the Slave-owners War caused a famine of cotton in Lancashire. In the first instance she sent to the value of £200,000, and in the latter £70,000

The British people have now an opportunity for making some return to her, as she is bravely struggling under adverse circumstances, with the heaviest load of uneducated helpless pauperism that any country in the history of the world, has ever been called upon suddenly to bear! Co-operate with the philanthropists of America now; and when this apparent disaster is turned into a blessing you will have some right to expect that a portion of the "blessing of them that are ready to perish" will then be yours! Although thousands in money and bales of clothing by the hundred, have been sent to the United States, the need is so great that all we can do will be required, and fall far short of the necessities of the case.

Money contributions continue to be received by Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P., Treasurer, 65, Lombard Street, London, E.C.; by William Allen, Esq., Sub-Treasurer, North Villa, Winchmore Hill, London, N.; by Dr. Fred. Tomkins, Secretary, 3, Tanfield Court, Inner Temple, London, E.C.; and by Messrs. Barclay, Bevan & Co., Bankers, 54, Lombard Street, London, E.C. Contributions of goods are kindly received and forwarded free of duty and charge by Messrs. Johnson, Johnson & Co., Tea Merchants, 17, Blomfield Street, Finsbury, E.C.

HELP FROM GERMANY.

THE Norddeutscher Lloyd's has given the Rev. C. Kennedy a free passage on his return to the United States. The Hon. C. C. Leigh is about to proceed to Germany to urge the cause of the Freed-man.

Bremen, July 18th, 1865.

Rev. Crammond Kennedy,
11, Queen Sq., London, W.C.
Sir,

We had the pleasure to receive your esteemed favour of the 15th instant, and we beg to express to you that we heartily sympathise with the work your Association is engaged in. If we did not offer you a free passage in the "America," 16th proximo, on receipt of your letter to Captain Wenke, it was owing to the circumstance of nearly all berths having already been bespoken, and we were acting under the impression of not being able to answer to our shareholders, under the circumstances—the granting of free passages. However, after reconsidering the matter, we feel most happy to enclose, as a token of our sympathy, a ticket for a first-class passage for you in the "America," and desiring all success to your Association,

We remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servants,
THE MANAGERS OF THE NORTH
GERMAN LLOYD.

London Office of the
National Freed-Men's Relief Association
11, Queen Square, W.C.,
July 21st, 1865.

To the Managers of
the North German Lloyd.

Gentlemen,

Accept my hearty thanks on behalf of this Association, and the millions whom it aims to emancipate from the effects of the most debasing servitude, for your generous grant of a free passage, and especially for your expressions of sympathy in our most Christian enterprise.

Having been a Chaplain during two of the severest campaigns of the recent tremendous war, I have witnessed many striking proofs of the exalted devotion of the German citizens of the Republic to her laws, her life, and her redemption from the sin, the shame, and the curse of slavery. It is, therefore, unspeakably gratifying to me to find in the fatherland of these heroes, many of whom have died for the perpetuation of popular govern-

ment, and the extension of freedom, a desire to lend the country of their adoption a helping hand in her noble and arduous work of relieving and elevating the enfranchised race.

A revolution in the vital conditions and prospects of such a multitude—a social revolution, begun in an unparalleled conflict, and progressing in the midst of consequent disruptions, civil and industrial, *must have time*, and should be aided to the utmost by the organized philanthropy of Christendom. Science is rapidly overcoming the physical difficulties of international communication (behold your own steamships); but it is the heavenly mission of UNION in such an enterprise as ours, to foster in the leading nations the respect and good-will in which the peace of the world, and the progress of civilization, are so vitally involved. England and France are already astir. Germany, I hope, will soon be animated by the same generous enthusiasm.

With sentiments of the highest obligation and esteem,

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours, most respectfully,
CRAMMOND KENNEDY.

Correspondence.

THE following letter was not intended for publication, but will, it is believed, well repay perusal. It accurately describes the kind of work now being carried on, not only at Norfolk, but at Alexandria, Richmond, and other places in Virginia. In the Teachers' "Home" in Norfolk, formerly the residence of the notorious Capt. Semmes, of the Alabama, twelve young ladies from the Northern States find a dwelling-place whilst pursuing their laudable avocation of teaching the freed Negroes. Miss A., the daughter of a clergyman, is a teacher in connexion with the National Freed-men's Relief Association, represented in this country by the Hon. C. C. Leigh. Col. A., her brother, a noble and gallant officer, was in command of a Negro regiment in the army of the James at the time the letter was written. Happily, we believe, he survives the war.

Norfolk, Va., March 18, 1865.

My dear Miss,

Perhaps you are accustomed to receive letters from persons you have never seen, and will not be utterly astonished when you find a strange locality mentioned in this letter, and a strange name also. I trust the enclosed letter of your father's, with a few additions in regard to my own personal history, will satisfy your very natural curiosity, and be the means of establishing an agreeable acquaintance between an English and an American girl. Surely we should be friends if not relations; for is not your noble country the mother of my own? With this common tie between us, and the fact of a delightful acquaintance with your good father, I hope you will receive this friendly letter as gladly as I write it. Your father and I have met under strange circumstances. He, in his love and benevolence towards a poor down-trodden race, came to this country to lend an Englishman's hearty aid to them in their great need; and Norfolk, Virginia, being one centre of the Freed-men's interests, he came here, making on his way the acquaintance of a dear brother of mine engaged in this same work as an officer of the army. Coming here after seeing him he took notice of me, and this, added to the rather strange coincidence of my looking like you, awoke a natural interest. You will not dislike to hear that I was very much delighted with him, and shall not forget his pleasant face and intelligent conversation. He did a great deal of good by talking to these ignorant people, whom I am here to help upwards in my humble way. In their own language, they heard "right earnest talk." Having in my school two interesting little girls, twins, and once slaves, and intending to have their pictures taken, it occurred to me to send one to you in case of success. My asking your father for your address was the cause of this letter. Various hindrances have prevented my getting them as soon as expected; and not liking to keep the enclosed letter longer, I shall take pleasure in forwarding the little picture another time.

A few of the promised words about myself: I am the daughter of a missionary, the Rev. Dr. A....., who went to the Sandwich

Islands in 1832, and lived there, a faithful worker in the vineyard of our Lord till his death, which occurred suddenly in consequence of an accident about four years since. My mother, with four of her children—for we are eight—still lives to continue her work amongst the natives of our little “kingdom by the sea.” Eight years ago I left there hoping to be bettered in health by a cooler climate, and also because all missionaries’ children are obliged to return to their “fatherland” to complete their education. I lived four years in California—long enough to become charmed with its delightful climate, and then went to New York for a short stay. But, alas for human plans! My father died, and—family prospects being uncertain—I remained with my brother. This war broke out at that time, and with all the zeal of a young lover of liberty he snatched his sword and went into it. Although without home or relatives of any service, I cannot find it in my heart to leave him exposed to the hazards of war and return to my quiet home. We both stand pledged to the Negro race as long as the “stars and bars” of the Confederacy threaten his future, and are happy to find so good a work. Our God is our Father, and we feel that we shall not want while his care is over us. Excuse my egotism.

I take it for granted you will like to hear a little of the coloured people; indeed there is nothing of interest else about this southern town, unimproved as it is in consequence of the war. After reading all you have about the cruelties of slavery—all of which is true—and knowing the blindness of ignorance which for so many years shrouded this people—it would do your heart good to see the happy faces of these sable children as they go to school *free*, to learn all they wish. It would please you to hear their songs of thankfulness and their expressions of love for those who have helped and sympathized with them. Most of them are escaped slaves who left their masters with scarcely clothing enough to cover their nakedness. Imagine their destitution with neither friends nor money. As helpless as children they could only cry to Heaven for relief and pray to a prayer-hearing God; kind hearts supplied their needs.

For two years hundreds have been kept from starving. I worship the characteristic of benevolence when I see the vast amount of suffering it has allayed. The slave owners did their best to terrify their victims into the belief that the “Yankees” only wanted to sell them off to Cuba for gain, but African credulity could not be deluded. It is quite amusing to hear them refer to their masters, not in a spirit of revenge, however. The absence of such feelings is quite a marvel to me. As an instance—“My ole massa,” said a coloured man, “he went off all so grand to Richmond, on de rail-road, when de war came. I went off too, on de underground rail-road (meaning to Canada) De odder day I come back a *free* man and my ole massa he come sneaking back glad to keep company wid de niggers.” Negro dialect is no doubt familiar to you by sight. It is a hard part of our school teaching to correct their peculiarities of language, which of course must be done if they are to be teachers themselves. On the whole we think them apt scholars and feel much encouraged after five months labour. My class of forty were as untamed as colts at first, and as ragged as the poorest Irish. I have been able to clothe them decently and persuade them into very respectable behaviour. Our evening school of adults is flourishing. Old men and women with heads as white as almond blossoms come regularly to learn how to read the “bressed Bible.” We are often called upon to write their letters, teach them to sew, visit the sick—besides our Sunday School work. You will see that the field is broad; I wish your eyes could behold how flourishing it is. May none grow weary in this work, for truly it is one the Master loves. My duties must be my excuse for sending so poor a letter. I shall be most pleased to hear from you and will give you my direction. P.O. Box 147, Norfolk, Va., U.S.A.

M. JENNIE A.....

A NEGRO JUROR.—A coloured man has been drawn as a juror in Providence, and will take his seat among the others. Hitherto it has been customary when a coloured man’s name has been drawn to pass it over, but now a new course is to be pursued.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "FREEDMAN."

London, July 22, 1865.

11, Queen Square, W. C.

Dear Sir,

With gratitude to our Heavenly Father, and with thanks to a generous public, I have to acknowledge the general and spontaneous welcome that has been accorded me as Representative of the National Freed-men's Relief Association since I have been in Great Britain. Everywhere I have met with expressions of good will, and a warm "God bless the cause and the Freed-men for whom you labour." Invitations to visit different parts of the country are more numerous than I can attend. The people, with a spontaneous feeling of good fellowship, are sending money to our Bankers, Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co., London, and clothing to our Depot; and with them such good wishes, that make the gifts still more precious. The cordial introductions which I had the honour of receiving from your Society, and from the Birmingham and Midland Aid Association, have been of the greatest service.

Were it not for the aid I have received from the Rev. Crammond Kennedy I could not have performed the work I have been enabled to. Mr. Kennedy's experience in the United States army as a chaplain, and his acquaintance with the Freed-men, enable him to speak from experience. I regret that he is obliged to return to America, but I trust a kind Providence will soon send him back to my aid.

Yours truly,

CHARLES C. LEIGH,

Representative of the National Freed-men's Relief Association.

NEWS FROM LEVI COFFIN.

ON the second day our office was often well filled with my friends calling to see me, so that I could do but little business, on the third day our Board met. S. P. Chase, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, who was on his return from the South, met with us, and gave us much valuable information in

regard to the State on condition of the Southern States. He is a warm advocate of Negro suffrage, Joseph Simpson of Manchester was also with us, he was much interested in hearing Judge Chase talk. On the fourth day I visited the "home" on Walnut Hills for the helpless refugee women and children of the African race under our care, with Joseph Simpson; and then on the fifth day, at five in the morning, we started for Camp Nelson, in Kentucky, 126 miles from Cincinnati. We found 2,500 women and children and 3,000 coloured troops at that camp. Many of the women and children are very destitute, and coming in every day; many are sick. The average deaths are about 10 or from 10 to 12 per day, mostly children. We are sending supplies of clothing, and are about to send ten more teachers and two matrons to that camp. 600 children should be in school now at that place, one school only in session of 60 little girls regularly; the adults are being taught more or less. We have bought 25 additional cooking stoves for the camp. We were much interested with our visit. We had a crowded meeting in the evening among them; I talked to them awhile, and then Joseph Simpson addressed them for some time in a very lively and interesting manner, and seemed to interest and please them very much; then several coloured men addressed the audience. We visited them in the various wards of the camp, and in their tents and huts, and sick wards and hospitals, and examined their scarred and lacerated backs. One woman, whose back is not yet well, had been terribly beaten because her husband had enlisted in the army; and the wives and children of all coloured soldiers are free by Act of Congress even in Kentucky, which is still a slave state. Many come in who are not the wives and children of soldiers, and are protected. We have a great work upon us; our field is large. J. M. Walden is now visiting the camps in Mississippi, Arkansas, and West Tennessee.

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THE FREED-MAN.

HELP THE FREED-MAN!

BY THE REV. CHARLES GILBERT.

NOTWITHSTANDING the diversified and conflicting sentiments which have existed in England on the subject of the American war, it may be hoped that as it has terminated, it will now be a subject of general joy that it has led to the overthrow and extinction of slavery—so foul a blot on the national history of America and so great a dishonour to the entire civilized world.

Such joy may be expected especially to pervade the English people, for love of liberty is their national characteristic. Within the present generation they have expended twenty millions of money to secure the freedom of eight hundred thousand slaves in the West Indies. England therefore cannot be indifferent to the great fact, that the civil war of America, with all its enormous evils, has been an instrument employed by Providence to confer the blessings of liberty upon four millions of our fellow-men. Let us not forget however that these poor people especially require the help of those who have always been free, to enable them properly to improve their new position for their own benefit, the welfare of their country, and the honour of God.

It is therefore confidently hoped that the plea for help now so extensively presented to the British public will receive a ready response from all ranks of the people.

HELP THE FREED-MAN! It is a becoming response to American sympathy manifested in seasons of our national distress.

When gaunt famine spread pestilence and death through the Sister Isle, and when the cotton famine prevailed in the north of England, American citizens freighted their noble vessels with generous aid to meet the wants of our perishing fellow-subjects. In the former instance they contributed in this way £200,000 and in the latter case £70,000. Is it therefore too much to ask that England should aid America to meet the pressing exigencies of their delivered captives? especially as they are cast upon their care at a time when the whole American nation is suffering from the depressing influence of a war which has done so much to enfeeble their national resources. While a corrupt press has endeavoured to inflame the passions of the two nations against each other,

acts like these of national sympathy and love, will have a tendency to allay these passions and promote the permanent peace of these two great nations.

HELP THE FREED-MAN! Their number and their wants demand your aid. Four millions is a number easily recorded, but very difficult to conceive. London with its squares, streets, alleys, and lanes; its teeming population; its crowded thoroughfares, and its ever-extending boundaries, presents an object, even to its inhabitants, overwhelming in its magnitude. If however you could gather the emancipated slaves of America into one city, that city must be able to accommodate a million more inhabitants than the British capital. Let it also be remembered that this great assemblage is in circumstances to excite our sympathy and to require our most liberal aid. The system of Slavery has unfitted them without help to emerge at once into the duties and responsibilities of liberty. They require even the humblest dwellings to hide them from the weather, the roughest garments to conceal their nakedness, and food to supply their craving hunger. They are also in a state of great mental and moral degradation. In a large number of cases they have been treated as beasts of burden rather than as men. Like animals they have been branded to indicate their masters' property. Like animals they have often been propagated without respect for the law of marriage. Like animals they have been sold, and children and parents were separated, with as little regard to their feelings. Like animals they have been driven by the lash of the task-master to their daily toil. Such circumstances must naturally produce great degradation. The most miserable pauper in the poor-house would be as little prepared for the use of boundless wealth as these poor slaves for the glorious possession of freedom.

HELP THE FREED-MAN! and thus be followers of God as dear children. His people were once slaves in Egypt. They cried by reason of their oppression, and he heard their cry. By a series of terrible judgments he punished their oppressors, and broke their bonds asunder. Like all slaves they emerged from their captivity requiring special help. By a series of wonderful miracles God did for these emancipated slaves what we are required to do by the ordinary means of Christian charity. He rained down food from Heaven to supply their hunger. He made the flinty rock pour copious streams of water to satisfy their thirst. Their clothing he suffered not to wax old, and He instructed them by means adapted to their depressed intelligence. The most wonderful truths were presented through the simplest pictures. He thus made their senses the vehicles to their understanding.

Let us ponder this divine example and endeavour to imitate it in the present instance. As in the case of Israel, there may be much to try our zeal and love in seeking the elevation of these sons of Africa. But let us bear with their manners and constantly repeat our attempts to raise them to the mental and moral stature of men in Christ Jesus.

HELP THE FREED-MAN! properly trained they may become great benefactors

to the world. Could we have beheld Israel a rude multitude of half-clothed men, women and children, rushing along in confusion from the scene of their captivity, to the liberty of the wilderness, we could not have expected that for them so bright a future was in reserve. That they would have more exalted conceptions of the Divine nature than that afterwards attained by the boasted philosophy of Greece or Rome; that they would number amongst their offspring the greatest warriors, the sublimest philosophers, the most distinguished sovereigns and prophets, whose writings would unfold the future of every age; yea, that from these emancipated slaves should come Jesus, the desire of all nations, and the Saviour of the world.

Many a proud white man treats the Negro with supercilious contempt. Should it be so? The colour of his skin is all that creates the difference :

“He is man, for a’ that,”

having the same intelligent spirit and the same immortal nature.

No one can have studied Negro life but must perceive that here is a rich and prolific soil, that will abundantly repay earnest and continuous culture. Their warm affections, cheerful fun, ready wit, toilsome labour, patient endurance, and, withal, their devout spirit, are elements of character in the black man capable of many great and good things for the benefit of society and the service of God. We anticipate that the state of freedom to which the Negro in America is now raised, if properly improved, will soon produce specimens of human nature that will be an honour to our race.

Let the senators of America employ the influence of their high position in Congress to help the Freed-man. Let all classes of American Society put forth the energy by which as a people they are distinguished to advance this object, and let the churches of America unitedly lead on this great and patriotic enterprise.

We would, however, appeal especially to England to use her wealth and philanthropic zeal in this good work. Women of England! only a few years have elapsed since you transmitted an address to your American sisters signed by half a million of names, from the most exalted ladies of the land to the humblest cottager. This address called upon American women to use their utmost influence to terminate slavery, with its cruelty, injustice, and crime. They have nobly responded to your call. They have given up their fathers, their sons, and their husbands to fight the battle of liberty, and the slave is free! You are now called upon to render that liberty a blessing. You cannot turn a deaf ear to this appeal. You dare not. As you pleaded for the liberty of your sisters in slavery, you are now pledged for their elevation. We have all been familiar with the picture of a Negro, in an imploring attitude, kneeling on one knee, with fettered feet and enchained hands; and underneath the picture appear the words, “Am not I man and a brother.”

The same figure still appears, with one exception, that the manacles are broken off, and the chain is shivered to atoms. He is free! but the same

imploing figure still requires and supplicates your aid. Shall the delivered captive sue for your help in vain?

HELP THE FREED-MAN! The agencies for his help are at hand. It is not necessary that you should expose yourselves to the inconvenience and dangers of a long voyage across the Atlantic for his benefit. The Christian people in America are alive to this work. Various agencies are in operation for the benefit of these emancipated captives. These aim to supply their wants, improve their social condition, and promote their education in general and religious knowledge in order to fit them for the benefits of freedom. The Freed-man's Aid Society has been formed for their benefit, and is prepared to transmit money or clothing to the recognized agencies existing in America for their benefit.

THE CLAIMS OF THE FREED-MEN,

BY THE REV. HENRY M. STORRS, D.D.

Speech delivered at the Town Hall, Preston, June 26, 1865.

TAKEN in some of its aspects, the subject certainly presents a special appeal to an audience of an industrial town. It is a subject removed, of course, at once from the arena of political partizanship; it has nothing to do with those questions concerning the cause of the late war in America, or the constitution which preceded it. It is not a question moreover, of religious partizanship; it is simply and broadly a question of humanity. It has to do with the sufferings of men, women, and children who, by the mystery and ordination of providence, have been suddenly thrown upon the world *en masse*, and who must be relieved by the charitable living within it. An appeal is made on behalf of four millions of men, women, and children, the great mass of whom are under circumstances of great physical distress, and all of whom, under that instruction which it was proposed to give them, would benefit by the permanent blessing of freedom. Consider the effect of four millions of persons—something like the whole population of Scotland, men, women, and children—being suddenly dispossessed of every article they held, including those used in their labour, and turned upon the world without any money or means to earn their own living; but that would be nothing compared with what had recently occurred in America by the emancipation of the negroes, all of whom had been turned upon the country without any implements of labour, tools, or food, and with little or no clothing they could call their own; without a hut to live in, or a cabin in which they had a right to remain for a single day; without a loaf of bread for their sustenance, or without a single possession. Conceive four millions of slaves suddenly set free, without anything to live upon, or anything to turn their hands to, and rendered still worse by the condition of the country around them, which has been impoverished by the late war. Conceive, if possible, the position of the liberated, multitudes of whom are diseased men, women, and children, on the verge of death, without any

one to take care of them, and realise to a still further extent the great work which is required at the hands of the people, not only of the North, but of the civilised world. Again, out of the four millions alluded to, at least one-fifth of them are under twelve years of age, or, in other words, 800,000 were mere children. Of these 150,000 or 200,000 are orphans, without any relative to take care of them or provide support for them.

In the prosecution of the late war, slave owners seized the middle aged men and women, tore them from their families, and sent them away to other remote districts of the South, so that now that the war is over, it is impossible for these poor parents to return or to recover their sons or their daughters. Out of the four millions emancipated, a large number have been kept upon plantations for breeding purposes. In one State there were 1,500 living in that condition, most of whom had been joined in temporary alliances, to be separated and rejoined to other parties just at the discretion of their masters. Then, again, the slaves were uneducated and very ignorant. The free school system which had done so much for the American people, was virtually inoperative not only to the slaves but to the children of the poor whites, who obtained great advantages from such schools in the North. The slave owners appropriated the schools to their own purposes; indeed, they had owned and appropriated nearly everything in the South. The war has, however thoroughly destroyed the wealth of the South. The slave owners as a body have been reduced to such circumstances that they have nothing to spare. The class of small farmers who live among them have likewise been reduced, and the small tradesmen and artisans suffering from the demands made upon them and from conscription for the army have been almost driven from the country, or decimated by the war. Then as to the "poor white trash," as they are vernacularly called, they are in as great distress as the negro. They were indolent and would not work, even in the best of times, if they could help it. They were in a degraded state, and were probably the most ignoble class of people in Christendom. The fourth class of persons inhabiting the south is the negro.

The feeling of the poor whites to the negro is, if possible, better than that of the pro-slavery men of the north. They had some respect for the negro when in bondage, but the moment they were liberated that feeling gave way to one of strong personal dislike and hostility. Such being the facts of the case as to the condition of the south and the slave, they could not look for sympathy and support to the negro from the south, and however much they might be otherwise disposed to act towards the freed slaves by providing them with food, lodgings, or clothing, it is almost impossible for them to render the Negro any aid, since they seem to be nearly all despoiled by the war. Such being the case there has been originated in North America the Freed-men's Aid Society, for providing and attending to the present wants of the emancipated; and there is another society in existence there, called the American Union Association, whose object is to distribute food, clothing, and imple-

ments of labour to the "white trash" of the South to preserve them from starvation. Thus it will be seen that a great work is going on in America, and that there is a great demand upon the charitable, not only of that country, but of all the world; and if the sympathy even of the whites can be given to the emancipated black, it will go far to alleviate the suffering which he has experienced.

Though the war has terminated, the feeling against the poor Negro is not allayed. He has been loved as a slave, but every annoyance is being manifested to him in the South now that he is free. Thousands were driven from their former homes, as they were unwilling to remain longer slaves; and there are thousands of negroes now destitute and naked in the midst of an impoverished district. Around Mobile alone there are no fewer than 30,000 perishing and destitute and almost naked blacks, and yet there was a strong opposition by the resident whites to their freedom. It might be asked, why are not the emancipated put to labour and provided with food? When the war concluded it was too late to plant crops. Unlike the climate of England, when the spring rains have ceased in the south of America the torrid sun prevents anything just sown from natural root or growth. They might as well put seeds into the oven to bake their bread as put them into the land after the spring rains. Many of the escaped slaves have during the past winter been frozen to death during the exposure of night. So varied is the climate of North and South America, that while in winter the Ohio was frozen over, and made the teamster's highway, in summer it was such a rapid stream that it was with difficulty anyone falling into it could be rescued. The sufferings and privations of the negroes and the poor whites of America are indeed very great, much greater than is imagined, though the people of this country know something of privations. When the Lancashire operatives were thrown out of work by the scarcity of cotton, the whole of the British nation was aroused for their relief, and during that crisis the people on the other side of the water had watched with generous admiration the noble conduct of the Lancashire workman in his distress, and had been gratified to see that they were willing to suffer their privations if it would bring about the emancipation of the four millions of slaves in America. The people of America had also been glad to have the opportunity of being permitted by the British people to join their mite to the large sums of money which were raised for the relief of the operatives of this country. And yet the sufferings of the Lancashire operatives were not a tithe of those now being experienced by the freed negroes and poor whites of South America, who numbered eight millions, and who required food, clothing, and lodging. The Government of America was differently constituted to that of England. It was said that the Government of America had brought the present suffering upon the nation, and consequently ought to provide for the wants of the people it had emancipated. The Government had already done much in that respect, and though the constitution prevented them from making suitable provision, it had given more than £100,000,000 already simply to feed and

clothe these people of the South. At this moment they are maintaining some 10,000 persons in the city of Richmond, 200,000 in Virginia alone, and large numbers in eight or ten other States. The Government of America was' however, restricted by the terms of the constitution from making a poor-law or any other law, providing for the maintenance of the destitute. Such laws were left to be enacted by each state and the constitution could not do anything in the matter except in an extra-official manner. If they did so it would be unconstitutional. The necessity of maintaining inviolate and rigid the constitution of a country like America was very important, and what had been already done had been already accomplished as a war measure, arising as the emancipation had from the successful prosecution of the war. The constitution of America differed materially from that of England and when Andrew Johnson came to the presidential chair he was asked if he would not remove the old sign, "Andrew Johnson, Tailor," he replied, "Never; as long as I live shall that sign remain where it is." It was considered a high honour and a great dignity for any of the industrial community to raise himself to that position, to attain for himself the highest honours of the state and to secure immortal fame in the annals of his country. Hence the people of America desired to maintain their constitution; they did not wish the Government to provide them with a poor-law. They were anxious to aid the sufferers all they could, and contributed in a diversity of ways to that end. The war was now over, the president had unsealed the ports, they were anxious that cotton should again begin to cross the Atlantic, they longed for the re-opening of a large traffic with England, and rejoiced that slavery had been at length crushed out.

What was being done in America for the liberated slaves was this, that instead of hoes and spades and ploughs being put into their possession, and their being put to work at once, efforts were being made which promoted that end, and steps taken to elevate the people by instruction in mechanics and the industrial arts, social laws, habits and morals. The persons engaged in this work belonged to a good class. From one congregation at Cincinnati had been sent out a number of young ladies, and many had given up lucrative posts to go and teach the negro, and while doing so they not only gave them all their time and labours, but spent the bare pittance which was granted them for the benefit of the poor. The work was a great and mighty one, and could not but succeed.

Much was required from the industrial populations on this and the other side of the Atlantic, and the Americans expected still to receive thousands of the industrial classes of England, and provide houses for them in that distant country. It might be asked, how had the work just undertaken succeeded! Had the negroes exhibited a willingness to work? It had been said that they were lazy, or, as Mr. Carlyle put it, that the negro was satisfied to be up to the knees in pumpkins for a time, and then to rest all day in the sunshine. It was however found that the men who were industrious, working in the fields and in

the towns, were the negroes, and the idle and profligate men were the whites. That is the fact. Then what is to be feared from the negro? He will work, has been trained to work, and is anxious to work. Some of the freed negroes have already evinced their disposition in that respect, and last New Year's Day a colony of them sent a new-year's gift to President Lincoln, their liberator. That colony had been supplied with tools on "tick," and three weeks afterwards had paid for them, besides maintaining themselves. Many had since planted cotton, and had realized large profits. The government had since leased to those lately degraded negroes plantations in the Sea Islands, where they were now growing cotton, and supplying it to the civilized world. Are such people deserving of sympathy and support? The idea of the negroes was not so much to buy land, to be owners of their plantations, as it was to rent plantations and sell cotton with their names on the bales.

Labour on this and the other side of the Atlantic is reciprocal. Though the little dark boys and girls had been taken from the free schools of Richmond to save a riot, they should yet be taught there. The great result should be carried out in its broadest philanthropy. The President of America was on the right side in this question, and the cause would succeed. It is now left to the charitable of this country to do what they please in the matter, with the assurance that the subscriptions raised will be properly distributed for the object for which they are given.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF BRITISH FREED-MEN'S AID ASSOCIATIONS.

We are requested to present to the friends of the Freed-man the following address about to be issued to the Secretaries of the various Freed-men's Aid Associations in Great Britain and Ireland:—

August 22nd, 1865.

DEAR SIR,

We have to remind you that the next Meeting of the National Committee will be held at Bristol, on the 14th of September, when it is exceedingly desirable that you should be represented by the gentleman or gentlemen who attended on behalf of your Association, and were placed on the Committee at the time of its constitution at Birmingham. In the event of these gentlemen being prevented from coming to Bristol, you may appoint others, who will be regarded as members of the Committee for the time being.

We trust you will be able to advise us of your appointment at an early date, and kindly furnish us with information of the progress made since June 13th, either in the way of further action, or additional contributions.

Prior to the organization of the Committee, about forty parties were supplied with blank forms for returns. Thirty-six of these have responded, nearly all of whom filled up the returns as desired. These have been examined with great care; much pains being taken to prevent contributions of money or goods being placed to the credit of both the Local Associations and those through whom they were remitted to America.

It is only by means of these Returns in detail that we have been able to ascertain that the conjectural estimate formed at Birmingham is a fair approximation to the fact. Allowing, with the figures thus furnished, for every ascertainable contribution of either kind, from all sources, both public and private, from 1862 to June 13, 1865, the total amount

does not much exceed £40,000. To attain as much accuracy as possible in the Returns for the next Meeting, a Form similar to that previously furnished to you, is herewith enclosed. This is not intended to supercede the replies to the circular of enquiries recently issued by this Committee.

To bring the whole of the operations on behalf of the Freedmen into a general, periodical summary, was, it may be remarked, one of the chief functions of the National Committee.

Since its last Meeting, the Dissolution of Parliament, the Elections, and the period of the year have been unfavourable to great progress. To these drawbacks may be added the absence for some weeks of part of the American Deputation (two of whom are on the Continent), all of whom, however, are expected at Bristol on the 14th of September.

In the meanwhile it is well not to lose sight of encouraging circumstances. The first of these was the promise of fresh contributions, upwards of £1,000 having been obtained at Birmingham within a week after the public breakfast at which the proposal to raise that sum was started by John Cropper, Esq., of Liverpool.

The General Baptist Association, and the Methodist Conference, which have met at Birmingham, have both responded in the fullest and most cordial manner to the memorials presented by the Association there; and the large meeting in the Town Hall, where Bishop James, and Mr. Leigh, with the most eminent men of the Conference, were the chief speakers, cannot fail to have introduced the case and claims of the Freed-men to the favourable notice of the Wesleyan body generally.

The large deputations from our Committee, which were well received by the Premier and the Foreign Minister, will, we believe, prove not to have been without result. The reply of Earl Russell, through Mr. Layard, to our memorial, stating "that sympathy for those engaged in abolishing slavery, and joy at the prospect, have been already expressed in Parliament, and in despatches," is such as to encourage this hope, and to justify both private and public action in reference to our legislators, and others of rank and influence, on behalf of the Freed-men's cause.

In the expression of hearty approval from the two representative religious assemblies just named, in similar resolutions passed by the Congregational and the Baptist Unions, and in the kind appreciation, and pecuniary aid of our efforts by the Primate of England, we think we may recognize a preparedness on the part of the Christian public to respond to any well-directed, *practical* appeal for co-operation and assistance.

It seems to the National Committee that it should be the chief business of the Association to avail themselves of these favourable openings, so as to increase the number of the Freed-men's friends, and, with their aid, to make an effort that shall be worthy of our nation. The present seems to us a critical moment, when larger, and systematic efforts must if ever, be made, such as shall be commensurate with Britain's duty and America's need.

To confer on and devise the best methods of public action, seems to us the pressing duty of the National Committee; and we trust, though your Association may feel the work to be momentous, and your contributions towards it not so large as you desire, that you will not withhold the help which the presence and counsel of your representative are calculated to afford, both to ourselves and the Association at Bristol, who inform us that they hope to provide suitable hospitality to all members of the Committee whose visit shall be announced conveniently beforehand; and the earlier the better.

Will you, therefore, as soon as possible, acquaint us with the names and addresses of those gentlemen who will attend on your behalf. The Associations which were not represented at the last Committee, are earnestly requested to appoint a Delegate on this occasion.

Signed, on behalf of the Executive of the National Committee,

ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

FRED. TOMKINS, M.A., D.C.L., Inner Temple, London.

ASPINALL HAMPSON, *Secretary*, 12 Bishopsgate-st. Without.

CLOGHER ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of the above-mentioned association was held in Clogher Court-house, at ten o'clock on Thursday, the 6th July—Charles Ecoles, Esq., J. P. and D. L., in the chair.

There was present a large number of influential friends of the society, under the auspices of Mrs. R. W. Maxwell, Treasurer, and M. R. Scraggs, Esq., M.D., Secretary.

The meeting having been opened with prayer by the Rev. W. Hurst, Chas. Ecoles, Esq. was called to the chair, who, in an eloquent and forcible address, introduced the Hon. Mr. Leigh, of New York (who, with J. W. Smith, Esq., attended as a deputation from the National Freed-Men's Relief Association).

Mr. Leigh, in a long, able, and earnest appeal, brought before the meeting the sufferings and destitution of the American negroes. He stated that he did not come before them as a politician, religionist, or nationalist, but simply as a philanthropist—to bring before them the great and deplorable destitution of a portion of their fellow men. He asked the audience to accompany him in an imaginary tour through a large portion of the American Continent, and visit with him the numerous camps and other stations aided by means of the association with which he had the honour to be connected, for the mental culture, bodily support and industrial training of the now free negro. He described their great simplicity of character and want of experience, now that they were thrown upon their own resources, as well as the fearful destitution of every kind by which they were surrounded, not only causing the most harrowing sufferings, but deaths by thousands from actual starvation, in spite of all the exertions of the government and people of the States.

Mr. Leigh's address was throughout characterised by a calm and persuasive feeling and eloquence, which stamped him as the right man in the right place, and carried conviction most forcibly to the hearts of all present.

The following resolutions were passed, after which a vote of thanks to Mr. Leigh was proposed by J. J. O'F. Carmichael Ferrall, Esq., and carried with acclamation:—

Whereas, this Association having heard of the triumphant success of the anti-slavery

cause, in the destruction of slavery on the Continent of America, it is hereby resolved—

1st—That we will continue our exertions as a Society, and pledge our efforts in future to aid the freed-men in their education for that liberty that God in his providence has called them to.

Resolved, 2nd—That we will co-operate with the National Freed-Men's Relief Association in the work they have on hand, and will send them the funds raised by this Society.

Resolved, 3rd—That the funds now in the hands of the Treasurer be paid to Baring Brothers & Co., 8, Bishopsgate Street, London, Treasurer of the National Freed-Men's Relief Association.

A CIRCULAR has been issued by General Fisk Assistant Commissioner of the Freed-men's Bureau for Kentucky, Tennessee and Northern Alabama, containing full information for the benefit of the freed-men and their former masters in relation to the policy of the Government in its treatment of employed and *employes*. The circular states that the work of the Bureau will be the protection of productive industry; the settlement of the late slaves in homes of their own, with the guarantee of their absolute freedom, the dissemination of virtuous intelligence, and to aid in permanently establishing peace, and securing prosperity. Every effort will be made to render the freed-men self-supporting, and the cultivation of lands for an interest in the crop will be encouraged. All difficulties arising between the freed-men and their employers, or among themselves in places where the testimony of a negro is not admitted, will be adjudicated by officers appointed by the Bureau. Freed men's camps and refugee homes will be discontinued as rapidly as practicable, and every effort made to obtain self-sustenance for all. The compulsory removal of aged and infirm people is, by the provisions of the circular prohibited. Every encouragement will be given to religious and benevolent institutions, and the interests of both white and black will be promoted in every way practicable.

THE "FREED-MAN" may be obtained of the principal booksellers throughout the United Kingdom.

Poetry.

THE following Ode was written by William Cullen Bryant the Poet, before leaving his bed on the morning of the funeral of the late President Lincoln.

Oh, slow to smite and swift to spare
Gentle, and merciful, and just!
Who, in the fear of God, didst bear
The sword of power, a nation's trust.

In sorrow by thy bier we stand,
Amid the awe that hushes all,
And speak the anguish of a land
That shook with horror at thy fall.

Thy task is done; the bond are free:
We bear thee to an honored grave,
Whose noblest monument shall be
The broken fetters of the slave.

Pure was thy life; its bloody close
Hath placed thee with the sons of light,
Among the noble host of those
Who perished in the cause of right.

HYMN OF TRIUMPH.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Nor unto us, who did but seek
The word that burned within to speak,
Not unto us this day belong
The triumph and exulting song.

Upon us fell in early youth
The burden of unwelcome truth,
And left us weak and frail and few,
The censor's painful work to do.

Thenceforth our life a fight became,
The air we breathed was hot with blame;
For not with guaged and softened tone
We made the bondsman's cause our own.

We bore, as freedom's hope forlorn,
The private hate, the public scorn;
Yet held through all the paths we trod
Our faith in man and trust in God.

We prayed and hoped; but still with awe,
The coming of the sword we saw;
We heard the nearing steps of doom,
And saw the shade of things to come.

We hoped for peace: our eyes survey
The blood-red dawn of freedom's day;
We prayed for love to loose the chain:
'Tis shorn by battle's axe in twain!

Nor skill nor strength nor zeal of ours
Has mined and heaved the hostile towers;
Not by our hands is turned the key
That sets the sighing captives free.

A redder sea than Egypt's wave
Is piled and parted for the slave;
A darker cloud moves on in light,
A fiercer fire is guide by night.

The praise, O Lord! be thine alone,
In thine own way thy work be done!
Our poor gifts at thy feet we cast,
To whom be glory, first and last.

We are happy to be able to announce that through the exertions of Dr. H. M. Storrs, some friends in Manchester have transmitted through Robert Longdon, Esq., the sum of £300 to the Friends' Central Committee in London. As it is in contemplation to form a Northern Freed-men's Aid Society, we believe that this sum is but as the drops before the fertilizing shower.

FOREST GATE, ESSEX.—Mrs. John Curwen, of this place, has been actively engaged during the past month in making and obtaining a large quantity of suitable and valuable articles for the poor freed people. We were kindly permitted to see these comfortable garments, for which many will bless this benevolent lady. Who will go and do likewise? The Freed-men's Aid Society will make a grant of £5 to any lady who will guarantee a similar amount to commence a sewing circle.

"FOUR years of struggle for our nation's life have been crowned with success; armed treason is swept from the land, our ports are reopened; our relations with other nations are of the most satisfactory character; our internal commerce has revived; our soldiers and sailors resume the peaceful pursuits of civil life; our flag floats in every breeze; and the only barrier to our national progress—HUMAN SLAVERY—is for ever at an end. Let us trust that each recurring Fourth of July shall find our nation stronger in number—stronger in health—stronger in the harmony of its citizens—stronger in its devotion to nationality and freedom."—*Extract from a Letter from President Johnson.*

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

All orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to **ARLISS ANDREWS, 7, Duke Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.**

THE Report of the Bedford Meeting is in type but must stand over this month, owing to great pressure on our space.

BOSTON does not suit.

BRIGHTON.—Through Beal and Embling.

The Freed-Man.

SEPTEMBER, 1865.

**THE REV. HENRY MARTYN
STORRS, D.D.**

WE call the especial attention of our readers to the able article of Dr. Storrs in the present number of "The Freed-Man," and also to the letters of Dr. Walden, addressed to Dr. Storrs, which we print with pleasure for the perusal of our readers this month. Dr. Walden's letters are especially worthy of mention on account of his experience, undoubted veracity, and power to describe the scenes he witnesses. Enjoying the pleasure of Dr. Walden's personal acquaintance, we feel more than ordinary satisfaction in commending his valuable communications to the careful attention of our friends. The Doctor is a veteran in the service of freedom. In Kansas his pen as an editor and his voice as a minister of peace were constantly employed in advocacy of the oppressed. He is a Christian in the truest sense of the term, and a warm patriot. His letters to our valued friend Dr. Storrs are placed before our readers through the kindness of W. Allen, Esq., who was authorized to

read and use them during the Doctor's absence.

Dr. Storrs, who has been recruiting for a few weeks, will soon be again in our midst. After months of hard toil for the Freed-man, change became necessary. Our friend, however, having descended the snow-clad slopes of the Alps, and the vine-clad terraces of Germany, will again soon be with us, ready for a new campaign. Dr. Storrs is also a veteran, and the son of a chief in the anti-slavery cause. His father, immortalized by the poet Whittier, distinguished as the tutor of the author of the "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," trained his son to believe in the Gospel as the Gospel of freedom, of peace, and of good-will towards men. The lessons thus imparted grew with his growth, and were indelibly impressed upon his conscious and spiritual nature by a higher power. When but a young minister in the Congregational Church of the United States, it was felt that our valued friend was to be trusted in a difficult and trying position. There were many earnest men in Cincinnati, and throughout the State of Ohio; but many of the clergy were tame and undemonstrative on the question of slavery. A firm, true man was wanted. Young Henry Ward Beecher, brought up in the neighbourhood of the Lane Seminary at Cincinnati, where he said his father, the good old Dr. Beecher kept the apple-tree well pruned by cutting switches to thrash him and his brothers, and where his gentle sister Harriet met the young professor who was afterwards to be her husband, knew the circumstances and condition of the Queen city well. Application was made

to him when he was young Henry Ward Beecher no longer, save in his buoyant feelings and his fresh, loving, truthful heart, but after he had become the minister, author, and patriot of world-wide fame, to select a true, earnest, able young minister for the first Congregational Church in Cincinnati. His choice fell upon Henry Martyn Storrs. Mr. Storrs went to Cincinnati a young man, now many years ago, and has won for himself by his fidelity and Christian constancy a good report. We were introduced to him by the Committee of the Western Freed-men's Aid Commission in April last, and after converse and conference with him, strenuously advised him to accept the invitation he had received to visit our country as the advocate of the oppressed. Dr. Storrs came. At the meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel, at the assembly of the Congregational Union in London, at the great meeting in the Town Hall in Birmingham, at many meetings all over the country, and at the private meetings of our Committee, Dr. Storrs's addresses and courteous conduct have met with the entire approval of the friends of the Freed-man. The claims of a large church and congregation will require the speedy return home of this devoted apostle of Freedom. In the meantime we earnestly solicit the friends of the Freed-man to aid to their utmost the object for which Dr. Storrs has visited Great Britain. We shall be glad to hear from any who may desire a visit from Dr. Storrs.

THE Committee of the Freed-men's Aid Society meet every Monday at two o'clock at the Anti-Slavery Society's Rooms, No. 27, New Broad Street, City, E.C.

Review.

Oration at the Raising of "the Old Flag," at Sumter, and Sermon on the Death of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States. By the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. Manchester: Alexander Ireland & Co., Pall Mall Court.

The Assassination of President Lincoln. By T. W. Christie, B.A., Camb. Leamington: D. Sarney. 1865.

Services in Memory of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States; held on the appointed day of national humiliation and prayer, in the George Street Methodist Chapel, Bremen, Germany. Bremen Methodist Book Concern. 1865.

In the first of these pamphlets we have the thrilling oration of Henry Ward Beecher, delivered at Fort Sumter, and also his sermon on the death of President Lincoln. Mr. Beecher took for his text Deut. xxxiv., 1—5, "And Moses went up from the plains of Moab," &c., concluding "So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord." J. H. Estcourt, Esq., of Manchester, has written an able prefatory introduction to the oration, and an eloquent sketch of the life of Abraham Lincoln, as an introduction to the sermon. The whole pamphlet, which is elegantly got up, is presented as a memorial gift to working men, and bears the following inscription:

This Memorial is dedicated to those working men who through evil report and good report, and in times of temporal want of no ordinary kind, espoused that cause, and manfully supported those principles which must eventually secure to emancipated labour every where, Real Liberty and True Justice; and is presented to them as a simple token of high esteem by American friends resident in Manchester.

In speaking of Mr. Lincoln's death, Mr. Estcourt says—

All civilization was wounded to the heart by that barbaric act of the agent of slavery, and it reeled, horror-struck, from an association which had been well nigh cemented by bonds. A nation mourned, as never nation mourned before, for in the departed President had been centered the faith and hope of the African people, and the pride and honour of the Saxon race.

Mr. Beecher, in his noble sermon, speaking of the "sainted Lincoln," says,

Never rising to the enthusiasm of more impassioned natures in hours of hope, and never sinking with the mercurial in hours of defeat to the depths of despondency, he held on with immovable patience and fortitude, putting caution against hope, that it might not be premature, and hope against caution, that it might not yield to dread and danger. He wrestled ceaselessly, through four black and dreadful purgatorial years, wherein God was cleansing the sin of this people as by fire. At last the watcher beheld the day dawn for the country. The mountains began to give forth their forms from out the darkness; and the East came pushing towards us with arms full of joy for all our sorrows. Then it was for him to be glad exceedingly, that had sorrowed immeasurably. Peace could bring to no other heart such joy, such rest, such honour, such trust, such gratitude. But he looked upon it as Moses looked upon the promised land, and then the wail of a nation proclaimed that he had gone from among us.

Speaking of Slavery, Mr. Beecher says—

Slavery wastes its victims and destroys the masters. It destroys public morality, and the possibility of it. It corrupts manhood in its very centre and elements. Communities in which it exists are not to be trusted. They are rotten. Nor can you find timber grown in this accursed soil of iniquity that is fit to build our ships of state, or lay the foundation of our households. The patriotism that grows up under this blight, when put to proof, is selfish and brittle; and he that leans upon it shall be pierced. The honour that grows up in the midst of slavery is not honour, but a bastard quality that usurps the place of its better only to disgrace the name of honour. . . . I do

not say that there are not single natures, here and there, scattered through the vast wilderness which is covered with this poisonous vine who escape the poison. There are; but they are not to be found among the men that believe in it, and that have been moulded by it. They are the exceptions. Slavery is itself barbarity. The nation which cherishes it is barbarous; and no outward tinsel or glitter can redeem it from the charge of barbarism.

We cannot withhold one fine passage in this sermon. The preacher seems to have had in his mind the American lyric—

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave:

His soul is marching on."

Mr. Beecher says—

And now the martyr is moving in triumphal march, mightier than when alive. The nation rises up at every stage of his coming. Cities and states are his pall bearers, and the cannon beats the hours with solemn progression. Dead, *Dead*, DEAD, he yet speaketh. Is Washington dead? Is Hampden dead? Is David dead? Is any man that ever was fit to live dead? Disenthralled of flesh, and risen in the unobstructed sphere where passion never comes, he begins his illimitable work. His life now is grafted upon the infinite, and will be fruitful as no earthly life can be. Pass on, thou that hast overcome! Your sorrows, oh people, are his peace. Your bells, and bands, and muffled drums, sound triumph in his ear. Wail and weep here; God makes it echo joy and triumph there. Pass on!

We are under deep obligations to Mr. Estcourt for this noble pamphlet, and cordially recommend it not only to our working men but to all classes of the community.

The second pamphlet is by a clergyman, and contains a burst of indignant eloquence at "the record of those horrid deeds of bloodshed and assassination flashed upon us from America." "Leamington," says Mr. Christie, "is silent! No public meeting called—none an-

nounced." Just so: let us, however, inform this gentleman that we visited Leamington to plead for the poor freed-men, and were told that its inhabitants exhausted all their sympathy for Southern slaveholders, and that they had neither compassion nor help for the poor panting, naked, starving, ignorant fugitives rushing in from the house of bondage. At the time we shook off the dust from our feet as we left the fair town, remembering that the most deadly poison is found with the brightest flowers, and the vilest scorpions under the fairest stones. We shall be glad to hear that Mr. Christie, who writes so boldly, is exerting himself for those poor ones in defence of whom Mr. Lincoln sacrificed his life.

The third pamphlet contains a sermon by the Rev. Bishop E. S. Janes, D.D., of New York, on 2 Sam. iii, 38, "And the king said unto his servants, know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" The sermon is replete with interesting incidents in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM
THE REV. J. M. WALDEN, M.A.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "FREED-MAN."

Respected Friend,

In consequence of Dr. Storrs of Cincinnati, being absent upon the Continent, I have had the pleasure of opening several very interesting letters addressed to him by John M. Walden, corresponding Secretary of the Western Freed-Men's Aid Commission, and who in conjunction with Levi Coffin, another member of said Commission, have recently visited together, the Camps of the Freed-Men at Galatin, Hendersonville, and Nashville,—Tennessee. The information communicated in these letters,

is both pleasing and saddening. We are cheered at finding what has been done, by the aged and infirm men—and the women and children of the Refugees—under very adverse and discouraging circumstances, but our apprehensions are excited, for this class when we find that so many able-bodied men are likely to become competitors with this weakly class—in the race for a living. It must be very satisfactory also to those who have so willingly contributed their time and their money to aid the Freed-men, to find that these acts are thoroughly appreciated by the poor people and that the fact of their possessing friends in England and elsewhere, has tended to cheer them on, and bring a ray of hope over the dark picture of their future.

It will be seen that the Educational efforts on behalf of the coloured people must be continuous, steady, and strong—for it is painfully evident that what are called the upper classes in the South, instead of aiding such efforts, are likely (with few exceptions) to do all they can by sneering at, and thwarting them in every way—to negative them, and to drive all white Teachers away—from exercising the office of Teachers.

Yours respectfully,
WM. ALLEN.

Mississippi River, June 2nd, 1865.

My Dear Friend,

I reached Memphis, Tenn. on Sunday evening last. It had been my purpose only to remain part of a day, in which to adjust some business matters with the Provost Marshal of Freed-men, pertaining to our work at that point, intending to take the first steamer down for Natchez. As I was waiting for a boat, and could not tell what hour one might touch the landing, I could make no satisfactory exploration of matters, though detained there three days. I can only give you some general impressions gathered from such glimpses of the work as I had.

It is estimated that there are from 12,000 to 15,000 coloured people in and immediately about Memphis, besides the coloured soldiers in the fortifications and camps. I doubt if there be another point in the country where they are more favourably situated to demon-

strate their ability to provide for themselves under ordinary circumstances. I know not how exacting slavery may have been there before the war, but so thoroughly have the customs of society become Northernized under the presence and touch of the Yankee, that, whatever be the sentiment of former slave-owners, compensated labour is now the all-prevailing system. In the palmy days of slavery, when the beauties of the "patriarchal system" were portrayed before the Northern public to strengthen its supporters, I remember often to have heard glowing descriptions of the joyous slaves in their Sunday attire attending Divine service, etc., all of which very many were inclined to receive with a good degree of allowance; I also remember very many predictions that without the care and supervision of their masters the negroes would soon sink into the most hopeless destitution. It was between six and seven o'clock Sunday evening that I passed through the streets of Memphis. I saw hundreds of coloured persons walking about, and almost without exception very well and quite tastefully dressed. They manifest great fondness for high colours, but many of them exercise no little taste in arranging their dress and harmonizing the colours. The sight I here witnessed was very suggestive to my mind of self-support. Subsequently, in passing through the streets during my detention there, I found coloured men engaged in many forms of industry; and what was most notable, I not only saw them acting as assistants in stores, but also in some instances as salesmen. All this was gratifying; it was indicative of the practical results of freedom to this people; the favourable solution of the great problem of Emancipation. When you visited Memphis little more than two years ago you found this same people almost entirely dependent on Government for food, and on the Charities of the North for clothing and every other necessary of life. They were helped through the season of their suffering; they were encouraged and inspired by the interest that benevolent christian men and women took in them: they began to do for themselves, and now behold the result. In hundreds of places in the now conquered and impoverished Southern States there are multi-

tudes of coloured people in the same destitute condition in which we first found those at Memphis, who only need to be cared for during this season of their destitution, and encouraged and somewhat directed in shaping some industrious pursuit, to realize all the success and demonstrate all the thrift of these. The coloured people of Memphis are however not as yet entirely independent. There is no state provision for schools nor is there likely to be for months, perhaps years, and they are not able to support schools for themselves. To assist them in this work of education is now the principal field for benevolent efforts there. In Memphis and vicinity during the past month there were 10 schools in progress; in these 29 teachers have been employed; 1,948 scholars enrolled, with an average attendance of 1,297. Towards the support of these schools the coloured people paid 800 dollars for the month some two-thirds of the total expenditures. The deficiency is paid by the commissions. I suppose about one-third of the coloured children in Memphis are in these schools; those who attend no doubt embrace the classes most competent to aid in the support of the schools; hence to increase the number of schools until they shall be adequate for the educational work there, will make the demand upon the commissions relatively larger. If we could at once lay our plans to double the number of schools and teachers in Memphis at the opening of the fall term in September; and bring into them a still larger proportion of those who have little or nothing to contribute, it surely would be a judicious and efficient direction of a part of the means of which we are made the almoners. There is no doubt that the Board would be ready to do this if the contributions we receive shall enable us to extend the work at this point and keep it up at other points. It seems very evident that while education is one of the great needs of the emancipated it is to be secured to them in the main for some time to come, through the benevolent contributions of their friends in America and Europe. These poor people daily suffer the result of their ignorance. In too many cases they are over-reached in their contracts—deceived in the purchases they make, cheated in changing their money, and

thus in many ways become the victims of the designs both of their former masters, of avaricious speculators and unprincipled traders from other parts of the country. Two years experience or more, has given a practical knowledge to very many who have lived in Memphis, but it is manifest that education must be one of the most important elements in the preparation of this people to care for themselves, and indispensable if they are to take the position, political and moral, which seems to be indicated by the striking and providential events of the past few years. The friends of humanity have, through the commission, done a blessed work in relieving the varied physical sufferings of the Freed people—much of this humane work is yet to be done—but greater and more permanent are the beneficent results of those efforts that have been directed to their mental and moral elevation. It is gratifying to remember that from the first it has been our policy to combine both forms of relief.

Yours truly,

J. M. WALDEN.

Natchez, Miss., June 8th, 1865.

Rev. H. M. Storrs, D.D.,

London, England.

My Dear Brother,

There is in this city a coloured population of between 5,000 and 6,000 persons. The exact number a few days since was 5,362, but it is subject to constant increase and diminution—increase from the interior, and diminution from those who find employment at other points or are sent to the Freed-men's Camp. In passing through Natchez you wonder where is the locality of the suffering and destitution of which many accounts have reached us during the past year. The Freed people, by their own industry, and the Freed-men's Aid Societies, by means of the generous contributions of the friends of the suffering, have wrought a wondrous change here within a few months. Where Government was furnishing rations to thousands, hundreds are now supporting themselves and families. When winter comes cutting off the resources of those who have gardens and the like there will be considerable numbers who must be helped through the

season. Many who are now supporting themselves cannot husband enough to carry them through the unproductive portion of the year, but by another season strengthened and encouraged by the experience of this, they will do still better and as a general thing become entirely self-supporting. One of the blessed results of benevolent effort in behalf of the Freed people is that it incites them to do for themselves—instead of making them paupers it inspires industry and self-reliance.

Early this Spring the dependant ones in Natchez, consisting of women with children, and decrepid men and women, were taken to the opposite side of the Mississippi and located on what is termed the "Home Farm," the management of which was given to Mr. J. O. Reid, an employé of the National and Western Commissions. The purpose was to cultivate a very fertile tract of land by this class of persons and make the most indigent as nearly self-supporting as might be. The Commissions furnished teams, ploughs, seeds, etc., necessary for the proposed work; Gardens were made and a crop planted. The people also had erected rude habitations, a school house had been built of lumber sent from the North—two teachers were employed in a Common School—and there was every promise of the Camp or Colony realizing a considerable return as the results of the experiment. There were about two hundred children in attendance at the School, and a large Sunday School and a Mission Church had been organized. Portions of ground had been allotted to the Orphan Children to give them opportunity to cultivate vegetables to be sold on their account. The opening of the season was propitious—Corn, Potatoes, Peas and other vegetables on the "Home Farm," as the plantation was called, were growing thriflily, when it was submerged by the flood of the Mississippi—the Colony was broken up and their labour lost. There were something more than 1,700 persons there—some were sent up to Davis' Bend near Vicksburg, but the greater number are being removed to Washington, Miss., a town about six miles east and inland from Natchez. The season is now so far advanced that this Colony will only be able to cultivate some fall vegetables, which will not contribute

much toward their relief and support: hence it is evident that they must be provided for during the coming winter.

It is the policy now to remove from Natchez to Washington all who are in some employment or living independently. It sometimes occurs that a considerable number will congregate in a single building, living in a condition that is considered detrimental to the health of the city. Where they are too crowded or where any are found who are imposing themselves on the more industrious they are to be removed to the "Home Farm." There will probably not be less than 2,000 here in a few weeks and if many should continue to come in from the interior the number will be still greater. Since the collapse of the Confederacy there have been many instances of cruel abuse. Many of the masters are still insensible to the stern logic of events that points to the end of slavery; some declare they will shoot their slaves before they shall be free; others drive from their plantations poor old men and women who have worn themselves out in their service—turn them off without food or raiment, to find their way to the Government Camp. There have been frequent instances where returned rebel soldiers have visited gross cruelties upon the coloured people. Such abuse until it can be corrected will drive a great many destitute men, women and children to this place, who will be congregated at the Home Farm, except such as may find employment. It is quite possible that the number of destitute here may reach 3000 before the Winter sets in.

I will turn for a little time to the more pleasant features of this field and note what is being done for the elevation of the coloured people of Natchez. I find in the city and vicinity 20 schools in operation, with 21 teachers employed. In these schools there are 1,370 scholars enrolled with an average attendance, for the last month, of 942. I have visited a number of these schools while in session and have witnessed their exercises with much interest. Of course the scholars are nearly all in primary studies—the majority in spelling and reading; quite a number are studying geography; some are studying arithmetic, and taking lessons in writing. But it is interesting

to stand in one of these schools, with two hundred slave-born children before you, and remember that you are in Natchez the former seat of wealth and aristocracy of Mississippi—where a Minister of a southern church declared, on a public occasion, that he would rather wade through blood waist-deep than give up the peculiar institution of the South.

I have made some careful inquiries of all the teachers I have met as to the capacity of the coloured children to learn. There are many instances of remarkable quickness, and as far as they have progressed they will compare favourably with white children. They have ready memories and good ideas of form, so that they learn to read very soon. They also manifest a readiness to learn geography. It is doubtful as to their making as rapid progress in arithmetic and grammar. The wonder to me is, that coming as they do from under the baneful and withering influence of slavery, they exhibit the degree of sprightliness and intelligence already apparent in the progress they have made. It would seem that the same Providence that has brought freedom to them has poured upon them an awakening influence, preparing them to profit by their new opportunities.

I will close this by quoting a sentence from the Report of the Post Provost-Marshal of Freed-men for Natchez, for April:—

"Great good has been done the Freed-men by the missionaries and teachers sent amongst them by benevolent societies at the North to educate them. The large number of schools established and taught by these missionaries have exerted a very salutary influence on all the parents as well as the children, and have done much to preserve good order and good faith, and to prompt good work and industry."

"Opus forvet."

Yours truly,

J. M. WALDEN.

THE FREED-MEN OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

Mississippi River, June 20, 1865.

To the Hon. S. P. Chase, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

A brief stay and limited opportunities prevented my obtaining full information in regard to the Freed-man at and in the vicinity of Helens, Ark. I, however, have some facts as

to this and some as to last year's operations which possess some interest, and in pursuance with your request I submit them.

The Freed-men on plantations here, as generally elsewhere in the Valley where Federal authority is really operative, comprise two classes: Lease-holders and Hired-labourers. In the spring of 1864, Chaplain Herrick, Superintendent of Freed-men at Helena, by the request of Mr. Mellen, selected as much of the confiscated or abandoned lands near this place as coloured persons here had the means and disposition to lease and cultivate. There were about thirty coloured lessees, but I find no statistics as to the aggregate amount of land worked by them, but have learned that every lessee made some money by the year's operation. Chaplain Herrick stated last November that 10 of these persons, with the results of whose work he was acquainted, realised from their crop 31,000 dollars; and these did not hold the largest quantity of land relatively. The following instances will illustrate the industry and thrift of these lessees:

Jarome Hubbard and George West leased 60 acres—planted 40 in cotton—their expenses were about 1,200 dollars; they sold their crop for 8,000 dollars. Napoleon Bowman leased 24 acres; he had some capital to begin with and borrowed some; he employed one hand; his expenses were less than 2,000 dollars; sold his crop for 6,000 dollars—realizing over 4,000 dollars clear profit. Robert Owens leased 17 acres; having nothing to start with, he borrowed his capital; he earned by the season's work enough to purchase a good house, with a residue of 300 dollars. Samuel Beaden leased 13½ acres; expended about 600 dollars in its cultivation, and sold for 4,000.

I could not learn that the success of these persons was proportionately greater than that of others at this point. Beyond question, as a class these colored lessees were eminently successful in their undertaking last year, though they probably are the most enterprising of the Freedmen at Helena.

There were but three or four confiscated plantations in the vicinity of Helena. So much of these as was not taken by colored men was leased to whites. Fifteen or sixteen other plantations belonging to loyal persons were leased

to Northern capitalists. As I understand, all these lessees employed Freedmen to work their lands under regulations very similar to those instituted by Gen. Banks—with this provision, however, the first-class male hands should receive 10 dollars per month, together with food and clothing, and other hands a proportionate rate. The planter was subsequently released from the obligation to furnish clothing but was required to sell it at former established rates. By the system adopted, schools were to be established on each plantation, and there was to be such official supervision as would secure the enforcement of all rules governing the lessees and laborers, and protect both classes from injustice and imposition. You will not be surprised to learn that this system, however excellent it may have seemed on paper, signally failed. In regard to the practical workings of the system here, I have ascertained at least three things:—

1. There was no competent and efficient supervision by officers empowered with authority to enforce the system.

2. The lessees, in many instances, allowed their hands to anticipate their wages, and delayed settlement till the middle of the year, so that many of them were then largely in debt.

3. The labourers, being furnished with food and clothing, just as in the former condition of slavery, were kept in a state of dependence, had no incentive to work industriously, and had no opportunity of acquiring ideas and habits of self-dependence.

In a letter addressed to Gen. Buford by Chaplain Herrick, in November, 1864, I find the following passage in regard to this matter:—

“Not a school has been established on a plantation, and I believe no effort made to establish one. No such supervision has been maintained as would prevent extortion, or insure that the food and clothing furnished to the labourers should be good and substantial of its kind. No particular and persistent effort has been made to cultivate thriftiness and forethought, or to protect the weak, ignorant, and humble, from injustice. No officer having care of this people has visited them at their homes; and, from observation and in-

quity, become familiar with the state of affairs there; no adequate and efficient means of redress have been afforded, and, if injustice has been experienced, hedged in on the plantation by a necessary system of passes, it has had to be endured in silence."

This letter was written by Chaplain Herrick, I believe, before he was connected with the Freed-men's Department. I presume it was the result of his observations here, and gives a view of matters very similar to what I have received from other sources. It was fortunate for the coloured labourers that the white lessees were generally fair and honourable men, as they are reported to have been. The failure of compensated labour at this point no doubt has been and will be used by the enemies of the coloured people, and hence I have aimed to bring out those facts and circumstances to which the failure may properly be attributed, viz., first of all the system that was adopted, and, secondly, the manner in which it has been carried out by those who might have made it more efficient.

Notwithstanding the experiment may be regarded as a failure, I find the results of the year's labour to these hired people to have been about as follows: at the close of the year most of them were in better health and better clad than at its beginning. About one-fourth when the settlement was made, either were in debt or had nothing due to them; one-fourth had a balance in their favour of more than 20 dollars; and the other half a balance of less than 20 dollars. A few were quite successful. One old woman, over fifty years of age, had a balance of 55 dollars 88 cents. A boy of fifteen, Leonard Lloyd, had a balance of 102 dollars 46 cents.

Labourers on certain plantations were allowed by the lessees to have an acre or so of land on their own account, and work it when they could, they themselves receiving all the proceeds. One of this class sold the cotton he thus raised for 165 dollars, which he had above his year's wages; and I heard of another instance where a man closed the year with 200 dollars earned in this way.

Two plantations were cultivated on the share system, the owners furnishing whatever was required to make the crop, and allowing

the labourers one-third of the crop for their labour, the employer furnishing food and clothing, and charging the same to the labourer. The only fact I have in regard to this plan is, that one labourer received about 180 dollars for his share.

As to the present year's operations, I have only a few general facts. The Freed-men were encouraged to lease the land that was under Government control, and I believe they took it all up. This comprises the Gen. Pillow plantation of 500 acres. Twelve plantations in this vicinity are being worked on shares—the terms being similar to those mentioned above. I met Mr. Brunell, a Friend from Pennsylvania, who has the management of two plantations, about 1,500 acres, cultivated on this plan. He was a lessee here last year, and is emphatic in his preference for the share system. Some eight or ten lessees hire their hands this year, and, so far as I learned, under the same regulations that obtained last year. I also ascertained that in the section behind Helena the old proprietors of the land have promised the Freed-men (their former slaves) wages to remain with them and work the lands, and that most of the plantations between here and White River are becoming cultivated on such conditions. I could not learn that any uniform rate was fixed or that any specific amount was promised to the labourer. I presume, however, it will be proper for the Bureau of Freed-men, through its agencies, to see that such receive a fair remuneration from the proceeds of the crop that may be raised by their industry.

A considerable number of coloured people live in Helena, and, so far as I could learn by inquiry and observation, they are industrious and are self-supporting. Nine Teachers have been labouring among them. The people purchase their own books, and a few of them pay tuition. There is an orphan asylum here, with about 80 coloured children in it. This is supported entirely, and the schools mainly, by Northern benevolence.

Perhaps it is not to be expected that the former slaveholder will be careful to give the system of compensated labour a fair trial. The disposition will be to judge of it by its first results, which, under most favourable cir-

circumstances, could hardly be expected to be generally successful. The freed-men must be taught at least two notions entirely new to many of them; that is, to labour in view of wages, and to dispose of wages received so as to provide for their wants. Such lessons are not to be learned in a single season, especially where the teacher is the person who formerly exacted labour with the lash, and only put money in the hand of the coloured man as a gift and not as a reward. But what is still worse, there will be many who will resort to the lash where they are beyond the reach of effective authority. I am informed that in the section of Mississippi opposite to Helena, the Freed-men are treated as harshly and shamefully as in the palmy days of slavery. I give a single instance that has been brought to light.

A former slave-owner of Mississippi, named I——, recently made complaint to Gen. Thayer in command at Helena, that Chaplain Brooks of the 56th Regiment U. S. O. I., had enticed away one of his hands, a former slave, whom he had hired. Of course, Brooks was cited to appear before the General. He made a statement that he was called to Mississippi by some business, and while there met this coloured man, who told him that he had been maltreated by I——, whipped, or beaten rather, with the paddle (a heavy oak paddle with holes in it, such as overseers used to carry at the pommel of their saddle to inflict fearful and summary punishment on the chattels under their control). The chaplain told him if he would come to Helena he would get paid for his labour and be free from such abuse. After making his statement to the General, in which he declared such treatment to be prevalent so far as he could learn, the Chaplain requested the General to look at the coloured man's back, upon which there were many marks of recent and gross violence. I——, instead of receiving his negro hand, was sent to the lock-up.

How is the coloured man to be shielded against the fraud that will be practised and the outrages that will be perpetrated by those who have hitherto denied the most sacred rights to the negro? However thorough a Provost system may be instituted during the

unsettled condition of these communities to secure justice to the Freed-men, that system can only be temporary, to be followed, sooner or later, by civil authority, to be administered under reconstructed State Governments. Where, then, will the Freed-men find protection and security? and how shall they obtain justice? I can conceive of no way but by their being at once vested with that right in the exercise of which their influence will be felt in the local and general government of the State—that right, without the possession of which, Freedom will be a mockery—the Elective Franchise.

Yours truly,

J. M. WALDEN.

Bowling Green, Kentucky,
July 19th, 1865.

Rev. H. M. Storrs, D.D.,
London, England.

My Dear Brother,

On last Thursday, the 13th instant, Levi Coffin and myself started from Cincinnati to make a brief visit to Nashville, Tenn. on matters connected with our work, intending to go to as many points of interest as time would permit. We have passed over the territory you visited in the Spring, but you may be interested in some results of our observations. The first place at which we stopped was at Gallatin, Tenn., on the Terrisville and Nashville R. R., 159 miles south of Terrisville, Ky. and 26 miles north east from Nashville. The Freedman's Camp at Gallatin is at the place where you visited it. After having passed the Winter in the miserable tents and huts in which you saw them, now in midsummer the military superintendent is getting them partly provided with log and wood houses, small, but far preferable to condemned tents. There are about 325 persons, men, women and children, in the camp—only a few men, and those infirm, either from age, over-work, or disease. A number have gone from the camp since the opening of spring made a demand for all classes of labourers, manifesting a disposition to work wherever they can do enough to command wages that will bring them a support. You will remember that we had a school house in course of erection when we there. It has been finished and occupied for more than

two months, during which time we have had three teachers employed. Before the house was built, one of the ladies had been labouring from house to house teaching and distributing clothing to the needy as far as we had them to give. There was suffering there during the last winter of which it is sad to think, and yet it is grateful to know that it was mitigated—that many extreme cases were relieved, by the donations of which our Society was the almoner and our teachers the immediate distributors (for our teachers in Gallatin went to the camp and laboured with those there). I have often wished, when mingling with the inmates of the camps, that those who have given of their substance, could hear the expressions of gratitude—simple and heartfelt—that I have so often heard on making inquiries as to what had been done for them—it would be one of the richest rewards that a kind and generous heart could share—something of that greater blessing pronounced upon him that gives. The children as well as the old persons in the Camp school are making the usual progress—I say “usual progress,” because I have found no instance yet where they, both old and young, have not made encouraging progress, where they have had opportunity to attend school with any measure of regularity, though but for a few weeks.

Schools at Gallatin.

Our Schools in the town of Gallatin have been greatly interrupted. It may be well for me to state the circumstances as they illustrate the opposition against which our work of education must be prosecuted in a large portion of the South. Civil authority is being restored in Tennessee—being substituted for the military rule that has existed for years—a desirable change when its functions are exercised by loyal men ready to stand by the Emancipation policy of the general Government. It perhaps is to be expected that some persons will be vested with power who are opposed to this policy and opposed to every effort to elevate the coloured man. Such has been the case at Gallatin. From the organization of our schools a year ago last spring, some prominent citizens have manifested all the bitterness towards our teachers that they dared to in the presence of a military force.

As the stringency of the military rule has been relaxed they have been emboldened. Three times in succession our teachers have been compelled to relinquish the houses in which they have taught—each time changing the locality of their schools. At length, on a ground that has since proved to be a mere pretext, the town or county (civil) authorities ordered the schools to be closed. In this way our teachers lost more than a month's time. Driven from the houses in which they had taught, our teachers finally secured a stable or barn some 30 by 40 feet, in which they again opened school under the protection of a new military officer. Levi Coffin and I visited the school here while in session. We found about 300 persons, mostly children, crowded into this building, with seats, &c., of the rudest kind. We heard classes spell and read, the members of which little more than one year ago did not know a letter—scarcely knew that there were such things as books, and knew nothing of their use.

Opportunity was given to address the school. Friend Coffin gave an account of his visit to England—told them of the many kind friends they have in that country—told them of the interest felt for them by the people of Great Britain and of their willingness and desire to do what they can to help them in their present condition. He read to the school a letter written and signed by a number of English girls in a school at York who were doing something for them. It is a sweet spirited letter and was listened to by all the scholars with marked attention. We cannot measure the effect it will have upon this people to know that an interest is felt for them by the Christian public of England. The whole tendency of slavery has been to destroy all feeling of self-respect—to lead them to think that no man cared for them—thereby removing one of the great motives to a worthy life. To give them now to feel that the Christian world expects them to be manly and womanly, will have a stimulating and encouraging effect. Wherever I have visited a school or addressed a congregation of Freedmen during my tour of the past few months I have felt it a duty to refer to what our co-workers in Great Britain are doing. It has been my privilege to speak

to some 5,000 adults and children—to reveal to them a nation of friends of whom they had scarcely heard. The contributions received from the people among whom you now move have done much to relieve suffering and to sustain the work of education among the freedmen but when the kindly feeling and interest which prompted those contributions are fully known to and understood by the Freed-man, the fact will awaken sincere gratitude to the donors and at the same time inspire a new-born respect for themselves. I never before saw so clearly the moral effect of true benevolence on those who are its objects.

I was pleased to find a rare species of bean growing in the gardens at the camp from seed that had been presented by an English horticulturist.

Hendersonville, Tennessee.

We next went to the camp at Hendersonville, a station on the railroad about half-way between Gallatin and Nashville. Here there is a camp of about 400 freedmen, located on the abandoned farm or plantation of a Confederate colonel who fell at St. Donelson, I believe. This place was favoured with an abundance of timber, so that the coloured people were enabled to build quite comfortable cabins. These are a portion of the multitude that was driven into Nashville by the advance of the rebel army under Gen. Hood, by which all the camps in Central Tennessee and Northern Alabama and Georgia were broken up and destroyed. These came to Hendersonville stripped of almost everything but the scanty clothes they had on, and these were worn and torn by the trip they had made in waggons, in box railroad cars, and on foot. They have been here for several months, but with no means with which to purchase, and with neither the opportunity or ability to make anything by labour, they only have such clothes as have been distributed to them from our Society. But women who have so many children to care for that no one will hire them, and aged and infirm persons who can only work two or three hours a day, under the direction of the superintendent of the camp, are raising about 300 acres of corn and other products which now promise well. The crop is to be their own—another among many

illustrations that the coloured people will work without the lash if the common motives to labour are before them.

As soon as the camp was established here last spring we sent two teachers there to teach and distribute supplies among them. They have been labouring there some four months, and already have scholars who can read in the Second Reader. To make this plain, I will say that they are first taught the alphabet and words of one syllable on charts; they are then formed into classes in the spelling-book; after a certain degree of advancement they are transferred to the First Reader; then to the Second, and so on through the series of six books, the highest being a complete rhetorical guide.

At Hendersonville there is also an Orphan Home or Asylum in which there are now about 20 children under the immediate charge of a faithful and kind-hearted coloured woman—though our teachers give such general supervision as it needs. We have arranged to have a comfortable suit of clothes or two made up for each of these children from the material which has been sent us from England. We have discovered that it ensures a very salutary effect to discriminate as carefully as may be in our distributions giving the finer and better articles to those who manifest a willingness to do what they can. Of course in this none are passed by—none forgotten or neglected to be relieved—but simply such a discrimination is made as will constantly teach them that industry will be rewarded. As many of our schools are having vacation and as I wished the Industrial education at the camp named to have more attention I instructed our teachers to hold only a forenoon session of the common school and devote the afterpart of the day to sewing. By devoting so much time to repairing and remaking old clothes and making new, they may accumulate a valuable store before the cold season shall be upon them. Of one thing I can assure you, Aunt Mary (the coloured matron) will be a happy woman when the “young’ns” are clad in their new English clothes.

Yours truly,
J. M. WALDEN.

FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS FOR PART OF JULY AND PART OF AUGUST, 1865.

CASH

Mr. John P. Thomason, Bolton, ...	5	0	0
Geo. Kitching, M.D., Enfeld	5	0	0
B. G. B. at Barclay's & Co. ...	1	1	0
John D. Haddon, Wellington, Somerset	1	0	0
J. B., Stroud, Gloucestershire	0	12	6
2nd remittance fr. Halifax through Mr. G. Webster	70	0	0
Collected at Barnet through Mrs. W. Joslin	1	13	0
G. A. Calder, Esq., per Dr. F. Tomkins	5	0	0
Messrs. J. Corderoy & Co., 24, Too- ley Street	5	0	0
Mr. H. Mays, through Barclay's ...	5	0	0
J. W. Probyn, ...	5	0	0
From Baptist Sunday School Chil- dren at Rye, Sussex	0	3	11
From Manchester through Friend's Central Association	300	0	0
	£404	10	5

Per Hon. C C. Leigh.

Birmingham and Midland, F. A. A., per B. H. Cadbury	200	0	0
Leeds Freed-Men's Aid Society, per Thomas Harvey	50	0	0
Clogher Anti-Slavery Association, Augher, County Tyrone, per Mrs. Isabella Waring Maxwell	80	0	0
Messrs. Finlay, Hodgson, & Co. ...	50	0	0
Messrs. J. S. Morgan & Co.	50	0	0
Rev. J. Kennie, Workington, Cum- berland	1	10	6
Rev. John Stock, Devonport	0	7	0
	£481	17	6

Per Rev. Crammond Kennedy.

Per F. G. Caah, Esq., Gloucester	43	7	0
Miss Delvallé per Miss E. B. Bacon	0	10	0
Per. B. Cory, Esq., Cardiff	24	0	0
Miss Terrey's Collecting Card	0	8	0
Per H. Newman, Esq., Leominster	14	8	6
Per Rev. Thomas Davey, Boston...	20	0	0
Per J. H. Watson, Esq., Cockermouth	14	17	7
By omission and overcharge	4	0	0
Mr. Alfred Whymper	0	10	0
Per Miss Ashley	0	10	0
Balance of Profit on Concert	1	16	6
Per Rev. Charles Short, Swansea	55	1	3
Per Henry Belasco, Esq.	1	10	0
	£180	13	10

Per Miss Sarah P. Remond.

James Stansfeld, Esq., M.P. ...	2	0	0
Mrs. William Ashurst	0	10	0
John Scott, Esq.	0	10	0
Little Maurice Hill... ..	0	0	9
Little Margaret Hill	0	0	5
Collection at Roslyn Chapel, Hamp- stead — William Robson, Esq., defraying the expenses	13	4	4
Hermann Brecknell, Esq.	0	10	0
John Bidley, Esq.	5	0	0
Miss Norah Hill	0	7	6

£22 3 0

L.L.E.S., per Mrs. P. A. Taylor, Hon. Sec.	4	0	0
" "	5	12	0
" "	11	2	0
" "	11	15	0
Mrs. Henry Brown	15	10	0
* £5 10s. of this amount was contributed as follows:—Mrs. Wood, £2; Mrs. Hemming, 10s.; Mrs. Hill, 10s.; Mrs. Slack, 10s.; Mrs. H. D. Brown, 10s.; Mrs. Conway, 5s.; Mrs. Squire, 2s. 6d.; Miss Semes, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Stedman, 10s.; Mrs. H. Brown, 10s.			

GOODS.

Per Rev. Crammond Kennedy.

Ship C 431; New Brentford Mrs. Haynes	12	19	0
" 501, Bath, R. P. Edwards	33	12	3
" 452, 453, "	79	11	4
" 454, "	43	3	7
" 456, Leominster, H. New- man	12	1	3
" 457, Camberwell, Mrs. Cart- wright	29	19	6
" 510, Peckham Rye Chapel, Miss Syrett (Inclosure)	8	0	0
" 533, Alnwick, Miss Dunbar	10	0	0
" 563, 564, Edinburgh, Rose St., Presbyterian Church A. Pyfe, Esq.	92	5	11
" 463—466, Halifax Freed- Men's Aid Society, Chas. Webster, including cloth from Messrs. Crossley to the value of £101 7s 6d.	218	7	6
1 Pkg. from Bardfield, Essex ...	10	0	0
4 from Northampton	52	0	0
2 from Leeds	34	0	0
Besides others per Messrs. Johnson. Johnsons & Co., Blomfield Street			

Total in Cash and Goods £1773 4 1

THE FREED-MAN.

OUR PLAIN DUTY WITH RESPECT TO THE FREED-MEN IN AMERICA; AND THEIR PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL GARRATT, M.A.,

One of the Honorary Secretaries of the Freed-Men's Aid Society, London.

FOUR millions of human beings—men, women, and children—have passed in America within the last four years out of slavery into freedom, and are in urgent need, all of them of education, which while in bondage the law denied them, and many of them of food, which they have not been accustomed to provide for themselves, being fed by their owners like his oxen or his horses.

It needed no foresight to convince the most thoughtless that one result of emancipation and the war combined would be an immense amount of want among vast masses of the coloured people whose masters were many of them ruined, and most of them reluctant to submit to the change in their relations with their servants, and also among other vast masses who had flocked for the sake of freedom within the lines of the Federal army. In that flight from slavery many must have perished, and when the survivors reached their destination they came in naked, and footsore, and famished, and ignorant. A miserable condition truly, but yet in their eyes a happy one, because, as they so constantly expressed it, their prayers were answered and they would die free.

Writing for English men and English women, I need not pause to explain this. If any of my readers think that it would have been happier for those people to have remained slaves, I do not write for them, or ask their help. It is recorded to the disgrace of the Israelites that they did once think that slavery with plenty was preferable to freedom with scarcity. The Negroes do not think so, and, in spite of words which have been spoken during the last few years, I will not believe that any British Christian does reckon in his heart that a hungry freeman is worse off than a pampered slave.

It is not so well known as it ought to be in this country how great the effort was with which while the war lasted negroes made their escape from slavery. An impression, which must be ascribed to a Divine influence, that the war would result in their deliverance, and that like the Israelites of old they had only to

"stand still and see the salvation of the Lord," a favourite text with many of them, restrained them from acts of violence, and from attempting flight under hopeless circumstances.

But when escape was possible they underwent willingly every risk and hardship to effect it. An eye-witness relates how while a battle was raging in the neighbourhood he saw numbers of men, women and children arrive within the Federal lines, who had taken that opportunity of slipping into freedom. "They had no shelter, little clothing, and no food, but such as the more fortunate coloured people gave them, or such as the Freed-men's Aid Societies supplied. They arrived in the evening, some of them having made a detour of sixty miles, footsore of course and wearied. Some were almost white, others black as ebony. There was no murmuring among that group. I took aside nearly fifty of them. 'Are you not tired,' said I, 'and do you not wish yourself back again at the old home?' 'Not so tired as we were last night,' said one of them, with hope beaming in his countenance; 'and though we should like to go back to the old place, we came here because we were resolved to be free.'" And Dr. Tomkins says distinctly, "I did not meet with a single negro who did not spurn the idea of going back into slavery. All desire to be free, though they may suffer and die."*

A great duty lies upon the people of this country to help in the work of providing for the necessities of these emancipated slaves.

In the first place there is a very urgent necessity for assistance.

One result of so great a war has been the draining all the resources of the United States. In the north the support of an army reckoned by millions, in the south, in addition to this, the presence of an hostile armed force of such immense magnitude exacting contributions, the blockade of the ports, and the breaking up of the compulsory labour system have exhausted the wealth of the country. And while the Americans in the Northern States are making the most strenuous efforts to supply the necessities both of whites and blacks in the South, it is a task of overwhelming magnitude.

Writing from Nashville, Dr. Walden states that there are 10,000 coloured people in that city and its vicinity, of whom 500 only are in the Freed-men's Camps. The rest support themselves at present by their own labour. But then, as he observes, this labour is dependent on the existence of the army. As that dissolves, the work it has created ceases. The coloured soldiers will have to make their homes in the Freed-men's camps, or in huts about the city, and it will be difficult for them at first to find employment. "From the time," he says, "the grand problem before us was first presented in the course of the providential

* "Report of a Mission to the United States from the Freed-men's Aid Society, London," by Fred. Tomkins, Esq., M.A., LL.D., of Lincoln's Inn. Dr. Tomkins adds, "Nor did I meet with a confederate soldier"—he saw many prisoners of war—"or white men in the South, who did not at once admit without the slightest hesitation that slavery was the cause of the war."

development of the war, I have had an abiding faith in its successful solution; the more I travel among this people, the more I visit them in their lowly homes—talk with them, and learn their tempers and spirits—the less do I have to walk by faith in regard to their future; nevertheless the darkest period of their transition from slavery to freedom is not passed. Unless I greatly misapprehend the signs of the present there will be scenes of suffering among them as fearful in character, and greater in extent, than anything witnessed during the past four years.”*

The condition of the negroes on plantations is perhaps worse: “Go beyond these cities, and we find there is not a fourth of a crop of produce in all the South. I can but shudder when I think of all the facts that we must take into consideration in forming an estimate of what is before the Freed-men in their civil and social exodus. I wonder if God will not strangely and powerfully move the hearts of all the human and philanthropic to efforts in behalf of this people, that will more than provide against the impending suffering. I trust He will.”†

It would be easy to multiply proofs of the great necessity of the case. No one is likely to question the fact that such a war must be followed by appalling distress, and that the emancipation of four millions of people implies a transition period, in which, during the change of owners into employers and slaves into labourers, great difficulties would arise in the adjustment of wages, and of a hundred other questions, leaving out the possibility of masters forgetting that they must pay, and Freed-men forgetting that they must work. The real question which needs answering is not as to the necessity for help, but as to the possibility of making it effectual.

In the second place, then, there is every reason to hope that all difficulties will be eventually surmounted.

The American Government and people—the Christian people of the Northern, and especially of the New England States—are setting themselves to work in thorough earnest: indeed they have done so all through the war. With the armies have gone forth Christian men and women, under the sanction of the Government, and assisted by the State, on the sole and blessed mission of feeding, clothing, and educating, those who escaped from bondage.

The Freed-men's Bureau is a government office established for the purpose of tiding over the difficulties of the transition period. General Howard, who is at the head of this establishment, states that its four objects are—first, to regulate labour; secondly, to encourage education; thirdly, to form relief establishments; and, fourthly, to secure justice to the freed people. For these purposes the office has been entrusted by the Government with large powers, which seem to have been exercised with much wisdom. General Howard has insisted on the making of contracts between the labourers and their employers, has recognized the agency of benevolent institutions in seeking work for unemployed

* Letter from Dr. Walden to the Rev. H. M. Storrs, D.D., 22nd July, 1865.

† Dr. Walden's Letter to the Rev. Dr. Storrs, 22nd July, 1865.

negroes and recommending negroes to employers in want of hands, and has had authority to let lands abandoned by their owners and taken possession of by the Government, in small farms, to the Freed-men. "Immense numbers of blacks," says General Howard, "have followed our armies in their marches through the enemy's country. Eight thousand followed General Sherman through South Carolina. These were all turned over to general Saxton, who distributed them among the islands abandoned by their owners, and taken possession of by the Government. Each has the rental of forty acres, more or less. This plan, under General Saxton's supervision, has succeeded, and has been followed elsewhere. Near Norfolk, near Richmond, and opposite Washington, abandoned houses as well as lands are rented by coloured people or by the employers of such. All these means have been taken to give the Freed-men the practical fruits of freedom. Some may ask, Do they give these results? In answer I would say that wherever a fair opportunity for their trial has been given the success has been even greater than we could have anticipated. At Davis' bend, on the Mississippi, the coloured people have already laid up more than a hundred thousand dollars."*

General Howard states that at first the Government allowed the teachers of schools to draw army rations, but that this, being contrary to law, had been of necessity discontinued, but that they were still granted to orphan asylums, homes, and hospitals supported mainly by voluntary contributions, on the ground that most of the inmates of them were separated from their homes in consequence of the war, which is a proof of the willingness of the Government to do all in their power. We know by our own experience in the Lancashire cotton famine that it is not easy, or perhaps desirable, for a government, as a government, to undertake the relief of distress.

But perhaps the most important work of the Freed-men's Bureau is securing justice for the coloured man. General Howard drew up a circular directing "that during the interregnum while the military power was releasing its hold, and the civil power was not re-established, courts should be established by the officers of the Bureau, and that in them the testimony of freed-men should be received." In the Southern States the laws do not allow the evidence of coloured persons to be received against whites. Till these iniquitous state laws are repealed the ordinary judges cannot do justice. The Freed-men's Bureau, under the national authority, assumes the provisional power of superseding the State tribunals.

General Howard refers to the supposed difficulty of the white and black race living permanently together in the country. He says: "I know that I can employ a negro and he and I can live together, and if that is the case there is no reason why another two cannot do so likewise. It shows that it is not a natural instinctive repugnance in us against the blacks. Further, I am con-

* Speech of General Howard, "New York Semi-Weekly Times," August 22nd, 1865.

scious that I could employ twenty-five negroes on a farm and live with them, not only without hating them, but could love each and every one of them. I will use that strong term. But, you say, 'that is not social equality.' Social equality is an absurdity. It does not exist anywhere—not here in Augusta. But, 'in talking of employing negroes, you suppose the white man was superior.' Perhaps in the average he is. But 'would you like to see white men employed by negroes?' In answer I would say that in Washington, one of the wealthiest citizens is a coloured man, and he employs white clerks, who can not only endure the degradation, but are very glad of the employment. He transacts a very large business at home and with the West. This may seem to you an anomaly—an absurdity. It is not; it is simply uncommon. There is a prejudice and there is a conventionalism against it, but the prejudice is not radical nor instinctive, and all conventionalisms are liable to change."

Be it remembered that this speech was not delivered in Boston, or Philadelphia, or New York, or even at Washington, but at Augusta, in the heart of Georgia, one of the great depots of the Confederacy. He goes on as follows:—"Let me tell you my method of solving this question—how to rid ourselves of this prejudice. It is, get more of the Spirit of Christ. That will substitute love for hate in our prejudices. But, you will say, 'this is not practical, the love of Christ is not so wide spread as to render this available.' Well, then, interest will do it. We cannot dispense with their labour."

And he adds words which I cannot forbear quoting: "I believe that when God sent us forth to liberate this oppressed race He did not mean that they should be wholly engulfed. He intended that they should be free, and free to some purpose. If we attempt to re-enslave them, or to bind any heavy burdens upon them, He will chastise us again and again. The signs of the times are that God means that we shall do right." He concludes as follows:—"The Bureau over which I have been placed is a responsible post, and in its administration I need your earnest support. Yet it is a work that especially needs the Divine blessing. It is God's work. It is a benevolent department of the Government, placed at Washington, that the Christian churches and voluntary benevolent associations, and all lovers of justice may have a friend near the head of the Government. They can rest assured that their interests will be cared for, so far as it is in the power of the Bureau to do it. The responsibilities of the administration are yours, and the country's, as well as mine, and if we discharge them in the fear of God, doing what is right in His sight, and dealing justly with the people for whose benefit the Bureau was established, we may truly make our nation what we all wish to be, 'a nation whose God is the Lord.'"

With such a spirit in the Government, we have reason to hope that success will attend their efforts. They are not only working in earnest, but in the fear of God; and there is no instance on record of God being publicly and nationally honoured and refusing His blessing. The voluntary labourers to whom refe-

rence is made have left their homes to establish schools in the Freed-men's camps. In spite of the prejudice against the black existing in the North,—of which so much has been said in this country, but which is in reality nothing but the stigma of slavery, which always degrades a race in the eyes of free men, and is fast dying out, if it is not dead already,—numbers of devoted voluntary teachers have left their comfortable homes to live, and some of them to die, among the freed negroes. Wherever there are masses of liberated slaves congregated together, ladies from the North are to be found, like Florence Nightingale and her companions in the Crimea, attending to hospitals, distributing relief, teaching in the schools, and binding up the wounded hearts of the long oppressed people. The house of the late President of the Confederate States is inhabited by some of them, who are teaching his former slaves to read their Bibles; so is the house of Governor Wise, who signed John Brown's death-warrant, a daughter of John Brown himself being one of the number. In fact, they are showing in the most marked manner their repentance for the national sin by wiping out its traces, and repaying in what is more precious than gold the unrequited labours of so many generations. Can we doubt their success, or refuse the share they invite us to take in it?

Thirdly, the results as far as the negroes are concerned are highly encouraging. It is not to be wondered at if some negroes on their first deliverance from slavery, are not disposed to work so much as they ought; the wonder is that men accustomed from infancy to associate labour with the lash should be inclined when free to work at all. That they are so is owing to the persevering efforts of these Christian teachers, and still more to a marvellous Providence, which through the dreary years of bondage has kept alive the hope of deliverance and prepared them for it.

Norfolk is one of the places at which large bodies of negroes are congregated. The following is an account from an English eye-witness of one of several schools in that place established by the Freed-men's Aid Societies, and taught by ladies from New England who resided together in the house of Captain Semmes, of the "Alabama," then in Richmond—just before the close of the war—in charge of the Confederate rams. His house was taken possession of by the government and converted into a Teachers' Home. "There were about 600 pupils," Dr. Tomkins writes, "on the book;"—this was one school out of many—"there were young men and maidens, old men and old women. Men and women turned threescore years were learning to read; some had just learned their letters, some could spell out easy sentences, some had passed through the first and second readers and were in the third, some could read the holy gospels, some few—not many—could read the epistles. I spent two hours visiting this school and examining the classes. I utter strictly the truth when I say that, young and old alike, all are resolved to learn. They find it pretty hard, they say, but they will not give up. I did not find a single man, woman, or child among the negroes, who, having begun to learn to read, had given up the task

as hopeless. They are patient and good learners, and are fast outstripping the poor uneducated whites. They sing and smile and learn. Thank God, they have now many friends to stimulate them. The whole work is being conducted in an atmosphere replete with religion that is exceedingly encouraging. I cannot doubt but that wonderful results will follow.

"When I saw those five hundred adults striving under circumstances so little favourable—for most of them were working hard during the day—to acquire knowledge,—when I saw them so deeply solicitous to read the Book of God, and felt that that Book had been denied many of them to their old age, then I felt slavery to be a huge offence. I said to one gray-headed old man who seemed to be working very hard at an easy lesson in the Bible, 'Why don't you give up? you will soon know all about God's word in a better world.' 'Yes, massa,' said he, 'but I want to know about it in this.' Those people were supporting the school themselves."*

The men were supporting by their industry the school in which they were learning to read the Bible.

Dr. Tomkins reports from various places he visited, such as Roanoke Island, where there were about three thousand negroes, and New Berne in North Carolina, at that time a great Negro settlement, the most thorough, patient and successful industry. He found them at New Berne engaged in all the business of life. "Hundreds," he says, "of heads of families are earning a competency; some are actually beginning to get wealth. There are men earning from three hundred to three thousand dollars a year in that city, men who were but recently slaves." In fact they accept the duties of freedom as joyfully as its privileges "I guess, massa,"—said a negro, just escaped, in reply to an observation by Dr. Tomkins that some people said they were lazy and would not work—"that if they will give us the chance they will find out their mistake. I have supported my master and myself all my life, and I think I shall be able to take care of myself in the future."

That was in the spring before the close of the war. As late as June Dr. Walden bears witness to the industry of the Freed-men in places he visited. In Davis's Bend, which is nearly an island formed by a sweep of the Mississippi, and formerly the residence of Mr. Jefferson Davis, there are 4,000 emancipated negroes, including 1,250 who had been just brought there, a flood having destroyed their cabins and stripped them of everything which they had gained since their escape from slavery. Even these were patiently labouring to repair their losses. The rest were prospering. "I questioned," Dr. Walden says, "many of the coloured persons I met as to their mode of employment, compensation, degree of contentment, &c. The road we followed led directly through the plantations. The large fields were planted mostly in cotton, some parts in corn. The first man I questioned I found to be a hired hand. He

* Report presented by Dr. Fred. Tomkins of Mission to the United States to the Committee of Freed-men's Aid Society. London, May 4, 1865.

pointed us to his employer, a man much younger and quite as black as himself, named Willis Penn. There is a coloured man in the island, a Mr. Montgomery, who keeps a store here, and has an interest in several tracts of land that are being tilled. Penn is one of his partners, and is working about seventy-five acres. Montgomery has the store independent of his other interests, and has advanced capital to those whom he has made partners in raising a crop. Penn has two hands employed to assist him in cultivating the seventy-five acres. We found him planting corn in a spot where the cotton had been 'drowned out' by the recent high water.

"I next found three women working a large garden, and on enquiry ascertained that a small company had formed themselves into a community and leased ten acres, which they were working in common. By subsequent enquiries I learned that in these two ways the whole island is now being worked, some who were able leasing tracts and hiring help; others banding themselves into little communities to work the land they jointly lease."*

The writer adds that some of the lessees were coloured men from other States, who were free before the proclamation of emancipation, and were drawn to this spot by a spirit of enterprize, and others, both of the lessees and the hired labourers, had been formerly slaves on the estates they are cultivating."

One of these estates was that of the late Confederate President, and while it is impossible not to be struck with the sort of political justice here exhibited—his lands divided among his bondsmen, who cultivate, as free-men, for their own advantage, the acres which once they worked under the lash, as slaves, for the benefit of another, and his house inhabited by teachers of those whom the laws which he fought to maintain forbade to be taught—most Englishmen will hope that a speedy return of Southern landowners to their allegiance and their duties as citizens of the United States will prevent the actual confiscation of their estates. And, therefore, while these instances are abundantly sufficient to show the capabilities of the negro, and his willingness to work, and open the prospect of abundant prosperity for his race in the future, we must not regard them as examples of what is likely immediately to happen, except under circumstances which, however favourable to the coloured people, we should greatly regret if milder measures would suffice.

For the most part we must expect that the freed-men will be the labourers of their former owners, and pass through privation in consequence of their poverty while protected from their oppression. Even in Lancashire, men, however industrious, could not work when there was no employment. The Southern planters have not the means, and too often not the will, to recommence energetically the cultivation of their fields. There must be a period, during which wages will be finding their level and masters learning how to employ free-men, of great and wide-spread distress; but the evident elasticity of the negro character, and the hand of God so manifest in the whole of these events

* Letter from Dr. Walden to the Rev. Dr. Storrs, 15th June, 1865.

gives us every reason to believe that, if Christian men in America and in our own country help in the emergency, the difficulties will all be overcome, and a once down-trodden race be transformed into an industrious peasantry.

A fourth reason why we in England should take part in this great act of reparation to an oppressed people is the fact that we are partners in the crime.

Slavery was introduced into North America and maintained there under the sanction of British laws. It is matter of history that at one period since the War of Independence the conscience of the Southern planters was so moved by the iniquity of a then unprofitable system that they actually thought of abolishing it, when a sudden demand for cotton for the English market silenced its voice, and gradually raised the accursed crime to the level of a Divine institution. This was the result simply of English gold. "In the midst of our too pharisaical self-complacency, let us remember that we have made the South what it is," said the "Manchester Examiner and Times," while the war was raging.* "If slavery is an evil, we have fostered it; if a crime, we are the perpetrators. Every factory we have built for the last twenty years has been a buttress and outwork of slavery. We have bought the produce of slaves, manufactured it in our mills, sold it in our shops, and worn it on our backs. We have grown rich by the toil of slaves. The great fortunes which have been made in these districts may be traced to Southern plantations as much as the fortunes of the slave-owners themselves. We relieve ourselves from blame by throwing it upon the system, but this is the apology of the slave-owner—the chief difference being that he admires the system of which he pockets the gains, while we, in pocketing the gains, denounce the system."

We have suffered comparatively little during the American war. The Lancashire cotton famine was tided over with less difficulty than could have been expected to begin with, and the nation was perhaps never richer than at the present moment. But surely we have reason to fear lest He who gave, to use President Lincoln's words, "to both North and South this terrible war, as was due to those by whom the offence came," should not leave England without her share in the scourge, as she has shared so largely in "the wealth piled by bondsmen by 250 years' unrequited toil,"† and shall do wisely as well as rightly in taking our part in the reparation by our voluntary offerings. To do so on a national scale would be an act of national repentance, and might avert much evil, for with the spectacle of America before our eyes who can doubt that God deals with nations retributively, or that God is just?

A fifth and last reason may be drawn from the obligation which lies upon us to help in bringing to a successful issue an emancipation which was the result in part of our own example and our own expostulations.

I pass over the last five years since the war broke out. We shall be glad as

* November 29th, 1862.

† Inaugural Address, 16th March, 1865.

a nation to forget much that has been said and written under the influence of a temporary madness, inflamed by a few pro-slavery journalists. But in the New Jersey Democratic Convention* resolutions have just been passed ascribing the war to "the fanaticism of the Abolitionists" in their opposition to slavery. And had we no share in arousing this opposition? Half-a-million signatures of women of Great Britain and Ireland were attached to an "Affectionate and Christian Address" to "their sisters the women of the United States of America" upon this very subject, including the names of persons of all ranks, from the foot of the throne downwards, and concluding with these noble words—"We acknowledge with grief and shame our heavy share in this great sin. We acknowledge that our forefathers introduced, nay, compelled the adoption of slavery in those mighty colonies. We humbly confess it before Almighty God; and it is because we so deeply feel and so unfeignedly avow our own complicity, that we may now venture to implore your aid to wipe away our common crime and our common dishonour."

That address was sent six years before the war broke out, and it had its effect. "No one act, perhaps," says Mrs. Stowe, "ever produced more frantic irritation" in the slaveholding states, "or called out more unsparing abuse. It came with the whole united weight of the British aristocracy and commonalty on the most diseased and sensitive part of our national life; and it stimulated that fierce excitement which was working before, and has worked since till it has broken out into open war."

It doubtless had its effect also in strengthening the resolution of the opponents of slavery; at all events it helped to bring about the consummation, not in the way which English women or American women designed, but which God determined; and shall it be said that now these slaves are freed, and all that remains is to provide means for enabling them to meet the first difficulties of their new position, the women of Great Britain and Ireland, so ready to denounce the crime, and own their own complicity in it ten years ago in language so true and just and penetrating as to draw forth "a flood of indignant reprimand" from the slaveholding states, will withhold their silver and their gold, and that power of persuasion with which God has endowed them, and which they know so well how to use with their fathers, brothers, and husbands?

Surely not! Nor must we forget that if Englishmen did not address them on this subject collectively, as English women did, they made Americans in other ways conscious of their feelings. Our Emancipation Act was their continual reproach, and if we did not speak they knew what we thought. The slaveholders felt themselves, as one of them expressed it, "under the ban of the civilized world," and their fellow-citizens shared in the dishonour, and while somewhat resenting our silent blame were stirred up by it because they know it to be just.

* "Times," 11th September, 1865.

The tone adopted in this country during the war surprised and irritated them, as well it might. But now let them see that we are ourselves again, and ready to take our share in binding up the wounds of the race we have shared in oppressing. It is our plain positive duty, and the sooner it is done and the more liberally the better will it be for us and for them.

PROGRESS AND PROMISE.

We are indebted to Maurice Williams, Esq., of Liverpool, for an extract from a letter written by a gentleman of high standing in Boston, United States, well known to ourselves; his testimony may be implicitly relied on.

"The returned soldiers are all absorbed, you see few uniformed—they seem to be glad to get them off and to go to work. It was very fortunate that peace came in the spring, when farm labourers were much needed. The accounts of the Freed-men vary with the prejudices of the observer. I am satisfied that wherever they are treated decently they work well and I am sure there will be less trouble with them than with the ignorant whites. I also feel very certain that the rebel states will be kept under military control until equal political rights are secured to all. In the meantime, the high price of cotton will make a great competition for negro labor, and when it gets to be time to prepare for next year's crop, such competition will secure good treatment and protection against abuse. From Missouri, where guerillas prevailed, we have accounts of absolute peace; real estate, especially improved lands, rising in value very rapidly; negroes returning to their homes, where they are employed for wages; and rebel and union soldiers fraternising without the least animosity. The other border states cannot resist such influences, and by another spring this picture will apply to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Such is my view of affairs."

GOODS WANTED BY THE SOUTH.

THE demand for goods during the winter promises to be great, as the people are in need of everything from pins and needles up; and, what had not I think been much calculated on by anybody, the negroes are coming forward as large consumers. It must be said, in fact, that the effect of emancipation is to furnish four millions of customers to the North for articles which blacks never used before.

Their love of good clothes is well known, and they now buy them, as well as tea, coffee, and other luxuries, or, as we should call them, necessaries, of which in the old slavery time they knew nothing. The importations, I am told, of the black settlements on the Sea Islands, near Port Royal, are nearly, if not quite, as large in value as those of an equal number of New Englanders. The effect of this great and sudden addition to the demand upon northern industry will doubtless during the next year be very large, and it is already felt. The autumn trade has rarely before sprung up at so early a period of the season as this year, and there is for the north a promise of a winter of extraordinary prosperity and activity.—*From Correspondent of "Daily News," New York, Sept. 2, 1865.*

WE are happy to say that the circulation of the FREED-MAN increases. As we are desirous of the support of all who are interested in the great work now going on, we beg to suggest to persons friendly to the improvement of the Freed-men that they may greatly aid our labours by donations for the gratuitous circulation of the FREED-MAN. Contributions may be sent to any of the officers of the Freed-Men's Aid Society, or to the Editor, at Mr. Partridge's, Paternoster Row, London.

THE following important communication has been received in answer to a document presented by a deputation of the National Committee to Earl Russell:

"Foreign Office, July 20th, 1865.

"Sir—I am directed by Earl Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th inst., forwarding a memorial of the several Freed-men's Aid Societies upon the subject of Slavery in North America; and I am to state to you in reply, that sympathy for those engaged in abolishing slavery, and joy at the prospect, have been already expressed in Parliament and in Despatches.

J. Hodgkin, Esq.

A. H. LAYARD."

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

All orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to ARLISS ANDREWS, 7, Duke Street, Bloom-bury.

We are compelled to reserve many articles for a future issue, owing to great pressure on our space.

The Freed-Man.

OCTOBER, 1865.

GENERAL HOWARD.

THE gentleman whose name we place at the head of this article, was chosen by the late President as the chief of the Freed-men's bureau. This Bureau is a department of the Government attached to the United States War Office; called into existence for the purpose of overlooking and controlling the affairs of the freed-men and the white refugees of the Southern States. When this department was established, the appointment of its head was a matter of great anxiety to the friends of freedom. We believe that no better appointment could have been made than that of General Howard to this important and trying position. General Howard is a scholar, a gentleman and a christian. He was educated for the military profession at the West Point Military School where he greatly distinguished himself. At the time of the breaking out of the Rebellion he was engaged as a Professor of Mathematics at Bowdoin College, in the State of Maine, but at once relinquished the toga and went into the army. His great abilities and scientific acquirements secured for him an appointment as colonel of engineers.

He served with McLellan before Richmond, where he lost an arm. He became a general, saw much service in the South, and now he presides over the Freed-Men's Bureau. On the evening of the 28th of August last, General Howard addressed an immense meeting of the citizens of Chicago in behalf of the Freed-men of America. Every portion of the hall in which he delivered his speech was thronged by a most respectable and highly interested audience of ladies and gentlemen representing the best circles of society in the city, together with a number of colored people, who came to learn what is to be done with the recently emancipated people of their race. We regret our space does not allow of our giving the entire address of General Howard: we will however endeavour to present the principal points in his speech.

The General first gives an account of his appointment, and then says

All matters concerning refugees, freed-men and abandoned lands, were committed to the commission. Abandoned and confiscated lands were to be set apart in a certain section, and allotted to freed-men. It spoke of certain benevolent objects, and that was to be the whole. Everything else was to be left to the commissioner to arrange. As soon as I had got everything in order at Washington, I made my proposition to the Secretary of war to separate the work into three divisions—one of lands, one of labor, and another of schools, and obtained as good an officer from the army as I knew, for the work of each division, with a corresponding secretary.

General Howard appointed his subordinates, and amongst them Colonel Eaton, well known to many in this country for the active part he has taken in the cause of the negro in the West. The General adds—

The main thing was justice—the claim for simple justice for the freed-people. We find in the South some willing to act, and acting justly toward their former slaves. Others, even good men, are so imbued with a life long prejudice that they cannot act justly toward them. Still others will not. Now, some one asks how does the Bureau propose to secure this justice for them. The War Department has established military departments all over the South, as it has in the North. Officers are stationed in every state and in all the important towns to enforce the will of the government. Unfortunately, many in the South and others, even among our own officers and soldiers, hate the negro. They always have, and they always mean to. These are not disposed to deal with justice towards the blacks. Others are always finding difficulties in the way, and imagine more than they find. The old masters come around them and persuade them that either they themselves must control the negroes, or the Government must exercise absolute authority over them. Hence pass orders and other odious restrictions are issued which sometimes almost make me think it impossible that the promise of freedom to the coloured race should be sustained.

During the last four years General Howard has studied slavery in the South, he says: "I studied the character of the system, and concluded that if certain features which were apparent in it were necessarily attendant upon it, that there was something rotten, radically evil, in the whole system." A host of advisers were at hand to instruct the Head of the New Department in his duties. General Howard says:

They came to me and advised me concerning many matters; they wrote me letters asking me what I intended to do, and telling me that I must not do this or that, or that I must do something else. I also had letters from the North, each one proposing a plan for the settlement of the entire question, sometimes based on experience in the West Indies, sometimes drawn from the case of a remote island in the

ocean, sometimes from a few months' experience as teacher in the South. Thus I had a variety of plans from all parts of the country, every one proposing a complete settlement of all questions. I looked them all over, examined them thoroughly. I wished simply to have the best plan for effecting the desired object. The War Department placed everything, letters, documents, recommendations, &c., in my hands. It was a difficult task, and I will tell you how I set about the work. It would amuse you to hear the different projects whose adoption would make all go well. The claim of the South is that the negro won't work. Every man who loves the institution is in favour of compelling the negro to work—either himself or that the Government should by its authority. This is the spirit I have met, but did not intend to yield to. (Applause.) I have yet to find a single black who is willing to be a slave.

General Howard gives the method and plan he adopted.

The first business was to regulate labour. There was a variety of plans for the accomplishment of this. One proposed that every former slave should leave his former owner, and that they should flock into villages by themselves, where they might live separated from the whites, and form a community. Another wanted Northern men to emigrate to the South, and employ the freed-men in cultivating the soil. Another wished to have them set to work on the Pacific railroad. Still another thought they could be most profitably employed in constructing dykes all along the Mississippi river. The plan adopted was to have former owners, as far as practicable, who had work to do, employ each the man who had been his slave. I mean where they had not left their own homes or voluntarily returned. I knew that they had been able to support their slaves, on their plantations, or rather that the masters had been supported by the labour of their slaves, and that very large fortunes had been made. The system of contracts was chosen.—You may say that that was already in operation. Well, I mean that of all the plans proposed and tried, that was selected as the best, for the

present at least. It was determined that the contracts should be bona fide agreements, in which each should have a duty to perform, and both be held to it. You may ask if it is practicable to make and enforce these contracts all through the southern States. It may not be, but it is the purpose of the bureau and of the government to encourage them by all the means in their power, and when made, to protect both parties to the contract. Some may say this is equivalent to slavery, and will lead to the re-enslavement of the blacks. No, it is not; but it is precisely equivalent to contracts everywhere. And the evils of the system are less than by any other known one. Most of the freed-men being ignorant of the rights and duties of the liberty to which they have come, if unemployed, they accumulate in villages, and their idleness leads to corruption and crime. If they can be induced to enter into contracts, they are taught that there are duties as well as privileges of freed-men. And the system thus far has worked well. The employers are furnished with labourers, and the employers get work and wages secured by a lien on the crops or something else.

There is a scientific beauty in the clear conception which this soldier has of the nature of contractual obligation. He recognises that such an obligation is a '*vinculum juris*'—a bond of law to which there are two parties, and he resolves to hold both to their duties. One would almost imagine that he had read the famous words of the Roman jurist, "*Obligatio est juris vinculum, quo necessitate adstringimur alicujus*"—yes, *alicujus*—"solvendæ rei." General Howard well observes that such an obligation is not slavery, but is precisely equivalent to contracts everywhere. "The second task of the bureau," he says, "in the interest of the late slaves, is the encouragement of education." This is excellent:

The free people are willing to feed teachers

if they would only come to them. I think that it will be done, and it secures what we want—self-sustaining schools. I have found that black people are like other human beings—they have pride like the white people. They don't like to be pauperized or regarded as paupers, and if they can do something to aid in teaching themselves, they are glad to do it. It is found that they will attend those schools most where they are obliged to pay the most. The entire withdrawal of aid would spoil the schools; it must be withdrawn gradually. We must aid them now; we afford the same protection to churches; where preachers or teachers desire help which we can give them, we are glad to give it.

The third means used by the bureau for its work is the formation of relief establishments. These I divide into orphan asylums, homes, and hospitals. The orphan asylums are mostly conducted by voluntary associations; rations are issued to them, and will probably continue to be issued for some time; some of these contain striking cases, where relief is called for imperatively.

There is something exceedingly interesting in the following extract, and in the Socratic manner in which General Howard conducts his argument, which will recall to the classical reader the colloquies recorded by Plato of the great Athenian.

When I was in Washington a delegation from South Carolina came to see me; one of them, a very influential gentleman, said, "we went to war for two things; one was the eternity of slavery, the other State supremacy to the United States—I state it in so many terms—went to war for two things; the one a wrong, to perpetuate it, the other to establish the impossible problem that the part is greater than the whole." (Applause.) He said "we have failed in both, and we give it up." I said to him, "you have given up slavery and State supremacy (I do not like State rights, but State supremacy), you have given up this?" "Yes." "I want, then, to ask you a few questions. "Can the blacksmith know too much of his work? or the machinist, or the

engineer, or any other mechanic?" He admitted that no working man could know too much about his trade and business. "Well, then," I said to him, "do you admit that it is better for a State to educate its labour than not to do so?" Yes, he would admit the principle. "Well, then," I said, "if you are an influential man, go home and work to educate your poor people without regard to colour." (Applause.)

By our schools we secure the gradual elevation and education of the race, so that if we can go on as we have begun, it will not be long before they are fitted for much higher duties than they are now competent to perform. It will not be long before they will be in position to demand the full rights of citizens, and compete with the whites for a fair chance in labour and business.

General Howard touches upon the question of colonization, and reminds one of Henry Ward Beecher, who long before the war commenced, in his own facetious manner proposed the colonization of the slave-owners as the only feasible plan. The General says:

Now, speaking of colonization, I say let colonization go on; I advocate it. Colonizing agents came to me and I greeted them heartily. Colonize, but do not force. Go with them; show them fine lands; send them to Liberia; but if you wish to colonize by force, colonize your enemies and not your friends. (Applause.)

In almost the concluding paragraph this good man says—

I am opposed to a permanent establishment in Washington for the purposes for which the bureau labours. I think our only efforts should be with a view to an end of all this. The subjects are entirely matters for state control; and when any State shows that it is able and willing to undertake the work—willing to take care of its own poor, and to deal justly with its coloured people—we shall be disposed to let them; not until then.

The bureau over which I have been placed is a responsible post, and in its administration I need your earnest support. Yet it is a work

that especially needs the Divine blessing; it is God's work. It is a benevolent department of the Government, placed at Washington, that the Christian churches and voluntary benevolent societies, and all lovers of justice, may have a friend near the head of the Government.

We ask all our readers candidly to consider the extracts we have the satisfaction—and a high satisfaction it is—to place before them. In the tones of this philanthropist there is the ring and cadence of the parent voice. "England expects every man to do his duty." It is duty—the 'quid oportet,' what ought I to do?—that engages this man's thoughts and soul. Right nobly does he conclude:

There have been times of chaos and confusion when any man who would acknowledge the truth would say he knew not what to do—when the right might be crushed and the wrong triumph, when the men who loved their country were despondent, down-hearted, and tearful, and if we do not discharge our duties and responsibilities in the fear of God, then, my friends, He will chasten us again. Now, to prevent this, it is necessary for every man and child to do his duty. I have spoken to you freely to-night, and I thank you for your patience; but that you may do your duty, I trust you will not stop here with my remarks. Each man, woman and child may ask what is my part? What sacrifice can I make; what work have I to do in this peculiar period of our country's history? I am almost as sanguine as I was in the war of my country's success, that our nation will be conducted through this transition period, and be more prosperous and become the centre and outspringing of influences that will not only bless our country, but be the source of blessings to the world. (Applause.)

THE Committee of the Freed-men's Aid Society meet every Monday at two o'clock at the Anti-Slavery Society's Rooms, No. 27, New Broad Street, City, E.C.

Correspondence.

WE call attention to the following letter of the Hon. C. C. Leigh. We deeply regret to learn that Mr. Leigh is obliged so soon to return to the United States. The interest created by Mr. Leigh, both in this country and on the continent, requires to be followed up by himself personally. The constant change in American advocates is both expensive and involves a loss of power. No one could have done better than Levi Coffin, Dr. Storrs, Sella Martin and the Hon. C. C. Leigh.

To the Editor of the "Freed-Man."

Dear Sir,—Finding that the hot weather, excitement of elections, &c., prevented me from appealing to the people of Great Britain to advantage on behalf of the Freed-men, I left England for Germany. My first work was to have translated into German an address and an appeal, which I had done through the kindness of Dr. Jacoby in Bremen; having published five thousand of them, my next work was to have them sent to the various newspapers in Germany, as well as to benevolent individuals in Bremen and its vicinity, having first appointed a responsible Treasurer to receive all funds. I then proceeded to Hamburg, where the same thing was done, and in addition a strong committee was formed consisting of the first merchants and bankers in the place. From thence I went to Berlin, and performed the same labour, and effected the same result. The committee in Berlin, however, will be a more general committee, and will send an appeal from this capital to all Germany. I then proceeded to Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, where a similar committee was created, and an address and circular will be put in the hands of most of the inhabitants of that large and flourishing city. I then went to Heidelberg and interested the friends in our cause. In all these places, and others not enumerated, I met with a hearty welcome, and the strongest assurances were made to me that the negro should not be forgotten in his distress by the Germans, and that we might expect good results from their efforts, in money

and in clothing. From thence I went to Paris, where I found our friends mostly away from the city, but I made arrangements for a future meeting, which I am now preparing to attend. I trust I shall be able in a short time to organize a central committee in Paris, and have auxiliaries throughout the departments in France—for the French are in earnest in this matter, and appear determined to do their duty to the poor blacks; all classes of the people are interested in the work, and we are in hopes of making it yet more general. The ladies in Paris have exerted themselves nobly: 84,000 francs have already been collected by them alone; many garments have been made and shipped to New York. The Freemasons also are taking up collections in their lodges. The same good work is going on in Switzerland; Dr. D'Aubigné has written a fervent appeal in behalf of the Freed-men; M. Lermont, avocat, is president of the Association; M. Boissier and M. Turlinden, avocat, secretaries; and M. Martin Charles agent. The head quarters are in Geneva, but they hope soon to have auxiliaries in all Switzerland. The ladies in Geneva have collected some 3,000 francs, and have made up 830 garments for women and children, valued at 2,500 francs. These goods are now on their way to the Freed-men. Thus this charitable and humane work is calling up the benevolent and the good of many different nations, creating a community of interests, a bond of union, a brotherhood, working goodwill towards each other, and in the hands of, and directed by, our common Father, I consider it one of the means He is using to bring about that long-promised day when war, that scourge of humanity, will no more exist—when the horrid engines of death will be turned into implements of agriculture, and none shall hurt or destroy, but all shall be ready to help his brother, and universal and continued peace exist. Thus this charity is doubly blessed—it blesses those that give and those that receive.

No one more regrets than myself that I am compelled to quit this interesting field of labour, where so much good can be done, both for the black and the common cause of humanity. Up to the first of November I propose to prosecute the work on the continent,

and then return to my dear native land, where I hope still to continue labouring for the good of my black brother.

Yours truly,
CHAS. C. LEIGH.

LETTER FROM
THE REV. J. M. WALDEN, M. A.

Cincinnati, July 26, 1865.

Rev. H. M. Storrs, D.D., London, England.

My Dear Brother,

In my last letter to you I spoke of the growing magnitude of the work before us in connection with a statement as to what would be the local demand at Nashville. Since my return to Cincinnati I have received a communication from John Ogden, a very competent person whom we appointed to act as Field Agent in Central and Eastern Tennessee and Northern Alabama and Georgia, with delegated authority to organize and establish schools where an immediate demand should exist. From this letter I find a confirmation of all that I have written in regard to the probable extent of the work in that vast region. I will transcribe such paragraphs as I think will be interesting to you and all others who are anxious to gather information in regard to the condition and wants of the Freed people of America.

I may say in regard to Mr. Ogden that he has been a practical educator for years, has been Principal of the Ohio State Normal School, and otherwise prominently identified with the educational system of this state.

"Chatanooga, Tenn., July 17.

"Rev. J. M. Walden, D.D.

"Dear Sir,—Your excellent letter of instructions was not received until this morning. I was glad to know that my course met your approbation. I agree with you in reference to the magnitude of the work and the manner in which it should be prosecuted.

"I returned from my trip in Central Georgia last Saturday, the 15th. I found the work there immense. In conversation with General Wilson on the subject he remarked that we needed five hundred teachers for that part of the State, and that if we would furnish them he would do all in his power to aid in the work. He granted me all the build-

ings I desired in Macon. In Atlanta I effected a temporary organization by appointing Rev. David Young superintendent, and three coloured persons, whom on examination I found competent, as assistant teachers.

"I effected a similar organisation in Macon by appointing two white ladies as teachers who were already in the work, and ten coloured assistants. There were nearly a dozen schools in Macon taught (?) by coloured persons. The inefficiency of the teachers made it necessary to discontinue these, and in their stead I organized six schools with the above-named twelve teachers, and more than six hundred pupils. There are perhaps two thousand children in Macon that can be and should be brought into schools. In view of this fact, and the fact that the towns below this point are almost as populous and quite as needy, would it not be well for me to make Macon my head-quarters when I return, and work from that point to the adjacent towns? This I trust will be in accordance with your views.

"I wish to make the schools at Macon the model for the State. General Wilson has given me assurances that Government will furnish all the buildings we shall need.

"At present our schools are in the coloured churches, except one in the old Presbyterian church on Fourth-street. After organizing these schools I watched them two or three days, and am satisfied they will do well till I can return. Then I wish to superintend them myself, and I want at least fifteen of the best teachers that can be found among our applicants. I have great confidence that with the proper facilities (such as I think can be obtained at Macon) I can make these schools popular even in the South. And then this place is to be the head-quarters of the Assistant-Commander of the Freed-men's Bureau for the State of Georgia.

"I saw General Winslow at Atlanta. He gave me the same privileges and encouragement that I obtained from General Wilson at Macon. The only reason why I did not provide for more schools at Atlanta was the scarcity of buildings. Shall we be able to erect a suitable building there this fall?

"Thus, you see, these two points, Macon

and Atlanta, are to us the most important in this part of the South. As now secured they will be centres at which and from which we may successfully work; and if the necessary means can be had I think our Commission will be able to do more than at any other points within the territory I have canvassed. Communication is now open to all parts in this part of the State—a fact that increases the relative importance of the two points named."

My dear Brother, in the above paragraphs from Mr. Ogden's letter he dwells upon the educational wants of the section through which he has passed. These are what would be the most obvious to a practical educator. It will therefore be proper for me to add a remark or two in regard to other departments of our work. When a part of the country is just thrown open to us, the extent of the educational wants of the free people is a fair measure of their other wants, of the existing demand for industrial schools, orphan asylums, hospitals, and for the means of immediate relief such as clothing, bedding, &c., and of self-help, as axes, farming tools, seeds, &c., in their season. And I may further add that the nearer we get to the heart of the Southern States the greater becomes the destitution of all classes, whites as well as blacks; and if the whites are now in reduced and even destitute condition, what must be the condition of that class who have always been compelled to depend on them for food and raiment and shelter: I met in Nashville with a man who, when the war broke out, was worth a million and a-half, that is now reduced to comparative poverty. Amid such wrecks of fortune how many freed people, old and young, are thrown upon the strand, homeless and helpless.

Yours truly,
J. M. WALDEN.

LETTER FROM W. G. HAWKINS.

Norfolk Va., June 18th, 1865.

Dear Mr. Leigh,

This is the first leisure moment I have had for several weeks, and now I am enjoying the blessing on this quiet Sabbath morning because Government has no transportation.

We, that is Rev. Benj. W. Pond, and myself are on our way to Roanoke Island, Newbern, Raleigh, Goldsborough, Richmond, &c. We have just reached here after a conference with Gen. Howard, head of the Freed-men's Bureau, who has given us every facility in his power for seeing and conferring with the Commissioners in Virginia, and North Carolina. The organisation of the Bureau will in time bring things into greater system and simplicity of working. We now understand what we are expected to do, and what the Government or Bureau will do for us. The Bureau accepts the care of four millions of emancipated slaves, and will endeavour to provide for their wants, socially intellectually, and religiously. To do this successfully the Bureau will throw a large share of the work upon the various Freed-Men's Associations. Congress gave the Bureau no money, but in lieu of money, connected it with the army, and it is officered by good and wise men, already in commission and receiving pay. Gen. Howard thinks he may even obtain some good superintendents of education among the officers thus relieving us of their support. But for teachers and their support he will depend upon the friends of emancipation. We shall therefore have to increase largely our funds. Col. O. Brown told me yesterday that 2,000 teachers would be needed in this state alone. There is a population of 500,000 negroes in Virginia: 100,000 of these could be brought under instruction if the teachers and their support could be obtained. The Bureau will also depend on us for material aid in the relief of suffering. Cols. Brown and Whittlesey, the latter of North Carolina, favour the establishment of Freed-men's stores at convenient points, and it is their opinion that with judicious management these stores can be made self-supporting. The Government seems disposed to give the Bureau all the land they need: there is much that is abandoned, and much that could be bought cheap. "*Industry*" is to be the watchword of the Bureau, and to this end all kinds of simple mechanic arts will be encouraged.

Section X of Circular 5, signed by the President of the United States directs that "Assistant Commissioners will aid Refugees and Freed-men in securing titles to land according

to law. This may be done individually or by *encouraging Joint Stock Companies.*" Col. Whittlesey wishes me to say that he will encourage any persons of humane intentions, here or abroad, in the purchase of these lands, whereby they may do much for the Freed-man, and something handsome for themselves. The Colonel thinks land in North Carolina good forest land, or rather turpentine land can be purchased for 5 dols. per acre. Other lands can be obtained where the various Southern crops may be raised. I would advise every agent or society in England who may contemplate this kind of aid, to correspond directly with Col. E. Whittlesey, Raleigh, N.C. In anything that tends to develop the industry of the Freed-men, or poor whites, you will find Col. Whittlesey a true sympathizer and wise adviser. The bad officers have been removed from Richmond, and the ease with which it was done shows that the Government means to sustain the Bureau. I was here at the time Col. Brown was appointed commissioner, in fact I brought to him from Gen. Howard the first notification of his appointment. He went to Richmond and conferred with Gens. Ord and Patrick, but they found, or fancied they found, a big political thing in the management of the Negro, and were indisposed to turn affairs over to him, and, in fact, placed impediments in his way. The result is, Gens. Halleck, Ord, Patrick, and the whole tribe have had their heads cut off, and Gen. Terry appointed in their place. He is a Connecticut man, and has always been a consistent republican. We hope much from him. Already things are looking better in Richmond. No more passes required before children can be permitted to go to school; no more putting live negroes into coffins and standing them up against houses for passers-by to gaze upon, with molasses daubed about the head to invite the flies. This lingering malignity of the chivalrous institution is squelched. The price of honest labour is also to be raised, and planters will be required to pay remunerative wages. All these things, especially the establishment of the Bureau and the influence that will flow from it, will have a good effect upon the reconstruction of the States. The subject of the Negro franchise is the most perplexing

one. I think the friends of emancipation should be well contented to leave the question for the present, and do that which will make the franchise certain to come in a few years. Let these people become intelligent and possessed of property, as they are sure to be in advance of the poor whites, unless they bestir themselves soon, and we cannot deny them the right to vote. We certainly cannot tax them, or make laws for their guidance without giving them some influence in the making of them. Never was there a better opportunity for the introduction of an entirely new civilization in the South. If we can through this Bureau, plant common schools, with Northern teachers, in large numbers in each state, and have the power of the government to back it up, great results must follow. The reconstructed states will not give schools to the blacks, but if the Bureau continues to be connected with the War Department and officered by some of our best men, the influence will be irresistible. The caste prejudice is however very great, and is not confined to the South. The returning rebel officers, and soldiers attribute all their losses to the "niggers," and are very cruel to them. General Saxton, writing to General Howard, gives the following account which he read the other day to a committee who called. "From the 'main land' the report is not so favourable; not far from Somerville, South Carolina, the freed-men are terribly oppressed, even worse than in a state of slavery. They have been sent to work in chain gangs, and often shot down without provocation. Bodies of murdered Freed-men have been found in the woods butchered by guerillas, who are banded together under oath to kill every able bodied freed-man off his plantation." The General sent the whole dispatch to the Secretary of War, and he intends sending it to the President. All these things will interfere seriously with reconstruction, and make more necessary a standing army. In many places, as in Richmond, they are purposely doing all they can to render the condition of the freed-man and his family worse than before the war, by throwing them unprovided adrift upon the world, and refusing to give them adequate compensation for their labour. As to teachers of coloured

schools, they would in some localities be driven away if they dared to.

But the beneficent power of the Government is ready to be displayed everywhere, and besides, and better still than all this, there is a *Divine Power* over all which has thus far led these poor people from the house of bondage, and will bring to naught every device of man that would prevent justice and humanity having their free and complete dominion. Upon the whole we have made great gain. Systems of industry and education are to be inaugurated over the whole South. The power of the Government wherever necessary will be invoked to enforce them; just wages will be exacted, and full protection to all classes will be secured. Orphan asylums will be erected wherever needed; poor farms will be established in every county in Virginia. I see not why under all these circumstances, we may not have as fine a peasantry as exists in any land. In regard to the elective franchise the following proposition has been much debated as affording a beginning in the right direction. Let Congress refuse to receive the representatives from the re-constructed states, unless they at first allow the right of ballot to the four following classes of Negroes:—

1st. The Coloured Soldier.

2nd. Coloured property holders.

3rd. All who can read and write.

4th. All who have for the past four years been members of some Christian church.

I should say a word as to the number of teachers that will be needed: 10,000 could be set at work by September or October had we the means for employing so many. I trust we shall have the means for sending at least 300. I am now here conferring with the commissioners about quarters, school buildings, &c., so that I may go home with some idea of the number we shall be expected to send to Virginia and North Carolina.

I hope to leave here to-morrow, and on my return will endeavour to give you minute details of the condition of things. I hope you are pushing ahead finely, with wisdom from on high to sustain you in overcoming all obstacles.

Believe me, yours truly,

W. G. HAWKINS,

Cor. Sec.

BRISTOL FREED-MEN'S AID ASSOCIATION.

The second quarterly meeting of the National Committee of the British Freedmen's Aid Associations was celebrated by a breakfast, provided by the friends of the cause, at the Victoria-rooms, on Thursday, Sept. 14th, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., M.P., President of the National Committee, presided, and there were about two hundred ladies and gentlemen present. Subsequently the company adjourned to another room, where a public meeting was held, under the presidency of Sir Thomas F. Buxton.

Amongst those present were the Hon. C. C. Leigh, of New York; Rev. Dr. Storrs, of Cincinnati; Rev. J. Sella Martin, of New York, and member of the American Missionary Association; Mr. P. Edwards, Bath; Colonel Willoughby, Bathwick; Mr. D. A. Fox, Birkenhead; Messrs. W. Morgan, A. Albright, W. H. Lloyd, B. H. Cadbury, and Rev. C. Brittain, of Birmingham; Mr. P. Watson, Dundee; Messrs. Bart and J. Moir, Glasgow; Mr. W. Pollard, Hertford; Mr. F. Seeholm, Hitchin; Messrs. J. Latchmore and J. Goddard, Leicester; Messrs. T. Phillips A. Hampson, T. B. Smithies, and Dr. Fred. Tomkins, London; Messrs. J. Simpson and W. Stokes, Manchester; Mr. J. F. Rutter, Mere; Mr. Smith, Southampton; Messrs. C. and W. S. Clarke, Street; Rev. J. C. Gallaway, M.A., London; Mr. Commissioner Hill, Dr. Ash, Mr. Z. Eastman (American Consul), Revs. M. Caston, W. Bruce, J. Glendenning, M. Dickie, D. Thomas (Chairman Congregational Union), W. M. Punchon, W. Sandford, S. Hebditch, — Hawkealey, Messrs. George Thomas, R. Charleton, R. Fry, H. Holland, F. V. Jacques (Secretary Bristol Society), H. O. Wills, S. Budgett, W. H. Budgett, R. Leonard, G. Leonard, H. Bennett, &c., &c.

The Rev. W. Bruce offered up an appropriate prayer, after which

Mr. Joseph Davis, treasurer, read a number of letters from gentlemen who had been invited to the breakfast, but who were unable to accept the invitations. They were from the Right Rev. Bishop Anderson, D.D., Mr. J. S. Harford, of Blaize Castle (who enclosed a donation of £50), the Treasurer of the Bir-

mingham and Midland Aid Society (who enclosed £5), Mr. Alfred Booker, of Plymouth; Mr. Samuel Gurney, M.P.; Mr. Thomas Hughes, M.P.; Rev. Wm. Shaw, President of the Wesleyan Conference, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Probert, &c., &c.

The Chairman then addressed the meeting, and said when he remembered how much and important work lay before the members of the National Committee, he felt it would not be right for him to occupy much of the time which belonged to them before the Committee met. At the same time he would say a few words to express his sense, which he was sure was also the sense of all the members of the National Committee, of the kind and thorough hospitality which the members of the Bristol Society had extended to them. He believed that great good resulted from these meetings, at which so many persons from different parts of the country were brought together. Information was extended and sympathy was awakened more thoroughly than if these meetings did not take place. He thought therefore that all those who from other parts of the country met there that day must feel with him that they owed a sense of gratitude to the members of the Bristol Society for inviting them there at that time, for taking so much time and trouble to extend their hospitality, and for making the arrangements of that morning. He thought, in looking at the work they had in hand—that of extending information, and exciting interest in the subject before them—that they had had to meet one difficulty—perhaps less now than before. That difficulty might be felt in this district also: it was, that they had been too often considered to be a political society, united together for political objects; and that their object had been more or less to express sentiments of partizanship with the North as against the South. That had been thought to be the case, and many had held back from joining the society through believing it. But he was quite sure that those who had had the object of the society in hand had done their very best to further it; and they had united with them now many who a year ago would have been called Northerners, and many who would have been called Southerners. Their object was

totally different from any political purpose (hear, hear). But they all united upon the one great principle that England should extend its charity to any gigantic suffering (applause), and that in this case the negro race in the States of America had very peculiar claims upon us. He trusted that, if there had been objections on the ground of supposed partizanship, they were dying away. He concluded by calling on

The Rev. W. Bruce, who moved the first resolution, which was as follows:—That whilst this meeting rejoices in the abolition of slavery recently effected in the United States of America, it would at the same time express its hearty sympathy with those whose transition from bondage to freedom is attended with suffering of various kinds, and with the efforts of many of our American brethren who are engaged in the arduous work of aiding them in their difficulties, and would extend a hearty welcome to the following gentlemen who are present, and who have come to this country to advocate the claims of these freed-men on our sympathy and assistance:—Hon. C. C. Leigh, of New York; Rev. Dr. Storrs, of Cincinnati; Rev. J. Sella Martin, of New York." The rev. gentleman spoke of the horrors of war, and reminded the meeting that it was the prerogative of God to bring good out of evil at all times; and he believed that the good to be educed out of the present evil was of no ordinary kind. There had been the abolition of slavery from the entire States of America, and the removal, therefore, of that foul blot from our American brethren, whom we loved, whether of North or of South.

Mr. Commissioner Hill seconded the resolution, and in doing so said he would not stay long between the meeting and the tidings which they would all be desirous to hear from their friends who had come across the Atlantic to plead the cause of the negro. This cause demanded no argument, and we recognised all the great facts. We should therefore be most anxious to learn how the great task which lay before the civilized and the Christian world was to be performed. We were to look at this great fact, that whereas four millions of our fellow beings—four millions of immortal souls, were joined but a short time ago to

bodies that were subject to the most degrading slavery, to the most hideous lot that could afflict humanity, now their chains had fallen from them (hear, hear); but freedom had come to them with destitution. Now, if there never had been slavery, there never would have been that destitution—there would have been no necessity to call upon a nation 3,000 miles away from the scene of action for assistance. Were we in any way responsible for that slavery? Had the Americans a right to make this call upon us? He thought they had (applause). He thought all Christendom—all the civilized world—was implicated in the great crime which now—thank God!—was drawing towards its termination. How was it possible that any nation, however energetic, however rich, could at any moment supply all the funds that were necessary for the support and sustentation of those four millions that were thrown upon their hands? Let each, then, come forward according to his ability, and let him join with their American brethren in this great work (hear, hear). He (the learned speaker) hoped he was not treading upon the rules which had been laid down by the chairman when he earnestly called upon his American friends to remember that personal freedom, though an invaluable boon, was not all which was necessary to extinguish the debt which they owed to the negro. He must not be considered a member of a degraded caste, deprived of civil rights (applause); he must be, and he (the speaker) trusted and believed he would be, ere long, considered as the political and the social equal of those who boasted of a different colour of skin (applause). He must be equal before the law. He had just read in the revised constitution of the Imperial State of America, as it was called in New York, "No negro can sit upon a jury." That was the law of the land at the present moment, but this law must fall before what Curran called the genius of universal emancipation (loud applause).

Mr. J. SIMPSON, of Manchester, who had recently returned from a four months' tour in the United States, gave some interesting information respecting the practical working of the institutions that had been organised there for the benefit of the freed-men, which he consid-

ered would compare advantageously with any that existed in England at the time of the cotton famine.

The Hon. C. C. Leigh, of New York, next addressed the meeting. He spoke of the success which had attended his mission in Germany, and Switzerland, where they had just commenced their operations, the ladies of Geneva having already raised three thousand francs. The speaker then called the attention of the meeting to the character of the negroes as exemplified during the last four years, and he paid a high tribute to the humility, forbearance, and patience manifested by them under circumstances of great trial, cruelty and persecution. He attributed this to their Christianity, for they were a people of faith in the Bible, God's promises, and future rewards and punishments. He advocated in conclusion the education of the negro, who was capable under proper cultivation of being made one of the best specimens of humanity.

The Rev. Dr. Storrs, of Cincinnati, after thanking the people of Bristol for their attendance that day, said the next winter would, he hoped, see the freed-men over the worst of the crisis, and he stated that the ultimate object of their friends was to raise them to such a position that they might stand on a firm foundation, and claim all civil rights.

Rev. H. I. Boper moved a vote of thanks to the president, and speaking of the general interest and influential concern which he (the president) felt in connection with the matter, remarked how well it became the countrymen of a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, a Macaulay, and a Buxton, to enter with warm and generous hearts into the question of the American freed-men (hear, hear). He (the speaker) was old enough to remember when Wilberforce, with his winning eloquence, pleaded the cause of the slave, and he listened to the first speech ever delivered on a public platform, now forty-three years ago, by Babington Macaulay, and as if it were but yesterday he remembered the graphic power with which with his father, Zachary Macaulay, by his side, he delineated the horrors of slavery. He (the speaker) shared in the general joy which was felt when on the memorable 1st of August, 1843, England having paid down the costly price of twenty

millions sterling to buy off the bonds of, the bondsmen, she lifted up her voice and sent it across the Atlantic and said to every slave. "Ye are free!" And now he thanked God that he had been permitted to live to see the end of that vile, accursed thing—American slavery (loud applause). He spoke highly of the large-heartedness of the Society of Friends—who had hereditary hostility to the demon of slavery—towards the freed-men, and said that thirty years ago they did more than any other society of Christians towards the emancipation of England's own slaves (applause).

Mr. Robert Charlton seconded the resolution, and the Rev. D. Thomas having briefly spoken upon the motion, it was unanimously carried, and the President having replied, the meeting separated.

THE COMMITTEE

Met directly after for the transaction of business, Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., presided, and there were representatives of the different societies present. The meeting, which lasted four hours, was occupied with discussions upon various subjects.

THE SECOND MEETING

Was held at the same place in the evening, under the presidency of the Mayor, Mr. W. Nash.

The Mayor opened the meeting, and said he trusted that through the co-operation of Englishmen and Americans in the work of benevolence, the spirit of universal brotherhood, and goodwill amongst men would be promoted and increased. He then read a statement to the effect that upwards of £1,400 had been subscribed to the funds of the Bristol Freed-men's Aid Society since its formation in last March. Of this sum £600 had been remitted to the "Friends' Central Committee" in London, and by them forwarded to different associations in America. £200 had been recently appropriated, directly, to the Western Freed-men's Aid Association at Cincinnati. More than £400 had been expended in materials for clothing, and about 5,000 useful articles of clothing made from these materials by the kind industry of some hundreds of Bristol and Clifton ladies, had already been shipped from Liverpool and distributed in America. Besides

these 5,000 articles already shipped, there were probably 1,000 more now ready for packing, and several hundreds in the hands of ladies in the process of making.

Mr. J. Davis made a brief speech, in which he took occasion to repudiate the idea that the society was sectarian, an idea that had gone abroad in the country.

Sir T. Fowell Buxton then moved the first resolution, to the effect that the meeting regarded with feelings of gratitude and rejoicing the abolition of slavery, and offered a warm welcome to the Hon. C. C. Leigh, Rev. Dr. Storrs, and the Rev. Sella Martin.

Dr. Fred. Tomkins, of London, stated that Sir T. F. Buxton had just handed him a cheque for £200 towards the Freed-men's Aid Association, being a gift from the Dowager Lady Buxton (loud applause).

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Joseph Simpson, and supported by the Rev. W. M. Punshon, M.A., in an eloquent speech, and having been carried, the Hon. C. C. Leigh, Dr. Storrs, and the Rev. Sella Martin replied to it.

The Rev. C. Brittain moved a resolution approving of the formation of a national committee, which was seconded by Mr. S. Budgett and adopted.

A vote of thanks to the Mayor for presiding brought the proceedings to a close.

THE Richmond Republic announces as about to appear, Circular No. 1 from General O. O. Howard, the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freed-men and Abandoned Lands, which sets apart for the use of loyal refugees and freed-men certain tracts or parcels of land and other property within the State of Virginia, to which the United States have acquired title by confiscation. These lands, thousands of acres, lie in the counties of Loudon, Fairfax, Elizabeth city, Prince William, Warwick, York, Norfolk, and the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth. The Republic says this order will be the first of a series of similar publications.

FRIENDS of the cause are earnestly requested to aid in the circulation of this journal. It may be obtained through any respectable bookseller, or direct from the office.

FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS FOR PART OF AUGUST, AND PART OF SEPT., 1865.

CASH				GOODS.			
T. Bangham, Esq., Tenbury ...	2	0	0	Ship C 581, Halifax Freed-men's			
Mrs. Green, „ ...	0	5	0	Aid Society, per C. Webster, Esq. (additional)	35	0	0
Mrs. Bayley, „ ...	0	5	0	„ 458, Per W. B. Harvey, Esq.			
Mrs. M. Heighway, Manor Hall, Limesham ...	1	0	0	Frome ...	35	19	2½
Mr. T. Seager, Wescott, nr Dorking	0	10	0	„ 460, Unknown ...	12	0	0
Mrs. Eveline Secretar ...	0	5	0	„ 592, Working Men, Broms	38	16	9
Mrs. E. Turner, Norwood ...	0	5	0	„ 579—580, Per Thomas Harvey, Esq., Leeds ...	48	0	0
Mr. Samuel Allen, Hitchin ...	10	0	0	„ 586, Ladies of Leeds ...	18	0	0
Leeds Association ...	50	0	0	„ 605, Per Thomas Harvey Esq., Leeds...	18	0	0
Lord Alfred Churchill, London ...	5	0	0	„ 566, Per Mrs. Townley, ... London ...	35	18	9
Collection at Forest Gate Chapel..	11	13	1	Miss M'Owan, Bowden	3	10	0
Dowager Lady Buxton...	200	0	0	„ 541, Per J. H. Watson, Esq. Cockermouth ...	13	0	0
Samuel Morley, Esq., M.P. ...	200	0	0	Per W. J. Smyth, Esq. Belfast ...	45	0	0
	<u>£481</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	„ Per J. Slatter, Esq. Battle ...	4	0	0
GOODS.				„ 547, Per James Wells, Esq. Northampton ...	61	11	3
Case 542, 543, Northampton ...	17	9	10	„ 518, Sundry Contributions from Cheltenham, Bermondsey, &c.	55	12	6
Per Hon. C C. Leigh.				Per Mrs. T. A. Burr, London, (4th case)	39	0	0
Boston Freed-men's Aid Society, per S. Veall, Esq. ...	20	0	0		<u>£453</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5½</u>
Luton Freed-men's Aid Society, per H. Brown, jun., Esq. ...	40	0	0	Per Rev. Sella Martin.			
Carlisle Freed-men's Aid Society, per Rev. J. E. Hargraves...	25	0	0	Birmingham and Midland Society	150	0	0
Sheffield Freed-men's Aid Society	488	19	9	Rev. Mr. Thomas, Liverpool ...	50	0	0
Per Rev. W. B. Boyce, Bishopsgate Street, Within ...	167	5	0	John Cropper, Esq. ...	50	0	0
Traveller ...	0	2	0	T. Hughes, Esq. ...	5	0	0
Miss B. M. Jones, Collecting Card	1	0	0	J. M. Ludlow, Esq....	5	0	0
Per Rev. T. Barras, Peterborough	20	0	0	R. C. L. Bevan, Esq. ...	25	0	0
Baptist Church, Imber, Wilts, per Rev. J. Feltham ...	1	0	0	Noel's Collection ...	5	0	0
Mrs. G. Lundie Duncan...	2	0	0	Per Mr. Harvey, Leeds ...	50	0	0
W. H. Collingridge, Esq. ...	2	0	0	Friends' Central Committee ...	500	0	0
Miss S. Rous, 2nd Collecting Card	8	5	6	National Committee ...	50	0	0
	<u>£725</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>890</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
				Total in Cash and Goods	<u>£2,549</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5½</u>

THE FREED-MAN.

THE COTTON QUESTION,

BY THE REV. SELLA MARTIN.

Read first at the Social Science Congress Sheffield; specially contributed to the Freed-Man by the Author.

NOTWITHSTANDING the unrealized desire of those who, in their dream of success, saw cotton enthroned and crowned king—such a king as would make even England bend the supple hinges of the knee to procure his favour; notwithstanding the unrealized dream that England would make haste to do him honour by aiding in securing his success, or become his ally in misfortune, there is much truth in the assertion of his adherents, that Cotton is King.

The cotton that grows in the pod, the labourer who picks it, the gin that cleans it, the press that packs it into bales, the ship that transports it, the commission merchant, the manufacturer, the labourer at the loom, the printer of its patterns, the dry-goods merchant, the people who wear it, the rag-picker who gathers it when it is worn out, the paper-maker who uses the rags in manufacture, the stationer who sells the paper, the writer who transfers his thoughts to it, the printer who prints the thoughts, the ink-maker who depends upon its use, the bookseller who disposes of the works, and those who read the printing upon the paper,—all these, in their commercial relations and aspects, countenance the claim of his majesty, if not to a kingdom, at least to a very large principality.

Shall he be a despot or a constitutional monarch? that is the question,—a question, the immediate issues of which affect the political bearings and prosperity of America; at the same time affecting, and that not very remotely, the mercantile success of the three foremost nations of Christendom.

In seeking a solution of this problem, let us inquire briefly what is cotton, and how it is cultivated.

What is Cotton? It is a plant with a strong and vigorous root, a quickly growing, rank and prolific stalk, with an abundant, capricious, but valuable product.

The soil on which it grows must be prolific, but not too rank. The ground on which it is for the first time produced must be chastened by maize and

pumpkins, which are gross in their nature. So exhausting is cotton, that the land on which it grows must be left to rest every third year at least. And even then, the stalk—which, on account of its gross cellular formation, its rank juices, and its weakness of fibre, decays as quickly as it grows—the stalk, or its chemical equivalents, must form the manure which makes possible a second crop.

The nature of this plant requires three things in its production. It requires promptitude in planting, constancy of attendance while growing, and great application in the gathering. Its culture is attended by these evils, namely, malaria in its locality, and rheumatic tendencies in its gatherers, on account of the dew that hangs about its pods and its abundant leaves, which keeps the hands and garments of its gatherers wet for many hours in the early morning. It is also generally exhausting to the whole system of the labourer, since to preserve the weight and quality of the cotton, he must work not only all day, but late at night, to press into bales the picking of the preceding day, as it will either become mouldy from the dampness, or dry and brittle in fibre from the quick evaporation of the dew when exposed to the sun.

There are three kinds of cotton: known as Midland, Upland, and Sea Island. The lowest of this class is that produced on lands which, though not the best for cotton, will pay best with a cotton crop. The next is that produced on what is called the prairie lands of the States of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi—lands of such a rich though clayey character, that the feet of the beasts and labourers have to be cleaned of it every half-hour, to enable them to continue their toil, so heavy is the weight. Then there is the finest species, the most expensive but the most injurious to human life in its cultivation, called the Sea Island cotton, produced only on the Sea Islands adjacent to the State of South Carolina.

This cotton requires peculiar conditions. It requires the sea-weed for manure, and the influence of the Gulf stream to bring it to its state of superiority over all other cottons. It always brings nearly double, and sometimes quadruple, the price of any other.

But, as I intimated, these conditions are secured at terrible expense to its producers. Where it grows, terrible fevers prevail—fevers contagious and deadly to the unacclimatised, and deteriorating even to the native. So true is this, that during slavery the average of negro-life on the Sea Islands was not more than seven years, nor in any other Cotton region more than nine years. The rapid decay of the sea-weed, and the humid air produced by the Gulf stream especially, breed and perpetuate the deadly malaria.

It is doubted very much by many whether any constitution but that of the Negro could be employed in the production of this cotton, as his constitution carries with it, by descent from a tropical race, a natural adaptedness to such conditions as I have mentioned, and possess a vitality that throws off the diseases peculiar to this atmosphere. Be that as it may, it is certain that no other labourer is now so acclimatised as the Negro to conditions which seem to be indispensable to the production of all cottons in a more or less degree. For

though contagious diseases, rheumatism, and general debility, do not prevail in other cotton localities to the same extent as in the Sea Islands, they are still known to prevail to some extent in all the cotton-growing districts.

It may be, and I think it is possible, that free labour will find some means of defeating the evils heretofore attendant upon the cultivation of cotton in respect to climatic conditions and diseases. Skill, we all know, or must see, was impossible with slave labour. The more complicated the machinery put into the hands of the slave, the greater his excuse for not understanding the use of it, and the greater his temptation to break it, that he might rest while it was being mended; and in the proportion of the pressure put upon the Negro to get the most work out of him in a given time, in that same proportion was the soil exhausted, so as to need a stimulant, which was both unhealthy for the land and the labourer.

But with the return of peace, companies are being formed to gather the sea-weed necessary to perpetuate the prolificacy of the Sea Islands, rather than to wait for the sea-weed to come to them, as was the case during Slavery; and Chemistry is at work, through the aid of free capital, and liberty-loving Science, in the effort to rob the sea-weed of all but its powers to enrich the soil.

And when steam and other improved agencies are put to work upon those rich prairies of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, it will be found that there is not only a great saving of Negro life, but that white men as well as coloured men, can aid in furnishing to the world a class of cotton only to be got from America.

In view of what science has already achieved, there is no doubt that cotton may be made to grow so high under the inventive genius of free labour in stimulating the soil, and that too without any detriment in the fibre, that the back-breaking and deforming position of constant stooping in picking it may be rendered unnecessary. Who can doubt that water-proof garments will be adopted under the care, forethought, economy, and humanity of free labour, so as to prevent rheumatism and other diseases heretofore unavoidable to the cotton producer? And when these improvements come, there will come with them a better class of cotton. It will be cleaner of sand, which the slave put in in former times to make the weight that his task-master required of him. It will be clearer of motes, which were introduced through the carelessness or hurry of the slave. It will be longer and more tenacious of fibre, through more scientific manuring and more artistic ginning, and the world will get more of it, on account of the new impulse under which the Negro will work, and the addition of skilled labourers which freedom will bring.

These are not speculations, but assertions capable of proof by statistics, for which I only go to one spot of experiment. On the Sea Islands, since the beginning of the war, and in one single year, the cotton was so improved in every respect, and so increased in quantity by the freed-men employed by the United States' Government, that it realized £120,000 by Free Negro labour; and the Negroes themselves there, purchased one-third of the estates that were sold by

the government, on account of the unpaid taxes. I am sorry to say that this is true only of these Sea Islands and a few other localities ; but this is no fault of the Negroes or the Federal Government. On account of the South being so devastated by war, and the war ending too late to plant crops this season, little cotton has been planted, indeed, little of all things has been planted ; so that while I have the honour to speak to you to-day, many poor whites, and still more of the Negro race, are dying of starvation, exposure, and lack of medical attention.

But though liberty has come to the Negro at this fearful cost, and, though English as well as American charity is taxed for his present relief—to which thank God, both nations are nobly responding—though, I repeat, his liberty may be leaner than his slavery for the present, the members of this Association have this reason for rejoicing, that henceforth the stoppage of cotton will not chill the energy of the manufacturer, nor starve the household of the operative in Lancashire, through slavery trying to prove its shameless and tyrannical boast that Cotton is King, even at the expense of involving the nations in war.

The conclusion of this Article will appear in our December Number.

ON SLAVERY AND THE FREED-MEN.

BY THE REV. ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D.

WE are gratified in being able to add the testimony of Dr. Vaughan in regard to the Freed-man, to that which has already been presented in this Magazine. When we gave our vote for the appointment of Dr. Vaughan as a delegate to America, at the Sub-Committee of the Congregational Union, although on important points we were at issue with the good and learned man, we felt convinced that Dr. Vaughan, upon his return, would utter his convictions truthfully and manfully. This he has done. We have now deeply to regret that he has resigned the British Quarterly into other hands.

Of course Dr. Vaughan has much to say respecting slavery and the Freed-men. One of the effects of the war, it is shown, has been to place the antecedent condition of the slaves beyond dispute, and to utterly disprove the slaveholders' allegation, that the negroes were contented and happy, and enjoyed a high degree of domestic felicity. The forcible separation of husband, and wife, and children, instead of being rare, is proved to have been frightfully prevalent, and that by the direct operation of the system of slavery. Another fact revealed is the astounding mortality among coloured children in slavery—the deaths frequently amounting to five-sixths of those born ! “One of the first things,” says Dr. Vaughan, “that arrested my attention when I went to inspect schools consisting of the children of freed slaves—of scholars, in fact who were themselves until yesterday young slaves—was the gradation of colour I saw among them. The shades graduated from an African blackness to a whiteness in which scarcely a trace of the opposite colour could be seen. But all, by one side at least, were of African descent. The fact tells its own tale. Of the three thousand people

whose marriages were registered at Vicksburg last year, more than one-third were found to have white blood in their veins, more or less. So the relations of black and white have become a corruption to both, and a corruption which has been such in many cases as cannot be reported to modest ears. Surely it was time that this 'sum of all villainies' should come to an end, though at a heavy cost. I inquired of many coloured men and women as to their ages—no one had any knowledge of it. So lost among them had been the affections which make note of such facts."

GENERAL LEE AS A SLAVEHOLDER.

General Lee fills a high place in the esteem of many persons, and Dr. Vaughan is far from wishing to detract from his just reputation; but he relates a well-authenticated circumstance to show that the irresponsible power which the slave system gave to the slaveholder over his slave may be very perilous even to men deemed honourable and humane. A little while before the war General Lee came into possession of an estate that had belonged to Mrs. Curtis, who became the wife of Washington. Now, "it was a provision in the will of Curtis, that at his death the slaves on the estate should be free. Lee construed that document so as to require the slaves to remain in bondage five years longer. Hitherto Lee had been popular with the dependents on the estate, but this proceeding wrought a great change. The slaves threatened to leave. One did leave. This was a young woman who had been a sempstress, and a sort of lady's maid to Mrs. Lee, and had been much prized for her useful capabilities. The fugitive was apprehended, brought back, and, by order of the General, was taken to a building within sight of his residence to be flogged, as a warning to the disaffected. The young woman was required to strip herself. She refused to do so. Lee insisted on the removal of her clothes. She was tied to the post, and her owner looked on while she received, some say, nearly two hundred lashes, certainly a much greater number than such a man should have witnessed. The injured woman is still living."

A GRATIFYING CHANGE.

"No man has General Lee's power over human flesh and blood in the United States now. The great questions now are, How are these freed people to be employed? how are they to subsist? what is to be their relation to the Constitution? Assuredly this abrupt emancipation of four millions of slaves is what no wise man would have chosen, if any more gradual means of bringing about this stupendous change had been available. What such a change must involve has been more patent, I imagine, to the South than to the North, and it is natural that it should have been so. Intelligent Northern men seem to have the impression that there is about a third of the coloured people for whom no provision need be made. They have good sense, are industrious, and can take care of themselves quite as well as the same class of whites. There is another third who are well disposed, but are not so intelligent, not so apt at finding employment, and to whom some assistance should be extended. The remaining third

are regarded as inclined to indolence, and as capable in many cases of seeking subsistence by pilfering or crime. The course to be taken with these last, it is said, must be to make them understand that in their case, as in the case of white men betraying the same tendencies, the apostolic maxim, 'If a man will not work, neither shall he eat,' is to be accepted as law. If they do not seek to live by voluntary labour, society will subject them to forced labour, and will feed them accordingly. But look at this case, even as thus presented—a third of four millions needing help; and another third, if they work adequately, many if they work at all, needing to be coerced! To overtake such a difficulty, will demand resources difficult to calculate, and still more difficult to obtain. Surely if England can help America in this great work, nothing is more fitting than that the help should be given."

GLASGOW FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY.

On September 22nd, a public meeting was held in the City Hall, under the auspices of the Glasgow Freed-men's Aid Society, for the purpose of hearing addresses by a deputation on the condition, capabilities and prospects of the Freed-men of America. Bailie Salmon occupied the chair, and on the platform among other gentlemen, were Councillors James Moir, James Thomson, and John Burt, the Rev. Dr. N. Macleod, the Rev. Dr. Storrs, of Cincinnati, the Rev. Dr. Lorimer, the Rev. Messrs. Sella Martin (New York), A. M. Milligan (Philadelphia), David Russell, R. T. Martin (Wishaw), Norman M'Leod, (St. Columba Church, Glasgow), and J. M'Dermid; Messrs. Robert Paterson, Robert Woodside, Wm. Smeal, Wm. Gray, Alexander Craig, Andrew Paton, Wm. Melvin, Alex. Graham, Wm. Forsyth, James Smith, jun., George M'Kinlay, James Smith, sen., John Taylor, J. Wilkinson, W. Logan, &c. The attendance was not so numerous as might have been wished, the hall being scarcely more than half filled.

The Rev. Mr. M'Dermid having opened the meeting with prayer,

The Chairman made a few remarks.

We regret that our limits do not allow of our giving the able and eloquent addresses of the Rev. D. Storrs, the Rev. Sella Martin, and the Rev. A. M. Milligan, of Pennsylvania. We invite special attention to the speech of Dr. Macleod.

The Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod rose amidst great applause to propose the next resolution.

After a few introductory remarks, he said—We quite understand the nature of this meeting. No resolution is passed pledging any person in this meeting to accept any interpretation of the politics of the past in America. If there were any here who had sympathy with the South in their struggle, it would not be in the least inconsistent on their part to come here to-night, now when the war is over, and to support those gentlemen in the claim they make on this country. On the other hand, there are those we know here who have sympathised with the North—I beg to say that my sympathies with the North were unchanged from the beginning. (Applause.) I never altered my conviction for one moment regarding the justice of that cause, and never in the darkest darkest hour did I lose hope of the grand results that have already been achieved—(loud applause)—results greater than have been achieved by any country in modern times; equal to the results that have been achieved in any war since the world began. (Renewed applause.) Twist the matter as we like that great war turned essentially upon the question of slavery. (Hear, hear.) The question before the war; the real question of the war was this—is the negro a man or is he not—(hear, hear)—is my friend Sella Martin, the slave, a brute or a brother. (Applause.) I shall never forget as long as I live when I was offered for sale a woman with a child beneath the shadow of the capitol of America. The sight of that woman on the block was a more terrible sight than the sight of any martyred sovereign on the scaffold. It

was an insult to humanity—(hear, hear)—it was an insult to that race of which Jesus Christ had been born a brother. (Applause.) I felt it to be an insult to myself, as belonging to that race, so horrible was the spectacle. I read with horror the declaration made at the beginning of the war—before it broke out—by one of the most distinguished of Southern clergymen—a man to whose Christian character the highest testimony is borne—and he uttered the sentiment which I read in a sermon sent to me, that God Almighty had consecrated the south for this grand and noble end—the establishment and propagation of slavery throughout the world. (Hear, hear.) That was the consecration of Satan, and God has brought contempt upon it. (Loud applause.) This great emancipation, this freedom in America has cost much, but it is worth all it cost. (Hear, hear.) You cannot weigh gold and silver against truth and justice. (Applause.) You cannot weigh material power or material value against the souls and bodies of men. (Renewed applause.) If a heathen could say that the Heavens should pass away, but let justice be done, surely the Christian may say—Let five hundred millions or any sum of dollars be spent, and men's lives be given, but let justice and truth prevail. (Applause.) Never, never shall we say again that a slave has been sold on the continent of North America. (Great applause.) Never shall we hear such doctrine as I have announced advocated by the Church of North America; and when that mighty result has taken place—the emancipation of four millions of the human race, the ending of slavery among Christian nations—I am amazed, I am ashamed, I am humbled for my country that it was not received with greater thanksgiving. (Applause.) It would have been worthy of us if a holiday had been proclaimed as a day of thanksgiving; if every bell had pealed a tone of thanksgiving it would have been worthy of the land; but hardly has there been any recognition of it in this country, and there ought to have been a greater recognition of it to-night in this hall. (Applause.) We have heard, in days long gone by, much said about America, and contempt poured upon her because she had the blot. Ever and anon we were speak-

ing of American slavery as a blot; and if men in this country received a farthing of money that had been taken from the South, you had the walls all posted with the words—"send back the money." (Applause.) Where are those enthusiastic friends of the slave now? (Hear, hear.) Why this mysterious silence, I want to know, throughout the land? Where are our influential men, now so few, as it were to say Amen; to give an echo, to give a welcome to this almost the first deputation—men of eminence in America—how few to give a hearty welcome to this, as it were, the first demand for sympathy made upon us by the American people! (Applause.) I feel it quite a compliment to be permitted to bid them welcome. I recognize them as representatives of a new era—of an era which was inaugurated when England grasped the hand of America with full heart and with tearful eyes over the dead body of one of the greatest men that ever lived, Abraham Lincoln—(enthusiastic applause)—of an era, we may say, in the history of these two countries, when for the first time for nearly half a century, we shall be permitted to meet free America, the America of the North—(applause)—meet face to face and deal with her, and not with the South—(renewed applause)—of an era which I do not think it requires to be a prophet to predict will be marked by a peace, by a vitality, by such a union as ought to exist between two of the most Protestant, and two of the freest nations of the world—(applause)—of an era, I am convinced, which will be marked by an irresistible influence that will be exercised upon mankind by those two nations at once the most free, the most Protestant, and the most prosperous on the face of the earth. (Applause.) To me there is something more important than this demand for money. Four or five hundred millions of pounds have been spent—spent in a terrible war sufficient to harass any country, but the country which has spent this money—not one farthing too much have, in their generosity, and in spite of the terrific taxation, raised for charity, charity to the soldier, charity to add to his comforts, charity to the wounded, to the sufferers by the war, the sum of two millions sterling. (Applause.) This was the people who assisted

us in our distress in Ireland, this was the people who assisted us in our distress in Lancashire. (Applause.) These are the persons who now come with the tremendous problem which you have heard fully explained to-night—they say that we have ourselves borne a portion of this guilt; anyhow we belong to one family. Come and help us. We have sunk the pirate ship; bear a hand, and help to rescue the sailors who were in the ship from drowning. (Applause.) I should be aggrieved and ashamed to think that this great community—this great nation to whom freedom is a hereditary thing—(hear, hear)—will refuse to help our brethren in America in such a crisis as this. (Hear, hear, and applause.) But it has a deeper meaning. When the Apostle Paul went to the Gentiles to ask their contributions to the poor, his appeal was not merely that the rich should assist another in trial, but I believe Paul had something more at heart—a Christian desire to unite the two portions of the Church, and draw them together. I look forward to the time when the bond between us and America will be more closely drawn together, not through the newspapers—(hear); but through the convictions, and through the principles of the Christian members and Christian ministers of our common church. I bid those gentlemen welcome. We welcome them with our open hearts and open hands. I hope we shall also welcome them with our open purses. (Applause.) I hope they will return back to America and assure their brethren of the fact that there are thousands—aye, tens of thousands—whose names may be unknown, or whose words may not cross the Atlantic, who have the deepest respect and affection for America, who feel this—that the progress of Christianity and of Protestantism throughout the world, and the progress of truth and genuine civil liberty, depend chiefly now in this world upon England and America. (Great applause.) Our poet has been alluded to. Our Burns, I shall not say, was the greatest poet that Scotland ever produced, but, with very few exceptions, the greatest poet the world has ever produced. I pray with him

“Come it may,
And come it will for a’ that,

When man to man the world o’er
Will brithers be for a’ that.”

I have transgressed my time, for which I ask your pardon. Taking up the resolution which he had undertaken to propose, Dr. Macleod said—I am very sorry my eyes are failing me, though I am not dead yet. (Laughter.)

Rev. Dr. Lorimer seconded the motion, and it was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks, on the motion of Councillor Moir, to the Chairman for having presided, concluded the proceedings.

LETTER OF MR. JOSEPH SIMPSON.

We are indebted to Robert Alsop, Esq., for the following communication, which we present to the readers of the “Freed-Man,” with much pleasure. We can add our testimony to its accuracy.

Woodlands, Eccles, near Manchester,
September 9th, 1865.

My dear friend, J. H. Tuke.

Having now returned to England after a four months tour in the United States, it may be well to give your Committee, in as concise a form as possible, the general impressions left upon my mind in connexion with the Freed-men’s work now going on in America. I will sum these up briefly, leaving statistics and general information for others to supply.

In regard to the condition of the Freed-men themselves, I may state that I fear an almost incredible amount of destitution and misery prevails, and will continue to prevail, amongst them; and though this is inseparable from a state of violent change, it behoves all to do their utmost to mitigate its horrors. The United States Government seems fully alive to this; and the “Freedmen’s Bureau” is increasing in efficiency every day, and labours diligently to suppress outrage and injustice towards the coloured people. Many good Abolitionists were at first inclined to question the usefulness of the Bureau. They feared it might be rendered comparatively useless by the trammels of official red tapeism. But, thanks to the wisdom and the energy of the head of the Department, General Howard, it is now doing a noble work, and daily proving a real blessing to those whose interests are committed to its keeping.

Speaking of the American Freed-Men’s Aid

Societies, I feel bound to state my conviction that better organizations do not exist anywhere than those of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Cincinnati. Of these I can speak from personal knowledge. Doubtless the same remark applies to others. During our "Cotton Distress" in Lancashire I acted on two working Committees for the distribution of funds amongst our mill "hands;" and I can safely say that neither in simplicity of organization, freedom from party bias, economy of working expenses, nor a conscientious desire to discharge a solemn duty in an honest straightforward way, do the American Associations come one whit behind any Committee of which I have any knowledge. It is a noble sight to see the way in which men of all shades of religious and political belief (opulent business men and others), cheerfully unite in this work, sparing neither time, money, nor fatigue, in promoting the welfare of the Freed-men which they deem a sacred trust. They feel that such a chance of doing good may never occur again; and now that they have got the small end of the wedge safely inserted, they mean to "drive it home" with all their might whilst opportunity offers.

Without hard and continuous work nothing can be done in this field. Just before leaving America I attended a meeting of the Pennsylvania Freed-men's Relief Association, and found that even this single body have 23 schools in full operation, and above 3,500 scholars, exclusive of those in the Sewing Schools. To keep these establishments going not less than £1,000 per month is required. These facts are enough to convince any one that there is plenty of work for us all; especially when taken in connexion with the announcement that not less than 20,000 teachers are wanted at the present time in the South, involving an annual cost of £1,200,000.

The feeling towards the coloured people is much more satisfactory in the North than it was four months ago. They have more true friends there, though their enemies are still many and strong. What is now wanted is, that they shall be educated, so as to fit them for the duties of citizenship; and, though it may even be years before they obtain their full and equal rights, I feel sure that we can-

not aid them better in this matter than by furnishing them with those educational advantages which have hitherto been so studiously denied them.

Already England has done much in this good work, and few things pleased me more in my travels than the oft-repeated expressions of gratitude to the "mother country" for her timely aid. I know that these thanks were sincere, and am equally satisfied that few things will tend more to bring the two great countries into that true concord which should ever exist between them, than such an evidence of brotherly sympathy as our English subscriptions would afford.

And now, at the risk of repetition, I may state as the result of my observations—

First,—That an almost incredible amount of destitution and misery prevails and will continue to prevail, owing to the disorganised condition of society in the immense area over which the Freed-men are distributed, and the hostility of Southerners to their former slaves.

Second,—That as a rule the Freed-men are not only capable of sustained labour, but most desirous to obtain employment at equitable wages; that they are *not idle but anxious to work*.

Third,—That wherever Schools have been established, the Freed-men, both young and old, have shewn an extraordinary desire and capacity to learn.

Fourth,—That the American Government is endeavouring, through the agency of the "Freed-men's Bureau," to protect and care for the millions of Freed-men so suddenly cast upon it.

Fifth,—That the Christian population of the Northern States, through its various Freed-men's Aid Societies, are working with a zeal and energy which cannot be surpassed, to mitigate the distress, and to teach and enlighten the coloured population.

Sixth,—That the sympathy and aid of the English people in this great work are most gratefully appreciated, and have already done much to soften the hostile feeling which was engendered towards England during the war.

And Lastly,—That this sympathy and this aid are still imperatively required.

I remain, thine, very truly,
JOSEPH SIMPSON.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

All orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to ARLISS ANDREWS, 7, Duke Street, Bloomsbury.

MERCHANT, Ipswich.—Messrs. Gripper & Co.

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NOVEMBER, 1865.

WORK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

Whilst the Rev. Dr. Storrs, the Rev. Sella Martin, the Rev. Dr. Channing, and others, are at work pleading with earnestness and eloquence the cause of the Freed-man in various parts of Great Britain; the Hon. C. C. Leigh, with an energy and a success that is remarkable, is forming organizations in aid of the emancipated men, women and children in America, all over the continent of Europe. We have before us pamphlets and speeches in French, German and Dutch, and we know that it is the wish of Mr. Leigh to penetrate Italy, and to secure the aid, as we are sure the cause has already enlisted the sympathies of Gen. Garibaldi himself.

We have had much intercourse with the gentlemen at present in this country from the United States, and for the simple earnestness and directness of their efforts they could not be surpassed. Mr. Leigh has visited Holland, Northern Germany, the Palatinate, Switzerland, Belgium and France—at present he is in Paris, and wherever he has been, to the honor of our Continental neighbours, he has at once enlisted the sympathies of all classes of the community. In a recent communication, Mr. Leigh says:

Amsterdam, October 1, 1865.

Here I am among the Dutch. Thus far my mission is a glorious success. The poor blacks will from this date have a host of friends in Holland. I first called on the old and respectable banking house of Hope & Co, who examined with great care my credentials, and who requested me to call again in two hours. When I returned they had read my speech delivered in London, and at once said they would do all in their power to make my mission a success. On consultation, they concluded to have my speech translated into Dutch and then distributed gratuitously, then to have a short appeal drawn up by a Divine whom they named, whom I waited upon and who at once consented. This appeal is to be published in all the papers, with influential names attached to it. I called upon the Clergy who at once entered most heartily in the good work; thus the good ship is launched in this rich land; I trust that it will soon be freighted with a cargo of clothes and other materials that will save many of the freed-men from death.

The Committee that I formed in Hamburg are at work most vigorously, they have put in print my Speech, both in English and in German, besides an appeal, short and to the point, in which a most earnest call for aid is put forth. Both of these documents are signed by the Committee, who, by the way, are the first men in the place.

I leave to-morrow for the Hague, to work the same work, thence to Rotterdam and to Antwerp; from thence to Paris, and to Switzerland.

In a still more recent communication Mr. Leigh says:

Antwerp, October 8th, 1865.

I have visited Holland, introduced the cause of the Freed-men, have received a hearty welcome, and have met with friends, and found success.

In Amsterdam Mr. H. M. Laboushere the head of the great banking house of Hope & Co. has aided and put himself at the head of the movement. Committees have been formed in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, and the Hague; each has issued an address to

the people, in Dutch, affixed their names to it, published my speech in Dutch also, and both will be sent to those who are likely to be interested in the movement. I herein insert verbatim, a letter I received from one of their nobles, a most influential man, who is also connected with the government. I would submit whether it would not be well for me to print his letter entire in your next issue: it will show our friends in England and elsewhere how the cause is making headway on the continent.

Hon. C. C. Leigh.

My Dear Sir,

We have just had the first meeting of our Committee: it is composed as follows:

Lt. General de La Sarras, His Majesty's late Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Rev. E. Moll, Minister of the Reformed Dutch Church.

Dr. Canadose, Tonkheer Van der Velden, Vice-President of the Supreme Court of Justice.

Mr. Groen Van Prinsterer, Counsellor of State. Baron Mackay Van Ophemert, Vice-President of the Council of State.

Yonkheer Elout Van Socterwonde, Member of the Council of State.

Baron K. T. Van Sunden, Chamberlain to the King.

An appeal was composed and agreed upon; one thousand copies of the translation of your speech will be ordered and sent forthwith with the appeal; some gifts of 130 florins have been received, and with God's blessing things will go on very well. The journal of this day contains a warm article of commendation. May our Lord and Saviour have your interesting mission in His care, and may His name be glorified by its success.

I am, my dear sir,

Yours, truly,

ELOUT VAN SOCTERWONDE.

Hague, Oct. 6, 1865.

I will add that Merchants, Bankers, rich Burgers as well as the Nobility, have joined our Committees. The Clergy, to a man, favor the cause.

Mr. Leigh adds that he intends to visit Brussels, Paris, and other French cities, as well as again to visit Switzerland. The numerous friends of the Freed-men in this country will be rejoiced to learn that the exertions of our honoured friend have been crowned with such signal success.

AID TO NEGRO FREEDOM.

PUBLIC MEETING IN DUNDEE.

A public meeting was recently held in Ward Chapel, for the purpose of receiving a deputation from the Freed-men's Aid Society, which has for its object the relief of the liberated negroes in America. The members of the deputation were the Rev. Dr. Storrs, of Cincinnati, and the Rev. S. Martin of New York. Frederick Tomkins, Esq., Secretary of the London Freed-men's Aid Society, was also expected to have been present, but a letter was received from him, stating that he was detained by the press of work in London, and besides, he was afraid that the Committee would think, as both Dr. Storrs and Mr. Martin were to be in Dundee, the expense of another delegation should be avoided. The meeting was a very large one, the church being almost filled; and W. E. Baxter, Esq., M.P. for the Montrose Burghs, occupied the chair. There were also on the platform, besides the members of the deputation, the Rev. Dr. M'Gavin, the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell, Rev. Mr. Grant, Rev. Mr. Wilson, Rev. Mr. Nairn, Rev. Mr. Ewing, Rev. Mr. Laird, Rev. Mr. Macgregor, Rev. Mr. Spence, Rev. Mr. Lang, Rev. Mr. Bailey, Rev. Mr. Baxter, Rev. Mr. Piper, Rev. Mr. Barlow, Rev. Mr. Robertson, Mr. George Rough, Mr. H. B. Fergusson, Mr. P. Watson, &c., &c. After praise, the Rev. Mr. Macgregor engaged in prayer.

Mr. W. E. Baxter, (who was received with applause) said—I do not intend to inflict a speech upon you or anticipate even by a single allusion, any of the statements likely to be made by the deputation in the course of the evening. My duty is a simple one, and it shall be briefly performed. It always gives me pleasure when American gentlemen come here to give us information regarding the affairs of that great country of theirs, with respect to which there exists so much ignorance and misconception on this side the Atlantic. The United States have passed through a fiery ordeal, a baptism of blood, and I have no doubt that Dr. Storrs and Mr. Martin agree with me that the effect will be to chasten and purify. (Applause.) They have accomplished a task perhaps the most herculean which history records, and they have succeeded not

only in wiping out from their escutcheon the foul blot of slavery, but in strengthening and consolidating a power likely to exercise a mighty influence for the good of mankind. (Cheers.) The Southern people, in their blind fanaticism refused to entertain any projects for the gradual emancipation of the negroes, they refused even to take into consideration the question of compensating them for their slaves, so God spoke in the whirlwind, and with awful suddenness the work was done. But, like all tempests, this revolutionary storm has left traces of destruction behind it—scenes of suffering, poverty, and woe, which we can assist our American brethren in their noble attempts to alleviate—sources of dangers which every good man must desire should be averted from a nation allied to us so closely by language and by blood. (Applause.) When our Lancashire operatives were thrown out of employment, you know how generously the American people came forward to relieve their pressing necessities. During that crisis and the potatoe famine, they sent us no less than a quarter of a million sterling. Let us reciprocate their good feeling and acts of kindness. Having triumphed in a great war, they have now a great social problem to solve, and difficult indeed the work is. Hindered by the political manoeuvres of the North, and by the immorality of the social system of the South, the men who are carrying on this philanthropic movement should be able surely to rely on our pecuniary aid and moral sympathy. (Hear, hear.) Such co-operation in benevolent undertakings—such interchange of good offices, tend to soften national asperities, and to promote universal brotherhood. Then, ladies and gentlemen, these destitute negroes have a claim upon us, not only because they are our fellowmen—poor and suffering—but on account of their noble conduct during the war. (Cheers.) You remember that certain people—people, however, whose predictions were always wrong—kept on telling us of the horrors that would take place when emancipation was proclaimed; and you know that, so far from such anticipations being realised, the blacks have manifested a patience, kindness, and forbearance beyond all praise. Why was it that they did not indulge in

“sweet revenge,” and, when the opportunity was afforded them, break out in deeds of plunder and violence? Because they loved their masters? Not at all; for in every instance they went over to the North, and assisted the Northern armies. Because they were ignorant? Not in the least. They knew what was going on a great deal better than the correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, and besides, ignorance directly conduces to outrage. The secret lay in their Christianity. They were better men than their masters. Knowing their Bibles, they believed in God, and felt assured that His own right hand had been stretched out to save them. (Cheers.) I hope that freedom from the yoke will not be the only reward of such trust and forbearance, and I shall be sorry if any rebel State is re-admitted into the Union where the right of suffrage is to depend on the colour of a man's skin. (Loud applause.) The Chairman then introduced the members of the deputations to the meeting.

We much regret our space does not admit of our giving the eloquent addresses of the Rev. Sella Martin, the Rev. Dr. Storrs, and the Rev. Dr. McGavin.

Doctor McGavin moved the resolution as follows:—“That this meeting express their cordial thanks to the deputies who have now addressed them, recognising the urgent need in the extraordinary condition of the coloured population in the Southern States of America, of affording them temporary help, and the claim which, especially the aged and the young of that population, have upon the sympathy and beneficence of Christians in this land, and appoint the following Committee to take such steps as may seem most desirable to obtain subscriptions:—George Rough, Esq.; Patrick Watson, Esq.; John Henderson, Esq.; Thomas. Smith, Esq.; A. D. Grimond, Esq.; Alex. Henderson, Esq.; W. E. Baxter, Esq.; David Ogilvie, Esq.; H. B. Ferguson, Esq.; Alex. Berry, Esq.; Provost Parker; Patrick Anderson, Esq.; and Alexander Anderson, Esq.”

Mr. H. B. FERGUSON seconded the motion. He said that, like his rev. friend who had just concluded, he should have preferred seconding the motion without making any remarks in a

meeting where he was sure, no remarks were needed to carry the sense of the meeting along with it; but he felt, in common with the Rev. Doctor, that it was perhaps a little more respectful to the deputation not to be contented with merely formally seconding the motion, but to offer a few observations in support of it. (Hear, hear.) Could they but rejoice—they whose boast it had been for long generations that slavery could not breathe the free air of England—they whose boast it had been that the moment the slave touched English soil his fetters fall from his hands—could they but rejoice that America was now yearning to share that glory with the country whence she sprang? His hon. friend in the chair justly said that the work which the American Government and people had undertaken was the most herculean task to which any nation ever addressed itself. He might have gone further, and said that all history, from its very first twilight down to the present hour, could not in the life of any nation show such a contrast as exists between the America of to-day and the America of but six or eight months ago. Then every day brought the sickening tidings of slaughter and bloodshed. The air rang with the wild and dissonant cry of battle—with the thunder of artillery—with the wail of defeat and disaster on the one hand, and on the other with the earthquake voice of victory. Far different are the sounds which the fanning west wind this evening brings to our shores. This very day we find in the newspapers an account of an interview betwixt President Johnson and a deputation of gentlemen from what were called the Confederate States. In the course of the conversation that occurred, Mr. Johnson exclaimed "The institution of slavery is gone;" and so far from that statement having been contradicted by the former sworn advocates of that system, they accepted and re-echoed the statement. (Applause) When they heard of such things what could they say, but that statement and that response were like the trump of jubilee proclaiming a new sunrise of light and liberty in America—proclaiming that the slave is a slave no more—proclaiming that in the New World, no less than in the Old, wherever the English language is spoken, all men are free, so that even the down trod-

den negro will ere long be able to say with one of England's greatest sons—

"He must be free, or die, who speaks the tongue
That Shakspeare spoke—the faith and morals hold
That Milton held.

(Loud applause.) His hon. friend in the chair had reminded them that oftener than once during periods of distress in their own country, America had been forward to send her aid. She did not even wait to be solicited, but generously, promptly, spontaneously, she came forward, and her sympathy, as he had told them did not evaporate in words, it enshrined itself in golden deeds. If anything farther were needed to strengthen the appeal now made, he thought it would be found in the very attitude which the American Government at the present moment held towards this country. As had been said in the course of the evening already, many public writers and public men in this country during the last four years had sorely and cruelly belied the Government of the United States—(hear, hear)—and in nothing, perhaps, did they more bely that Government than in proclaiming the wild prediction, that so soon as the American struggle should be over the armies of the United States would be let loose, like so many brigands, on the transatlantic dependencies of the British Empire. Well, the war is over, and where are these predictions now? (Hear, hear.) In the words of the great German dramatist,

"The colours are unfurled, the cavalcade
Marshals; and now the buzz is hushed; and hark!
Now the soft peace march beats 'Home, brothers, home!'"

(Applause.) The American soldier had doffed his armour, and had once more become a peaceful citizen. He had flung aside his bayonet and his cartridge box, and had resumed the loom, the anvil, and the plough. Having fought the battles of his country, and shared in her triumphs, he had returned to cultivate the arts of industry and peace. And now, instead of sending us wild cartels of defiance to mortal combat, America sent these gentlemen as ambassadors of peace, to tell us that their long-wished year of jubilee was come at last, that the chains are everywhere dropping

from the negro's hands, that they wish to help him to forge ploughshares and pruning hooks out of the fetters which fixed him, but will fix him henceforth no more; and they say to us "Will England let bygones be bygones, and assist in this work?" (Applause.) He was sure they would rejoice with every friend of freedom throughout the world that America had with her own hands wiped away the foul blot that so long tarnished her glorious escutcheon; they would rejoice that she had emerged from the fire of affliction purified and regenerated for a new and nobler career. (Loud applause.)

The resolution was put to the meeting, and unanimously agreed to.

The Chairman said he had been requested to intimate that no collection had been made at that meeting because it was understood that a general canvass was to be made for subscriptions throughout the town in aid of the Freedmen's Aid Society. (Applause.) Dr. Storrs had mentioned to him that he omitted to state that this movement had been received most heartily by all classes in England, by all religious denominations, and by politicians of every shade of opinion. He (the Chairman) had been struck to-night by the fact that neither Dr. Storrs nor Mr. Martin stated how nobly the people of the United States had responded to the appeal made on behalf of the negroes. This was perhaps modest on their part, but he thought it ought to be known that their brethren in the States had in this matter set them a noble example. (Applause.) Such confidence had he in the power, in the wealth, in the philanthropy, and in the Christianity of the United States, that he believed they might have done this great work without assistance from this country; but as fellow Protestants, as those who enjoyed the same religious and civil privileges, he claimed that they should share in this great and glorious work. (Loud applause.) He hoped the people of Scotland, and especially the people of Dundee, would show that they fully appreciated the magnitude of the crisis in America, and were prepared to do their part. (Applause.)

The Rev. Mr. Spence, in proposing the next resolution, expressed his entire faith in the reliability of those by whom any money col-

lected for this purpose was to be disbursed in America. But besides money, which he had no doubt would be given liberally, other things might be given to relieve these poor negroes, and the resolution he had to propose referred to that matter. It was as follows;—"That it be earnestly recommended to the congregations in Dundee to organise Ladies' Associations, with the view of providing clothing for the destitute coloured population of the Southern States."

The Rev. Peter Grant seconded the motion, and, in the course of a few remarks, said that whatever contributions might be given towards the assistance of the liberated slaves would not be subject to any deduction on the score of expenses of management, seeing that the distribution of the charity was conducted quite gratuitously by persons of high standing in America, who took an interest in this and every other benevolent movement. (Applause.)

This motion was unanimously agreed to.

The Chairman intimated that any subscriptions towards the object of the meeting would be received by Mr. P. Watson, to whom they were greatly indebted for the great trouble he had taken in connexion with the matter. (Applause.)

On the motion of the Rev. W. Wilson, a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman, and the benediction having been pronounced, the meeting separated.

EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.—The blacks seem to be far more thoroughly alive to the value of mental culture than the poor class of Southern whites. They are showing a most admirable and praiseworthy interest in the schools provided for them, and are likely to profit by them very thoroughly. General Forster has just issued an order in North Carolina, declaring that free schools will be provided for the poor whites of the State as rapidly as possible, and that a beginning is already made at Newbern. This is an excellent movement, and deserves encouragement. In the new order of things in the South the great mass of the people, white and black, will exert a far greater influence than ever before, and the education of both classes becomes a matter of public importance.—*N. Y. Times.*

Correspondence.

LETTER FROM

THE REV. J. M. WALDEN, M. A.

Cincinnati, July 26, 1865.

Rev. H. M. Storrs, D.D., London, England.

My Dear Brother,

Levi Coffin and I reached Nashville at six o'clock p. m., Saturday, July 15th. When I state that for several months we have had but one teacher at this very important place, you will expect me to explain the reason. When the opportunity of labouring for the Freed-men there first presented itself, we promptly dispatched an agent thither, and through him established a depot for supplies, from which, for several months, clothing and other means of relief were distributed to the needy coloured people in the city and the camps accessible from there. We also sent teachers, who laboured very efficiently, and until a few months past we had four persons in schools there. Perhaps a year ago, the Pennsylvania Freed-men's Relief Association sought a Western field in which to labour, and selected Nashville, The United Presbyterian Board of Missions had also opened schools as a part of their missionary operations among the coloured people, of whom, as a denomination, they have ever been the steadfast friends. With these societies anxious to occupy this point, we thought it wise to turn our efforts to points not supplied by other associations. It is probable that we should not now have a teacher in Nashville, had not the Superintendent of the U. P. Schools requested us to place a teacher in their schools, and thereby supply a deficiency beyond their ability to provide for. Of course we were ready to support an efficient teacher in schools that are among the best in the south, believing that no better application could be made of funds entrusted to us, and hence, after having relinquished Nashville to these societies, I can still report one teacher there. The schools, however, are now all closed for the summer vacation.

A FALLEN HEROINE.

Teachers of the Freed-men must come from the North for more than one obvious reason. It would not be generous to say that few com-

petent persons could be found in the South, but it is a fact that if such were found, few of them would become a "Nigger Teacher," as the noble men and women are sneeringly called by those who have both by social usage and civil law prohibited the teaching of the coloured race in their midst. It requires a heroic spirit to bear the reproaches and submit to the social isolation that is the common lot of those who labour in this good cause. Going from the North, these worthy ones imperil health and life by change in climate, diet, labour, &c. Before reaching Nashville we learned that there was sickness among the teachers—that some had already gone home in feeble condition. One of our teachers at Hendersonville went over with us to Nashville to lend a helping hand if needed, for there is a true christian spirit among those who are labouring in the field—they remember they have a common work but forget that they are under the auspices of different societies. When we reached the Home of the Presbyterian Teachers we found it the scene of sickness and death. Miss Johnson, who had been Matron of the Orphan Asylum in the Freed-men's Camp, at Nashville, had died the evening before, and one of the teachers was not expected to live.

The next morning we attended the funeral services of Miss Johnson. Eight persons were present. She had come from Massachusetts; after giving two years to the service of her country in ministering to sick and wounded soldiers in Hospitals, she had entered the Freed-men's work last spring—coming westward from Washington city. Fifty fatherless and motherless children had been given into her charge, and she entered upon her duties with all the zeal of a philanthropic woman engaged in the work of her choice. It is no unusual thing for those who are labouring among the Freed-men to become so interested in their work as to neglect that care for themselves necessary to preserve their health. It was so in this instance—in three months she had superinduced sickness that proved fatal. As I wrote, above eight persons were in the room to participate in her funeral services—whilst in the adjoining was the other sick teacher, attended by his wife. It is sad to

think that during her sickness the deceased was a thousand miles from her home, with no relative, only the friends of a few weeks standing to minister to her wants—and only those to pay the last tribute of respect to her memory who knew nothing of her save that she was an earnest, devoted, self-sacrificing labourer in behalf of the lowly and the suffering. It is noble to contribute means for the support of benevolent effort among the Freed people. It is heroic to turn away from home and friends and lay wealth, life, all upon the altar of Humanity.

VISIT TO A COLOURED CHURCH.

In the afternoon we attended divine service in a coloured M. E. Church. At the close of the service opportunity was given me to introduce friend Coffin. There are few considerable places in this part of the South where his name has not been long familiar to the coloured people as well as to Slave-holders, but until the present war vested the American flag with the power to protect American citizens in all parts of the country alike, he could not have stood up, publicly announced, in any southern city, although he never enticed a slave to run away from his owner during all the years of his connection with that celebrated institution—the Under-ground Rail-road. True he has assisted more than 3000—fed the hungry—clothed the naked—who were seeking for freedom, but never did he even encourage any person in an effort to entice the slave from his master—yet until recently he could not have spoken to an assembly in Nashville with any great degree of personal safety.

After some general remarks as to the interest he had ever felt in the coloured race, he gave them an account of his visit to England, informed them not only of the interest that is felt for them in that country and of the gifts that have been made for their benefit, but also of the christian sympathy that exists there—assuring them that among numbers of different denominations of christians he had often heard earnest, fervent prayers offered up in their behalf, in public assemblies, in social meetings and around the family altar. It came to them as a new revelation—a matter of wonder and delight.

"SAMBO IN A TIGHT BOX."

Such was the caption of a number of newspaper articles that went the rounds of the press of this country some five years ago, and attracted much attention even in Great Britain. I will recall the circumstances that gave rise to them—an episode that had its conclusion only on last Tuesday. On a Sabbath morning in April, 1860, Levi Coffin received a letter from Nashville notifying him of the consignment of a box to be sent by Express which would reach Cincinnati—the place of his home, that same morning. He went to the Express office to inquire for the box, but in lieu of it was handed a telegram that informed him that at Seymour, Ind., in changing the box from one train to another the lid had come off and a "darkey" had rolled out. An enterprising coloured man resolved on seeking for freedom, had resorted to this expedient to accomplish his purpose. Immediately upon his exposure he was captured without a legal process, hurried back on the next train to Louisville, and from there sent to his master. This event created an intense excitement. Friend Coffin had never learned the name of the man that had been thus consigned to him; did not know what was coming in the box when he went to inquire after it, (though he may have had a remote idea).

Now that he was in Nashville you will not wonder that he desired to see this man if to be found. We learned that he was still there. His name was Alexander McClure—a tinner by trade, who continued to work for his master until the Proclamation, but is now carrying on a shop for himself in one part of the town while his master still has his shop in another street. We found where his shop was located and on Tuesday morning called there. It was a strange meeting, that between those two men! It is no wonder that they clasped each others hands in silence and looked upon each other with an expression of pleasure and surprise.

FREED-MEN'S WORK IN NASHVILLE.

It is estimated that there are about 10,000 coloured people in Nashville and the vicinity. Of these less than five hundred are in the Freed-men's camp. One of the strangest sights to be witnessed in this now historic city

is the multitude of cabins built by the Freed people who sought a place where they might be protected and find some employment by which to secure a livelihood. I have everywhere, in every town in the valley, seen an evidence of a measure, both of industry and self-respect among them in their desire to keep out of the camps if possible. The proportion of the number in the camp at Nashville to the number in the city and vicinity, illustrates the results of this spirit. I could have counted hundreds of cabins within the city limits that these people have erected during the past two years, on vacant lots for which I presume no rent has as yet been exacted. They are the abodes of the families of men who are in the army as soldiers and labourers, and of others who find employment with citizens in various forms of industry. This is the fair side of the picture—there is another

At the outbreak of the Rebellion Nashville had a population of 17,000. Latterly there has been a heavy tide of emigration thitherward, but even this could hardly have swelled the population to more than 25,000. A recurrence of the estimated number of Freed people will at once suggest the probable disproportion between the ordinary demand for and supply of labour. As the army dissolves the extraordinary demand for labour which it has occasioned ceases. Hundreds of persons, a large proportion of whom are coloured, have been dismissed from the Quartermaster's Department alone, and the number will continue to be augmented every week from the several branches of military service. When the white soldier or labourer returns to his home in the North, he finds in an unimpaired and prosperous condition of community a demand for his labour, but it is far different with those coloured men dismissed from the public service who go home to their families in their humble abodes in Nashville and other southern cities, where, from necessity they have been located. Again, many women have supported themselves and their children in some humble way at least, by washing for officers and other salaried attachés of the army, whose occupation will soon be gone. It will be with all these coloured men and women very much as

it was with the operatives of Lancashire—brought into the saddest condition that can befall labouring classes—"out of work." Unless the demand for labour has almost a miraculous expansion, it is very evident that the coming winter will be a hard one indeed for the Freed people there—and for such an expansion there is no ground to hope.

From the time the grand problem before us was first presented in the course of the providential developments of the war, I have had an abiding faith in its successful solution; the more I travel among this people—the more I visit them in their lowly homes—talk with them and learn their temper and spirit—the less do I have to walk by faith in regard to their future; nevertheless the darkest period of their transition from Slavery to Freedom is not wasted. Unless I greatly misapprehend the signs of the present, there will be scenes of suffering among them as fearful in character and greater in extent than anything witnessed during the past four years.

In cities such as Nashville, where their numbers must almost inevitably depreciate wages, their condition will be more favourable than elsewhere in the south—and yet what in all probability must it be in these cities? The most thrifty may support themselves during the winter months; another class may provide themselves and their children with food, but must depend upon charity for clothing; another class, comprising many who have made a living by washing, &c., must be clothed and fed or perish. The necessity for hospitals, matrons and nurses, and all kinds of hospital stores, must increase in the same ratio with the destitution, if not greater.

Go beyond these cities and we find there is not a fourth of a crop of produce in all the south. We find that as the military is withdrawn, a disposition is manifested by those who have been masters, to drive from their plantations the young and feeble, the old and infirm; instances are also daily multiplying where Freed-men employed by their former masters with a promise of wages, are driven off when the crop is so advanced as not to require their further labour. Of these general statements there are many well authenticated illustrations.

I can but shudder when I think of all the facts that we must take into consideration in forming an estimate of what is before the Freed-men in their civil and social exodus. I wonder if God will not strangely and powerfully move the hearts of all the humane and philanthropic to efforts in behalf of this people, that will more than provide against the impending suffering. I trust He will. I can believe that much of the unprecedented benevolence of our people that for years has poured its ample fruits through the Sanitary and Christian Commissions to the comfort and blessing of our soldiers will now direct itself toward this remaining and almost measureless field. I can believe that our co-workers in Great Britain, through their consolidated and perfected Association, will repeat many times over what they have already done. How grand the thought—the Christian public of Great Britain and that of America jointly engaged in a work of humanity that in its magnitude transcends anything that God in His providence has ever before laid upon the benevolence of christendom!

In our interview with Gen. Fisk, Assistant Commissioner of the Freed-men's Bureau, for Kentucky and Tennessee, he said with emphasis, "I shall be compelled to make frequent and heavy drafts on your Association." He moreover indicated the necessity of our Commission at once resuming their work again in Nashville. He did not mention any reasons for this but they are obvious—or I should say the reason is obvious—viz: the field is not nearly occupied. For the past year most of the benevolent work there has been done by three societies, the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, the United Presbyterian Board of Freedmen's Missions, and the Executive Committee of the Friends' Yearly Meeting. Our Society furnished seeds and farm and garden tools—also forwarded some goods for distribution, but as above stated had given more attention to other important fields. These societies have done much for the Freed-men—have had very worthy labourers engaged there—have, no doubt, done all they could under the circumstances. It is now some months since the Friends withdrew their Teachers; according to the published Report

of the Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Society, they had one school in Nashville, with two teachers and 227 scholars, and one school in the adjacent Camp, with two teachers and 150 scholars; in the United Presbyterian schools, there were eight teachers besides the one we employed, and 650 scholars in all—so that in an estimated population of 10,000 only about 1,000 pupils have been enrolled in school. In regard to the work of temporal relief, it may be said that the U. P. Mission Board, as may perhaps be expected, gives almost exclusive attention to Education; the Pennsylvania Association cannot transport goods except at a heavy cost; the Friends, I doubt not, have done what they could. I make this plain statement that the reasons may be obvious why the Assistant Commissioner thinks there is a demand for our society to take hold again with the others at this point.

Less than a score of teachers have been employed—about 1,000 pupils have been in the schools. Said Gen. Fisk, "there is work here for sixty teachers!"—and I doubt not that 4,000 persons young and old could be brought into the schools—who would gladly come into them were there room and teachers for them. I have not visited a point in the Mississippi valley but I have found some absent from school because the throng was so great as to discourage them from going.

From what has been stated above in regard to the disproportion between the number of labourers and the work to be done, in regard to the army work, &c., who shall estimate the number of families—the number of women and children—who must have more or less assistance to prevent them from greatly suffering by hunger, cold and disease, superinduced by privations and exposure.

It is one day's travel from Cincinnati to Nashville. Our work is to relieve as well as educate. In justice to these multitudes who must pass the winter at Nashville, our Society must at once turn its attention to that point, and be ready to meet the demand that will come. Hence we must send teachers there—a score in a body—to give part of the day to teaching and a part to visiting among the humble houses of the Freed people, that

they may with wise discrimination distribute among them the gifts of their benefactors. By such practical charity we would have our teachers gather to themselves a cumulative power for good among these unfortunate ones, who know but little of Christian sympathy—true Christian love.

Yours truly,

J. M. WALDEN.

LETTER FROM
THE REV. W. G. HAWKINS, M. A.

New York, Oct. 2d, 1865.

Frederick Tomkins, D.C.L., 3, Tanfield Court,
Inner Temple, London, E.C.

Dear Friend,

I enclose the circular of Miss Collins, which will be sent to all the Ladies' Societies in this country. I sent two letters to Mr. Leigh, which I suppose he showed you. You will find some quite important matter in the two last numbers of the "National Freed-man." have sent your journal regularly; but as yet have received only one copy of "The Freed-man." I beg you will send us all the numbers. Had I time I would write you more on the condition of things. Upon the whole we have reason to be *satisfied* with the progress of reconstructions in the South. *We shall want, this winter, all you can do for us.* But little was produced this year, and thousands are this day without shelter or clothing. I think we shall be able to send from 150 to 200 Teachers. They are leaving now by every steamer going south. We are sending many more to Virginia. The district we occupy has Petersburg for a centre. We shall scatter them quite thickly along the track of Grant's and Lee's army, in the final retreat, as this was along the line of the railroad.

I must refer you to our worthy journals for particulars of our operations. It is suggested that our journal shall be made the organ of all the Associations in this country. I trust this will be so. What we should all aim at is more consolidation of effort, and as catholic a spirit as may be.

Most truly yours,

W. G. HAWKINS.

WHAT MANUFACTURERS MAY DO FOR THE FREED-MEN.

The following list, carefully prepared, shows at a glance the kind of articles needed in the various departments, and in the different kinds of labour in which the freedmen are employed;

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.—Ploughs, hoes, shovels, drills for sowing seeds, garden-rakes, ox-yokes.

Nails, axes, hatchets, hammers, saws, chisels, augurs, gimlets, drawing-knives, planes, bits, locks for doors, padlocks, hasps and staples, butts, hinges, screws, files. And every thing in coarse carpentry.

Leather, sole and upper, lasts, thread, pegs, shoe-knives, shoemakers' hammers, tacks, pincers, and findings generally.

Palm-leaf hats for men and boys, and shaker's hoods.

KITCHEN FURNITURE.—Stoves, pots, kettles, bake-ovens, frying-pans, saucepans, tin plates, coffee-pots, pans, basins, covered pails, dippers.

CUTLERY.—Table knives and forks, coarse, heavy pocket-knives, iron spoons.

Blacksmiths' bellows, anvils, hammers, tongs, vices, cold chisels, etc.

Writing paper, small slates, slate pencils.

WOODEN WARE.—Wash-tubs, pails, buckets, well-buckets, wooden trays or bowls, rolling-pins, coarse baskets. Soap.

Well rope, plough lines, bed cord.

Shoes for women, children, girls, boys (largest sizes), and men, shoestrings.

Cotton cloth, printed calico, cotton osenburghs, heavy ginghams, plaids and stripes, hickory shirting, linseys, kerseys, spool cotton, sewing cotton, white and coloured, in hanks, cotton yarn, knitting cotton, woollen yarn.

FOR INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.—Sewing machines, buttons, hooks and eyes, pins, needles, shears, scissors, thimbles, spectacles for old people.

Garden seeds of all kinds, turnip, onion, squash, beet, etc.

Stoves and pipe for school-houses.

ALL packages of goods intended for the Freed-men should be forwarded to Messrs. Johnson, Johnson & Co., Blomfield-street, E.C.

A FREED-MAN TO HIS OLD MASTER.—The Cincinnati *Commercial* publishes what it declares to be a genuine letter from a freedman to his former master, Col. P. H. Anderson, Big Spring, Tenn. It is dated, Dayton, Ohio August 7th, and runs as follows:—"Sir, I got your letter, and was glad to find that you had not forgotten Jourdon, and that you wanted me to come back and live with you again, promising to do better for me than any body else can. I have often felt uneasy about you. I thought the Yankees would have hung you long before this for harbouring rebels they found at your house. I suppose they never heard about your going to Col. Martin's to kill the Union soldier that was left by his company in their stable. Although you shot at me twice before I left you, I did not want to hear of your being hurt, and am glad you are still living. It would do me good to go back to the dear old home again and see Miss Mary and Miss Martha, and Allen, Esther, Green, and Lee. Give my love to them all, and tell them I hope we will meet in the better world, if not in this. I would have gone back to see you all when I was working in Nashville hospital, but one of the neighbours told me that Henry intended to shoot me, if he ever got a chance. I want to know particularly what the good chance is you propose to give me. I am doing tolerably well over here. I get twenty-five dollars a month with victuals and clothing; have a comfortable home for Mandy (the folks call her Mrs. Anderson) and the children. . . . Now, if you will write and say what wages you will give me, I will be better able to decide if it would be to my advantage to move back. As to my freedom, which you say I can have, there is nothing to be gained on that score, as I got my free papers in 1864 from the provost-marshal general of the Department of Nashville. Mandy says she would be afraid to go back without some proof that you were disposed to treat us justly and kindly, and we have concluded to test your sincerity by asking you to send us our wages for the time we served you. This will make us forgive and forget old scores, and rely on your justice and friendship in the future. I served you faithfully for thirty-two years, and Mandy twenty years. At twenty-five dollars a month for me

and two dollars a week for Mandy, our earnings would amount to 11,680 dollars. Add to this the interest for the time our wages have been kept back, and deduct what you paid for our clothing, and three doctor's visits to me, and pulling a tooth for Mandy, and the balance will show what we are in justice entitled to. Please send the money by Adams' Express, in care of V. Winters, Esq., Dayton, Ohio. If you fail to pay us for faithful labours in the past, we can have little faith in your promises in the future. We trust the good Maker has opened your eyes to the wrongs which you and your fathers have done to me and my fathers, in making us toil for you for generations without recompense. Here I draw my wages every Saturday night, but in Tennessee there was never any pay day for the negroes any more than for the horses and cows. Surely there will be a day of reckoning for those who defraud the labourer of his hire."

THOMAS W. CONWAY, writing from Montgomery, Alabama, under date of August 14th, says:—"Our Mammoth Sunday School continues to be a centre of attraction to all who are interested in this great and good work. We had one of the greatest celebrations on the occasion of our first anniversary—last May—that ever made glad the hearts of a multitude of happy Sunday-school children. The exercises were much the same as usually characterises such an occasion. The recitations and declamations were such as would do honour to any school or colour, and the children and vast assemblage of white and coloured people knew and felt it too. The recital of the "Auction Block," The Passage of the Act of Emancipation," and the "Torch of Liberty," fairly made the blood tingle, and then the singing—why! it was enough to make one's heart leap—1,200 coloured children alive with song! Such a sight New Orleans never saw before."

THE Committee of the Freed-men's Aid Society meet on the first and third Wednesday in each month, at two o'clock, at the Anti-Slavery Society's Rooms, No. 27, New Broad Street, City, E.C.

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THE FREED-MAN.

AMERICAN RE-CONSTRUCTION.

BY THOMAS HUGHES, ESQ., M.P.

Our last batch of American papers contain several announcements which cannot but startle the friends of the Freed-men in this country. First in order stands the mustering out of service of 22 regiments of coloured infantry, a corps of pioneers, and another of artillery. It is not easy to keep count on this side, but I should doubt whether there are now 15,000 negro troops under arms in the United States. Then we get confirmation of the sense in which the Presidential Order No. 145 is being understood by the rebels; and, we fear we may add, interpreted and carried out even by General Howard, viz., that even the sea Islands are to be given up to their former owners. The loyalty and good faith of General Howard is absolutely beyond question, and he will make the best terms he can for the Freed-men: of that there can be no doubt. But, after the colonization of these islands by General Saxton four years ago by the order of Mr. Lincoln—after the steady progress of the Freed-men of the Islands during this time in diligence, intelligence, wealth, until they at last raised supplies enough to maintain the whole population and garrison, and to export largely, and saved money enough to buy from the government a great part of the soil on which they were living and working—it is useless to deny that one's faith, in justice to the Freed-men under Andrew Johnson's administration, "feels like giving out," as they would say in America, when one finds that the Sea Islands are in all likelihood going back into the hands of the old owners. General Howard is indeed to "endeavour to effect an arrangement mutually satisfactory to the Freed-men and the land owners;" but as the only arrangement that can possibly be satisfactory to the Freed-men is, that they shall have and hold the lands for which they have paid, and as this is just the one arrangement not within General Howard's power make, we may look forward to hearing in a mail or two that in this, the one place in the South where (thanks to General Saxton's righteous rule) the experiment of free labour had been fairly tried, and with marked success, the old lords of the soil are again installed, and the old southern ideas as to labour re-

living. Again, the coloured soldiers are not to have their bounty at all, some of the papers assert ; others, that the payment of it is only deferred. In either case there is a sad want of that honest and hearty recognition of the services of the negro troops, and of what as a matter of bare justice the United States owes to the black man, which six months ago one had hoped to see.

In many of the southern states too, notably in Mississippi and South Carolina, the condition of the Freed-men seems rapidly growing worse. In the former state, notwithstanding the proclamation of the Governor directing that the testimony of negroes shall be received, many of the courts positively refuse to allow them to be called as witnesses. The teachers sent from the northern states are, it is said, closing their schools as the troops are withdrawn. In South Carolina the late rebels are regaining their houses, lands, and position, and with these their old ways. They are declaring everywhere that the negroes will not work or keep their contracts, as an excuse for breaking these contracts themselves, which they begin to do systematically and openly. Several planters have been imprisoned for short terms through the exertions of Officers of the Freed-men's Bureau, for resorting as of old to the benevolent whip. They have consequently taken to other punishments, especially to one known as thumb-tying, and to cheating their labourers in the issue of rations ; and with a view to stopping at once this monstrous habit of imprisoning planters, both the southern press, and such northern papers as the "World," of New York, are urging that the time has come for the abolition of the Freed-men's Bureau altogether. "The Southern people," this journal urges, "are abundantly eager to deal with the new questions arising out of the abolition of slavery in a temper of justice and practical humanity. They feel that the liberation of the slave imposes on them new and most important duties ; and nothing is more certain than that in fulfilling those duties they will be more hindered than helped by authoritative and contradictory interferences from without. As we do not propose either to pauperize the southern blacks or to exterminate the southern whites, it ought to be plain, in the light alike of reason and experience, that the sooner **WE LEAVE BLACKS AND WHITES ALIKE AT THE SOUTH** to re-adjust their reciprocal relations the sooner and more satisfactorily will those relations be adjusted." In those few sentences of the "World" the whole present aims and policy of the south and of that portion of the old democratic party which is still southern at heart, are gathered up. "Let us alone, do we not accept the Constitutional Amendment?" cry the southerners, and their northern allies echo "Let them alone, they understand the negro, and their own business, and we do not. They are pledged to abolish slavery, let them alone."

Our readers may not have seen the exact wording of the Constitutional Amendment, so we will give it here. It runs, "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." A good sound and radical amendment no doubt, going straight to

the root of the matter. But can the South be trusted to act up to the spirit of it? Is there not a loop-hole in that exception which unscrupulous men will use? How long will it take a Southern legislature, elected as heretofore by white men alone, to find crimes for every negro? A strict vagrant law, a law of contracts which will construe the least breach on the part of a black man a crime, and in a month or two every negro in the South may be again in involuntary servitude, the Constitutional Amendment notwithstanding. So the anti-slavery press pleads vehemently, and I must own that one's common-sense goes wholly with their arguments that the experiment of re-construction according to President Johnson's plan, that is to say without insisting on negro suffrage and so giving the coloured people an important voice in making the laws which shall define crime, is a throwing up the cards just as the game is won, and leaving the South victorious, as Wendell Phillips has been declaring. And yet an Englishman who studies the question candidly, and with a real desire to get at the truth, cannot but be struck with the great weight of evidence on the other side. It is not that he finds such papers as the "New York Herald" and the "World," such men as the wire-pullers and moderate Democrats of the North, loud in praise of the President: he would know how to estimate this testimony well enough from past experience. But in the abolitionist camp, amongst the very staunchest anti-slavery men, he will find those who believe that President Johnson is making no mistake in his policy of re-construction. "Thus far," says the Rev. H. Ward Beecher, "I cannot lay my hand upon an act which does not seem apt, fitting, and most wise: with a clear eye, a skilful hand, he has gone on weaving most cleverly the robe which is to cover the entire brotherhood of the states of the Union: we believe that all measures for the relief of the blacks must have the cordial support and countenance of the South: nothing better than a generous and trustful spirit to those who have been in error can crown our victories." Senator Wilson of Massachusetts has been speaking in the same sense in supporting General Barlow's canvass of New York. Mr. Seward, a good anti-slavery man, though the British public will not give him credit for it, has declared that the President's is the only feasible plan which can be adopted—admitting of no substantial change or modification; and these men, be it remembered, are at the same time supporters of negro suffrage. Senator Wilson says, "We have heard a great deal about negro suffrage—I say here (in the Brooklyn Music Hall) I am for it. (Applause.) We will not ask the democrats as to the manner of our work: we do not ask the rebels as to re-construction, and we will not ask their sympathisers. We will pass the law: we have forty or fifty senators, and a hundred majority in the House, and the law will go through." (Loud applause.) Mr. Beecher says, too, in the sermon already quoted, which has drawn down such severe comments from the anti-slavery press, "I do not believe that this nation would put guns into the hands of 150,000 negroes and then deny them the right to vote. I believe with Sherman that the man who has carried a musket has a right to carry a ballot. Some people say, are we

never to hear the last of the Negro? We have heard nothing but Negro since the day of our birth: why dont you suppress him? I tell you you've got to dine and sup on negro until you do him justice. When you do he will sink away from caucuses and conventions, but unless you do he'll haunt you, he'll haunt you here, until a blacker than he haunts you hereafter."

What more could Wendell Phillips or Garrison, or Sumner, say? and it is not only from these sources that one hears this testimony. Of the Americans who have been in London during the last six weeks or so, several of the most intelligent, themselves abolitionists, have expressed to me, and in my hearing to others, their conviction that the President is acting most wisely, that his policy will pacify the country and obtain full rights of citizenship for the negro sooner than any other more decided line. The American minister to this country a man of rare political sagacity, as we all know well enough by this time, is in the same tale. In short one can no longer resist the conviction, that the great bulk of the Republican party, and not by any means those who have never been more than Union and free-soil men, but some of the foremost abolitionists who believe that the negro should have the suffrage and are ready to give it him, believe also in President Johnson, and his method of re-construction, and scout the idea that any southern state will dare, though every United States soldier had been withdrawn and the Freed-men's Bureau dissolved, to tamper in any way with the slavery question.

Now of course it is quite possible for a great party to be quite in the wrong. We, looking on from a distance, may be able to form a better judgment than the Republican leaders in Boston and New York, and the verdict of the English abolitionists against the President's re-construction policy may be the right one. At the same time, we shall do wisely I think to distrust our own judgments in the face of such evidence. I for one have been quite confident that nothing but an immediate extension of the suffrage to the negroes would secure abolition in fact as well as in name. President Johnson's hesitation in the matter seemed to me like cowardice, or treason. I could not see the least reason why, when he was laying down his conditions of re-construction for the rebel states, he should not have added to the concession of civil rights, in the courts and elsewhere, the crowning political right of the ballot. Nor do I see the reason now: but this I do see, that very many men who have vastly better means of judging than I or any Englishmen, who are far more directly interested in the issue, are content with the President's policy, and think that the battle is certain to be won, and sooner than it otherwise could be, through the action of the states themselves. I see, moreover, this fact at any rate already in favour of their view, that in Tennessee there is a Bill before the General Assembly giving the suffrage at once to men of African descent, able to read and write, twenty-one years old, who have resided six months in their country, and who were free on the 22nd of February, 1865, also to all coloured soldiers honourably discharged, and after the 22nd of February, 1875, to ALL coloured citizens.

As it has happened to me to speak in public on this subject of re-construction and to express distrust of President Johnson and his policy somewhat emphatically, I have thought that I could do no less than own in these pages that the events of the last few weeks in America, coupled with the undoubting faith in the man and his policy of some of the best and truest Americans I know, have shaken my own confidence. It is impossible for us to realize the enormous difficulties of the President at the present crisis, and as a large section of the best friends of the Freed-man in America—men who have shown their devotion to the cause of freedom by every kind of sacrifice, even to that of the lives of their nearest and dearest, to say nothing of their own blood—tell us that they can trust him, and that he is going right, I do feel that we on this side are bound to hold our judgments. They may not weigh much with the President, or with Americans generally. I don't know any good reason why we need expect that they should. But for our own sakes more than for theirs it is desirable that we should be patient and judge rightly. Meantime, whether the President's re-construction policy be right or wrong, this great need in the southern states calls to us in even louder and more touching accents than ever before to come to the aid of our brethren there with all the power that is in us during these coming months. This winter will probably be the most trying time of all the great crisis. There are accounts from every corner of the south of supplies of all kinds running short, of the fearful mortality amongst the families of the Freed-men, of a work-field which would make all but the stoutest hearts quail and despair. Into that field the men and women of the north are going hopefully, and bravely. They are asking us for sympathy and help, and we may rest assured that such a time for rendering both, with the greatest benefit to America and England, will never again offer itself to us in our day. Let us use it well, and show that the old spirit is not dead in us, and that we honour the Freed-men's friends in America, and the work they are doing for their country and our country, and the world, with all our hearts.

ON GREAT AND SUDDEN CHANGE IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF A RACE, CONSIDERED IN REFERENCE TO THE EMANCIPATION OF THE NEGRO.

BY DR. HODGKIN.

[The following paper was expressly written for the Meeting of the British Association at Birmingham, which will sufficiently account for its character, and also for some apparently irrelevant passages which it contains. In consequence of the number of papers which were presented, and other circumstances, there was no opportunity for its being read. The cause in the advocacy of which it was written is so good and important that even small accessions of support are not to be thrown away. It has therefore been read, with some modifications and additions for which subsequent events have given occasion, at a Meeting convened in favour of the Freed-men in the United States of America, at the Friends' Meeting House in Westminster, on the 2nd of 11 month (Nov.) and is now offered, by the writer, as a contribution to the "FREED-MAN," in which he rejoices to see the condition and claims of the liberated slaves ably set forth.]

MUCH as I have reflected on this subject, and greatly as I have desired to bring it before the notice of my fellow Members of the British Association for the promotion of science, I must confess that I have had some doubt as to whether it is strictly within the range which the Association has appropriated.

As such a doubt may similarly arise in the minds of others, I may as well briefly state the considerations which have satisfied me that it may come within our limits and also led me to believe that it is opportune and expedient to bring it forward at the present time.

The title of our Section E sets it forth as comprising both Geography and Ethnology. The subject of which I am about to treat appertains both to the one and to the other of these branches of knowledge. The former, Geography, is either PHYSICAL OR ARTIFICIAL such as national or political. It is with the former that our Association is almost exclusively concerned. I say almost exclusively, because although the political is strictly and properly shut out, there are points of a national or social character which practically we are not bound, and do not wish, to exclude. Thus in researches connected with purely physical Geography it is often necessary to consider whether the inquiring traveller has to go beyond the limits of the dominion of his own country or not. It may be absolutely essential to know and to note the boundaries of the territorial divisions which are traversed, and to attend to the usages of each. It must also be well heeded whether Christianity or Mohametanism be professed, or whether Paganism still prevails.

We all know how interesting to the geographer, as well as to the philanthropist and the merchant, are the details of submarine geography, which may either facilitate or obstruct the mutual social relations of different nations by means of the electric telegraph.

If deep volcanic action throw up cones of scoria from the bottom of the sea and produce a new island, though it be but for a transient existence, and the daring navigator venture to approach its shore, examine its extent, and by

soundings explore its base, the geographer will value the narrative of these facts, though they may soon pass away. But if, courage and opportunity favouring, the explorer may do more than this, and, putting his foot on the untried soil, he examine its character and bring away specimens, even then more interesting facts will not exclude from the narrative the record that the Union Jack was planted by our countryman on the almost ephemeral Island. Again when art, and not nature, shall have effected a great physical change, and two continents united from pre-historic time shall be so separated that Africa shall be an island (*nil mort alibus arduum*) the Geographical Transactions of England as well as of France will gladly record the fact that the Arab skiff had sailed from the Red Sea into the Mediterranean.

But how much more interesting must it be, when over a tract of country of great Geographical extent and blessed by Providence with innumerable and priceless advantages, but where, in the form of man, millions of living creatures have been regarded as having the attributes and been degraded to the condition of brutes, to invite attention to the great event which has called these millions into a different class in the animal kingdom and opened to them a door of hope in common with ourselves. Influences will be brought into operation which must tell on artificial, and even on physical Geography.

The reasons which connect my subject with the Ethnological element of Section E are so evident that it is needless that I should adduce them as an apology, nevertheless it may conduce to the interest and advantage of the discussion which may be raised if I mention some of them.

However greatly the opinions or theories of ethnological sects or those of more independent anthropologists may differ among themselves, there is one fact which must be recognised and admitted by all, viz. that external circumstances exercise a very great influence on man as an individual and on the charter of the assemblages of men which, as a gregarious animal, it is essential to his nature to form. Now the change of circumstances which forms the title of my paper and the events which have taken place and are still in progress in the United States of America, are so marked and striking, and are on so large a scale that the phenomena which they present are of the utmost interest and of incalculable practical importance, since on the conclusions and measures which either rightly or wrongly may emanate from them, the weal or the woe of the country and its inhabitants will very much depend. The physical, intellectual and moral powers and peculiarities of race will be subjected to a variety of tests more or less severe. The degree of developement and the application of which they are susceptible will be ascertained, and the alterations in their vital statistics and sanitary condition will merit special observation and comment. The care and accuracy with which these points are studied and the results acted upon must influence the happiness and prosperity of the new order of things to a degree which it is almost impossible to estimate.

In putting together the statements which I am about to offer to your notice, I

can truly say that I have been anxiously desirous that no bias of my own feelings, in relation to the subject, and no misinformation or misapprehension of facts, may lead me to hurt or to do injustice to the feelings of others. I greatly admire the marvellous aptitude for appliance which characterises our American cousins, and what they have already done, under present emergency, is amply sufficient to inspire us with bright anticipations. It not only stimulates the desire to watch and observe; it should also raise the desire to assist. It must be fully admitted that those who quite disinterestedly contemplate the passing transactions, from a distance, conscientiously adopt very opposite conclusions and sentiments. Whilst there are many who rejoice that the inscrutable wisdom and goodness of Providence, ever drawing good out of evil, has caused the miseries and sufferings of one of the most remarkable and lamentable wars ever waged, to bring about the liberation of the millions of the sons of Africa, in bondage in the Southern States of America, in a manner in some degree comparable to the liberation of the children of Israel subsequently to the plagues of Egypt, and some are perhaps looking forward to a happy period, like that which was doubtless expected in the promised land, not a few, as I have said, are deliberately and disinterestedly taking a very different view. Of this class are those who, readily and unreservedly accepting the infused idea that the African race is essentially and irremediably inferior to other families of mankind, believe, as a consequence, that it is a privilege and blessing to the Negro to be brought under the influence of the superior wisdom and undisputed or irresistible power of the intellectual and sagacious Anglo-Saxon. The narratives of the miseries and sufferings of Slavery, however authenticated, are regarded by this class as gross exaggerations if not mere inventions, or at most as rare exceptions from which no general inferences are to be drawn. Perhaps judging of others by their own prudence, and recognising the dictates of humanity by which happily they may themselves have been habitually guided, they deem it incredible that men of our own race can so far damage their own property or violate their own feelings as to make it possible that the acts related can be of common occurrence or are anything like the normal features of a system so cherished and approved by those whom they admire. It is foreign to my purpose to discuss which of these two classes of observers and judges is in the right, but the recognition of the two classes is essential both to the explanation of facts and to the right apprehension of the future.

I imagine that there are many who kindly listen to me on this occasion who may think that I overrate the number of those, even of our countrymen, who cherish the opinions which I have last noticed. To convince you that this is not the case I would beg leave to refer you to the truly admirable address delivered by the Duke of Argyll, at a large and highly respectable meeting held not long since at the Westminster Palace Hotel, in which the maintenance of these sentiments in our own country was dwelt upon at considerable length. He said "It is impossible to go into any society—it has been impossible at least during the

last three or four years, without finding men who tell you that your opinions of the evils and of the curse of slavery, are very great exaggerations—that to a great extent they are nonsense.” Assertions such as these he justly attributes to the enjoyments which are ministered by the planter’s hospitality to foreign visitors, who have seen nothing of the horrors and curses of which they hear and read in England, but to the unmitigated reality of which the statistics of the country, the newspapers of the district, and the statements of Americans, bear unquestionable testimony. Were it necessary to offer any proof in addition to the evidence so effectively adduced by the Duke of Argyll, I might mention a very striking and significant fact which occurred to a friend of my own. Recently travelling on the Continent of Europe he met with a foreign fellow-traveller, and their conversation turning on the American struggle, my friend freely expressed his feelings on slavery and on the liberation of the Southern negroes, upon which his companion was quite surprised and said that amongst the numerous Englishmen whom he had met and conversed with in the course of his travels he had met with none who had expressed the same sentiments regarding slavery. Facts of this kind cannot fail to produce a painful impression regarding our countrymen, nevertheless it is quite essential to recognize the extent of the prevalence of the two classes of opinions, in estimating what we hear and read respecting the effects of general emancipation and its anticipated results. It will be still more important to draw the right conclusions from the very conflicting statements for the right management of the change which has so rapidly taken place on so large a scale.

It is by no means necessary for the support of the opinion which I am about to advocate, to contend that all the races or varieties of man are alike and equal in intellectual abilities, any more than that they are so in stature and physical power. Within the narrow limits of ancient Greece and in a people speaking different dialects only, and not widely different languages, there existed at least three well-marked groups with widely different mental characters. It is sufficient merely to name the Athenian, the Lacedæmonian and the Boeotian. If differences were to be found within so small a compass are we not to expect to find still greater differences when we come to examine the multitudinous nations and tribes of mankind scattered over the surface of the globe and subjected to the powerful influence of the most widely differing circumstances? If it would have been as erroneous as unjust to have estimated all the genius and polished intelligence of the Athenians by the most illiterate specimen to be found amongst the most uneducated Boeotians, it is at the present day equally mistaken to judge of the intellectual capacity of the very various tribes of Africans by specimens derived from a class for successive generations subjected to debasing degradation. Amongst the uncivilized tribes of Africa still dwelling on their own Continent and at a distance from direct European influence, there are marked and well recognized differences of native capacity distinguishing one tribe from another. The late accomplished Edward Bowditch who fell a sacrifice to his

ardent zeal for African research, told me that when on his mission to Ashantee he remained for a considerable time about the person of the King, he was requested by that rude but wide-ruling sovereign over many tribes, to undertake to teach some of his people and more especially to initiate them in the European management of troops. It was very remarkable that when this request was complied with the King was particular to select the body of men to be instructed from a certain tribe, whom he esteemed as of quick and good intelligence. The fact would be additionally valuable could we know the circumstances which had been favourable to the superiority which the King so fully appreciated.

The difference in intellectual power to which I have referred may probably be ascribed to the slow but long-continued operation of causes affecting the cultivation or the neglect of the intellectual faculties, which we may by way of analogy compare to slowly progressive changes on the earth's surface causing fertility to be increased by mineral decomposition and by vegetable growth and decay.

We must not however lose sight of changes of another kind more suddenly brought about, and therefore in some respects admitting of comparison with earthquakes, eruptions and changes in the elevation of the earth's surface amongst geological phenomena.

As respects the slowly progressive changes operating on successive generations, it must be admitted that the advance of the large negro portion of the human race has not kept pace with that of some other sections of mankind during the periods of which we have anything like a satisfactory record. Let us for the present hypothetically admit that they have been distanced in the race. I might apologize for them, but it is foreign to my immediate object to do so here.

We have rather to consider the sudden change which has very lately come upon a remarkable and important section of the African stock. We may call it a convulsion or a catastrophe, but it would seem to me that the term revolution, if not too political for our Association, would be more appropriate in speaking of the sudden upheaving of a mass, not of granite or porphyry, but of a class of our fellow creatures. As in seeking to understand the phenomena of one geological catastrophe we are greatly aided by the knowledge of those which have presented themselves, on other occasions of the like kind, so we may be greatly assisted on this occasion by the careful study of the circumstances which have attended other instances of change more or less closely resembling that which is taking place in the coloured population of the Southern States of North America. These instances are perhaps more numerous than some of the present company may be aware of and it will answer my present purpose to pass over the examples offered in the French and Spanish colonies in the West Indies and more especially in St. Domingo, the extinction of slavery in Mexico and the consequences of freedom obtained by flight in the case of negroes in the Isle of Pines—of others received amongst the hospitable Seminole Indians of Georgia

and Florida or temporarily sheltered at the rude fortress of Greytown, and confine myself to the memorable and more analogous example of our own West Indian emancipation. This remarkable event in the attainment of which England spent more than twenty millions sterling, as a sacrifice to principle, was effected against strong, loud, and persevering opposition, and in spite of very confident predictions of failure. Ever since it has been effected the prophets and their friends have asserted that the result *has been a failure* and have doubtless done very much to prevent or deter the imitation of the example of England in the case of slave emancipation. On the other hand it has been with equal confidence contended by the advocates of freedom that notwithstanding the many difficulties and obstructions, not necessarily inseparable from emancipation, the noble act that England performed has been *far from a failure*. Volumes have probably been written and printed on this controversy, but as we have no intention to retrace our steps, in this matter, I have only to notice some of the occurrences in the progress of the change which specially relate to the subject of this paper and lead to principles of a practical bearing. I may however make the remark that I firmly believe that could the most opposed parties in this controversy have been brought to a temperate mutual understanding and a dispassionate explanation of their different views, much painful feeling might have been prevented—lamentable occurrences might have been averted and success more completely and promptly obtained. There was a great difficulty in even approaching this mutual understanding even where no blame could be laid on either party, but probably owing to the wide separation which had already existed between the advocates and the opposers of slavery. A case very illustrative of this fact occurred within my own knowledge and which, in Birmingham at least, will not be uninteresting. When the act of emancipation had come into operation and contradictory reports had begun to reach this country, touching the effects which emancipation was producing, my late excellent friend, Joseph Sturge, to whom the cause of the oppressed negro had long been dear, determined to visit the West Indies and, not contented with the reports of others, to make himself acquainted with the state of things by his own personal observation. He was not to be deterred by the dangers of an unhealthy climate or restrained by the endearments of a delightful home, or by the cares and personal interests of a large and extensive business. I was solicitous that in making this visit Joseph Sturge might have a full opportunity of becoming really acquainted with both parties and of viewing the whole subject under different aspects; and as I had friends intimately acquainted with West Indian planters, I obtained letters of introduction cordially recommending him to favourable specimens of this class of colonists and I subsequently learnt that these colonists were solicitous to receive him with their wonted hospitality and to afford him the opportunities which he sought; there was therefore no reluctance either on the part of Joseph Sturge himself, or on that of the planters to whom the letters were addressed, to that mutual and amicable interchange of sentiment which I

so much desired. Nevertheless it happened that Joseph Sturge performed his entire visit to Jamaica without one of these meetings having taken place, which I know was as much regretted by the planters themselves, as by my honoured friend.

I must crave indulgence to relate another circumstance to prove that the opposite parties may be brought together to show that the result is encouraging. Some years later whilst the planters in the British West Indies were still labouring under difficulties which they in part attributed to the emancipation of their slaves, the powerful advocates of free trade committed what I must venture to call a very great blunder, but it was perhaps the only one of which they were guilty. Considering that it was a hardship for the tea and coffee drinking working classes of England, and a violation of their own free-trade doctrines to tolerate either favour or restriction, they tried to bring, and successfully brought, the sugar produced by the stolen and unrequited labour of slaves, aided by the capital and machinery of England, to compete with that produced by our own Colonists with paid labour, which they had not yet learnt skillfully to apply, and whilst it is to be feared that many of them were hampered by inadequate capital and defective machinery. In this state of things some of my friends with whom I had the pleasure of acting were of opinion that on this occasion the Anti-slavery Society and their West Indian fellow-subjects had an object in common, in which they might cordially combine. Meetings were held and numerously attended which passed off in the most friendly manner. The favour which was sought to be obtained from the Government was moderate, reasonable, and temporary, being merely the suspension, for a time, of the further approach to an equalization of duty which was already in progress. Our failure of success did not proceed from any want of co-operation on the part of the abolitionists, but rather from a split amongst the planters, some of whom were exorbitant in the amount of protection which they craved. However, the good feeling which I believe was by this effort introduced between the friends of freedom and the planters has not been lost, and the example deserves to be imitated.

The emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies was attended with circumstances which, upon careful reflection, I am induced to regard as phenomena intimately and essentially connected with the change and not merely by accident contemporary with it. Whilst this change was under discussion and progress, there was a very remarkable stir in the minds of the negro population, notwithstanding their want of education, culture and means of communication. This was particularly exhibited in their desire for education for themselves and their children, and also in their zeal in the attendance of their places of worship and in their regard for their pastors. I believe that I am not mistaken in saying that not only their time but their scanty pecuniary resources also were then more liberally devoted to objects of this description, conducive to elevation and progress, than has subsequently been the case. If I am correct in the observation, it is one of great significance and importance.

Very shortly after emancipation had taken place, and whilst, I believe, statistical returns made it evident that production had decreased, there was a striking increase in the amount of importation, and more especially in the importation of those articles of which the newly freed were likely to be the consumers, clearly showing that this large class of the inhabitants were adding to their own comforts, and enjoyments and becoming better customers to the mother country which had given them freedom. We used to hear of tetanus as not uncommon among the slaves, the result of exposure or of cruelty, and we received grievous descriptions of that loathsome disease, the yaws, and of the disgusting yaw-houses appointed for the reception of the sufferers from this terrible malady, which owes its origin to bad living. With the possession of freedom the sanitary condition of the Negroes is so improved that now we hear nothing of these things. As regarded the slaves at least, emancipation did not look like a failure.

Has the improvement, thus made evident, been advancing with that accelerating rapidity which the due use of human intelligence and resources should exhibit? Has it ever been continued at the same rate? Or has it rather been on the decline? To answer these questions with confidence requires far more knowledge, both as to extent and detail, than I profess, and I must not attempt to give even that amount of information which induces me to fear that that ardour which showed itself in the beginning, and which is so essential to success, has very much abated. Does this abatement depend, as some would seem to believe, on innate and inherent incapacity on the part of the Negro race to advance in intellectual improvement beyond a certain limit, vastly below that to which our own self-sufficient Anglo-Saxon race may or must readily attain?

I believe we should do the Negro race a great injustice to ascribe to it a necessarily impassable limit to improvement, without first satisfactorily ascertaining that there are not other causes, independent of natural incapacity, which have operated to produce an arrest or retardation of progress.

In the case of the emancipated Negroes in the West Indies, there were obstructing influences sufficiently obvious. The recent slave-owners were inexperienced in the difficult art of governing free operatives. Many of them, probably through disgust at the change which had taken place, had no inclination to set about acquiring the art, and some might even have been desirous to see the experiment fail, notwithstanding their interest in its success. Probably not a few, who really wished to see free labour more profitable than that of the slave, had the mortification to find their efforts rendered abortive by the want of financial means to requite hired labour and to increase its efficiency by the requisite mechanical appliances. Whether friendly or adverse to slavery the planters appear generally to have acted on the principle that if paid labour must be employed the less that is paid for it the better. Hence the Freed-man could only obtain small wages. To keep wages down, as well as to keep up the number of labourers, efforts were made by the planters to procure the immigration of a low class of foreign hands, in some respects inferior to the Freed-men themselves, and restricted by contract to

wages so low as to keep down the price which the liberated negroes might be able to obtain. With such impediments and checks to progress it was perfectly natural that the free negroes, if they accepted wages, would not work with spirit or continued industry, or if they refused engagements of this kind, must be content with independent poverty almost regardless of self-improvement and of the education of their offspring. Cut off from intercourse with those of a more elevated class, they would gradually disregard the exhortations of christian teachers and with the credulity of ignorance they would give preference to such fragments of pagan superstitions as the most recently imported of their African companions might be able to recollect and teach. Many West Indian slaves have doubtless nobly surmounted these difficulties and given proof of their ability to acquire knowledge and to apply it with propriety and success, to a degree amply sufficient to sustain the assertions of their friends, but on the other hand the want of success which I have described, without the true cause being assigned, has doubtless exercised a most injurious influence.

If we duly contemplate these influences, with others which might be enumerated, we may be warranted in assuming that the admitted appearance of failure is no conclusive evidence that the capacity of the negro is incompatible with that degree of success of which his warmest friends contend that he is capable.

At the proclamation of freedom an impulse was given, like that of the sun in spring to the vegetable kingdom, but the seed was parsimoniously sown and the genial showers of the season were withheld. It is therefore by no means surprising that the blossom has been poor and the harvest small.

Our American cousins have, during their late war, wonderfully profited by our blunders in the Crimea, as well as by the imitation of the virtue and wisdom displayed by our benevolent countrywoman Florence Nightingale and her devoted associates, and when we consider what was effected on a large scale, by a voluntary civil association in aid of the military commissariat for the relief of the miseries inseparable from war, we need not despair that they will as practically profit by our experience both of failure and success in our West Indian emancipation. In fact they have already largely done so, and their wisdom and tact have given proof of the correctness of the principle which I am theoretically advancing, namely that there is in this transition from slavery to freedom a propriety of time as well as of measures, both of which are essential to complete success, and that whether we hypothetically regard the negro as equal or as somewhat inferior to the white, his social progress will be retarded and blighted if he be deprived, in his season of spring of all the genial influences which should belong to it.

I am not addressing these remarks to Americans, but to my countrymen. As Englishmen we owe our American cousins a debt of gratitude for their services which they rendered to Ireland when afflicted with famine and pestilence, and to Lancashire when its industrious population was thrown out of employment. It is not enough to remember that *bis dat qui cito dat*. Let us also consider

that the season for success is passing, and truly it may be said *fugit interia fugit irreparabile tempus*.

I feel so strongly the importance of not letting slip the precious opportunity in which the great transition from slavery to freedom may be healthfully and satisfactorily completed, that I must ask permission to dwell a little longer on the subject.

I have already compared it to the spring as the time for the germination and development of new life, when the attendant circumstances are propitious. When however I look to those phenomena which it is the more peculiar province of my own profession to observe, I find many examples which yet more forcibly illustrate and confirm the principle which I am advocating.

When a serious malady, an accident, or a great natural change has given occasion for an effort of reparation, the wonderful resources of nature are prompt with active energies for the purpose. But if nature be thwarted, the opportunity neglected and the repairing process be disturbed, repair is not only slowly but very imperfectly, if at last, effected. Even worse—not merely is repair obstructed: new and grievous evils may arise and become chronic and permanent. In fact I find that my professional similies are far more exact and parallel than that of regarding the neglect of the fit opportunity of the revolution of emancipation, as like the failure to sow and to plant in spring.

Slavery is pre-eminently a violent and morbid condition of humanity, and emancipation from it is a state of convalescence which cannot be neglected with impunity.

Away then with the counsels of charlatans who would insist upon it that the slave is not fit for liberty. He must be kept in an intermediate state, the causes essential to his malady must be allowed to operate a little longer. The slave has been so accustomed to tyranny that he cannot yet do without it. The drowning man must not be taken quite out of the water, you must at least leave his nose and his mouth under it. Fatal error, and obvious enough to proclaim its author.*

The transition state of the slave is as full of hope as its irrevocably passing away neglected is replete with disappointment and despair.

I have already noticed the results of the apathy which naturally comes over the recently emancipated slave when he feels the hopelessness of his neglected and abject condition, but this is not the only malady which his false position induces. We may notice amongst the evidences of the mismanagement not, we say as some will have it, the failure of British emancipation, the prolonged if not the increased prejudice of race, which, to the great injury of the colonies, separates the popula-

* Let it not be imagined that the writer of this essay contends that because the emancipated slave is not to be deprived of any of the essentials of freedom he is, without the individual personal requisites, to be admitted by the fact of his emancipation to all the grades to which the free man may by labour and merit raise himself. This is the gratuitous insinuation of the advocate of slavery.

tion into two classes, even where, wealth and education being common to both, they might co-operate for the public good, as Churchmen, Dissenters and Roman Catholics—Christians and Israelites, are seen to do in England.

The evils must be far greater if the emancipated slave is denied a participation in the elective franchise and not placed on the same common level of citizenship with the more favoured white, so that his evidence must be inadmissible when he is the aggrieved and injured party. This nominal freedom in his native country would not equal the privileges of an alien. It would be the freedom of the outlaw. It is not difficult to imagine the condition of a numerous class of such Freed-men in the midst of a large and powerful nation. If, like many of the Freed-men in the United States of America at the present time, they have borne arms and learnt the power of their own prowess and are conscious of the aid which they have given to the triumphs of the Union, they will not tamely submit to be deprived of the privileges which they have won. Though disarmed they will revolt, though their failure be inevitable, impunity will not attend their destruction.

The unmistakable evidences of wisdom and prudence which the American Government has already exhibited, almost forbid us to entertain fears of this kind, and the great and christian virtues of mercy and forgiveness, seem incapable of leading to such a result, yet we cannot lose sight of the motto, *nocet bonis qui parcit malis*. For the bad, restraint, not to say punishment, seems to be requisite, and the correspondent of the "Times," the admirer of the confederate rebel rather than of the negro, has lately told us "that slavery is maintained in its most aggravated form, and the slaves ran away to escape cruel punishment." Let us however consider the freed-man relieved from positive personal cruelty, but in the state of fractional and repressive freedom to which I have alluded. Without resources, without education, without hope or other stimulus, his condition will be in the greatest danger of progressively assimilating that of the North American Indian, the fast disappearing aboriginal inhabitant of the continent in which the Negro is only the compulsory exotic.

It is a favorite idea with some modern anthropologists and calumniators of the negro that he is intermediate between the Gorilla and the man, and probably derived from the former, though they are utterly without proof of the probability of such a change, any more than of their own power to add one cubit to their stature. The ability to injure is not so limited, and if the healthful exercise of the powers of the body and the mind be strictly prevented, almost inconceivable degradation must follow, and the African, with claims to the full participation in, and to the enjoyment of all the attributes of man, might, like some unhappy specimens of even the European races be reduced very nearly to the level of the gorilla. You may be surprised, and ask why I am so earnest to press these views and urge the necessity for prompt exertion. What have we to do with the matter? Surely we need not interfere with Americans. Certainly we have no right to interfere with them in a meddling manner, but we may help

them, as they helped us. We may supply means to those heroes and admirable heroines, who at the cost of their time, their comfort, and their substance, at the sacrifice of their health, and even with the risk of their lives, are devoting their energies to take, to the fullest attainable extent, the real advantages of this critical period of the transition from slavery to freedom. I offer this as a strong claim for your hearty co-operation in addition to those more speaking and touching appeals which are about to be made to you by eye-witnesses and personal actors.

Before I close I must admit that I have freely acknowledged the lamentable short-comings of England's people and government. They are warnings not to be lost sight of: *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*.

I might add to, rather than retract what I have said, but I cannot debar myself the opportunity of mentioning one or two facts on the opposite side, since it affords the pleasure of doing a grateful act of justice to the memory of the veteran statesman whom England has just lost, and whose benevolence was untainted with hypocrisy.

When Liberia was still merely an unacknowledged American colony, the settlement of the African Colonization Society, a philanthropic association which appointed its governor, and watched its progress and interests with parental care, it happened almost inevitably that the dues exacted by the Liberians, and the prohibition of trade with the natives as heretofore, greatly interfered with the commerce of British and other European traders, on that part of the African coast, and the officers of the British navy, though as a body remarkably just and friendly to Liberia, were obliged to protect their countrymen. After conferring with Edward Everett, at that time the learned and able minister of the United States at the English Court, and with the Board of Trade, I clearly saw that if Liberia were not adopted by the United States, the recurrence of difficulties was only to be obviated by the acknowledgement of the Republic. Very shortly after my representing the state of the case to the Directors of the Colonization Society, and to the Liberian local Government, the declaration of its Independence took place with the mutual consent of the Colonization Society and of the Colonists. When J. J. Roberts, the Society's late governor and the citizens' first elected President, came to Europe to seek the recognition of the new state by the British Government, I had the satisfaction of introducing him to Lord Palmerston, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, of witnessing the very cordial reception of the new President, and of hearing the friendly as well as the sound practical advice which Lord Palmerston gave to the chief magistrate of the infant state, that it should make its port free.

This advice, remarkable as being in advance of the policy of his own government, at the time, would have secured rapid and peaceful prosperity to Liberia, but its government did not see its way to make the temporary sacrifice which it required. Lord Palmerston not only gave another long and interesting audience to President Roberts, but also procured the grant of a vessel presented to the Republic in aid of its efforts for the suppression of the slave trade.

The premature death of Sir William Molesworth shortly after his being made Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, for a short time threw the duties of the office upon Lord Palmerston, in addition to those of Foreign Secretary, but in this brief interval he evinced his interest in the welfare of Africa by sending a commission of enquiry to the coast, as suggested in the address of the Aborigines Protection Society, which though prepared for Sir William Molesworth thus providentially came into his hands.

I mention these facts because they fell within the range of my own observation and are probably known to few besides. It is needless that I should do more than allude to other facts, better known, which testified to the late premier's consistent efforts for the extinction of the African Slave trade.*

The lamentable occurrences in Jamaica, which have only been known in England since the foregoing essay was delivered, serve as painful and striking illustrations of the views which it was designed to set forth, and afford a strong confirmation of the opinion which it inculcates, as to the imperfect and mistaken mode in which the British emancipation of West Indian slaves was effected. I would again express my earnest desire that there might be more temperate and dispassionate discussion of facts and of their legitimate consequences between the opposite parties. The cause of truth and justice imperatively demands this.

24th 11th mo., 1865.

J. H.

THE CLAIM OF THE NEGRO TO RESPECT.

BY THE REV. JOHN WADDINGTON, D.D.

WE learn from recent American communications, that the enemies of the Freed-men charge the negroes in the south with haughtiness, laziness and vicious indulgence. This was to be expected. When the whip is taken from the slaveholder it is no wonder that he should use the scourge of the tongue. Indeed it is somewhat interesting to mark this natural transition. We must bear in mind that the slaveholders have suffered a most ignominious defeat in their attempt to substitute the corner-stone of pagan civilization for that introduced by Christianity. Socrates says: "It is right to despise those that have not leisure from work to devote themselves to their friends, or to the Republic." "Who," he says, "are the people? Is it that cordwainer—that public carrier—that tent maker? You despise each one individually. Why not despise them all in the mass?" Aristotle says: "There are some kinds of work to which a free man ought not to debase himself; particularly manual labour. For these services nature has provided a class of men whom we subject to us, in order that they may work in our place either as slaves or as hired men. True, we cannot dispense with farmers and mechanics; but these have nothing to do with public affairs, and are not worthy of the name of citizen. They are incapable of great-

* At the close of the meeting a resolution was unanimously carried recognizing the necessity of prompt and efficient endeavours to render assistance to American Associations at present labouring to succour the Freed-men in their present destitute and critical condition.

ness of soul, and cannot have any manliness, because they work for wages, and therefore, must be of a mercenary spirit. The difference between them and slaves is an external difference only. They ought to be slaves, and would be if the state were rich enough to buy them, or strong enough to enslave them. Therefore our free youth ought not to learn any trade, for that would degrade them from citizens to mechanics."

It was a very extravagant boast in Mr. Stephens to claim the doctrine that slavery is the corner-stone of freedom as a new discovery. It is the genuine pagan theory and is more than two thousand years old. The gentlemen of the South (pardoned by the clemency of President Johnson) will have leisure to revise their notions of government which we may hope they will use profitably. It is premature however to expect that they will lose for some time their unfortunate habit of contempt for the negro. We may infer from the complaint of haughtiness against some of the Freedmen that they are losing at least the servile spirit. Then we may be sure that with this pride of self-support they will not lean on eleemosynary aid a moment beyond what is required to meet an extraordinary emergency. The "Commercial Advertiser," an American journal of conservative principles, puts the case very justly: "Certain snobs on the southern press write chronic complaints that the negroes, in place of showing a thankful, humble disposition for their freedom, assume airs of equality, and no longer take the gutter when passing white men. These complaints go far toward establishing the claims of equality of races, and certainly prove that emancipation came not a day too soon. The coloured people would be unfit for freedom if they still presented the cringing attitude of slaves. For our part we never fully appreciated the life services of Abraham Lincoln until we had connected the manly bearing of coloured people on the ferry boats, in the railway cars, and in the street, with his policy. The negroes may, perhaps, be somewhat extravagant in their demonstrations at their too long deferred freedom. But much may be pardoned to men who find themselves for the first time in possession of themselves, their wives, children and earnings. The only wonder is that they stood the wrong so patiently, and take the redress so quietly. Under the circumstances they would not be wholly inexcusable if their heads touched the stars, and their tread shook the firmament." The complaint, "Ye are idle" is as old as the book of Exodus and is only a repetition of the words of the Egyptian task-masters. Sella Martin has disposed of it with so much humour and force that all we could say after him would be insufferably tame.

As to the charge of vice it will be in remembrance of many that on taking possession of Port Royal the United States government appointed a commission to make full investigation into the moral and social condition of the fugitives, or contrabands as they were called. The result of these enquiries was to reveal a state of things on the part of many far too revolting for description. Nothing is more remarkable than the progress of the Freed-men, since that period, in Christian civilization. The testimony on this point is so ample, varied and conclu-

sive that it must satisfy all who are not given up to strong delusion on the entire question. In contributing to the aid of the Freedmen we have the assurance that we are not only mitigating grievous temporary distress but at the same time furthering a movement which has far-reaching issues for the good of mankind.

We believe that England will set a noble example in evincing just respect for the all-enduring negro race. Our children will spell the word negro with a single g, we believe the negro to be a man and we shall obey the scriptural injunction: "Honour ALL men."

President Lincoln added fresh lustre to his official dignity when he gave to Frederick Douglas his well-known frank, kind, and courteous reception. We believe that an equally significant act in the recognition of negro humanity will be given at a fitting opportunity by the Sovereign Lady, who in spite of the most intense republicanism, is regarded, amidst all political changes in America, with affection almost as strong—and with esteem scarcely less profound than our own. When civilized nations have entirely divested themselves of prejudice against the negro, they will rise in true dignity.

THE COTTON QUESTION.

BY THE REV. SELLA MARTIN.

Read first at the Social Science Congress, Sheffield; specially contributed to the "Freed-Man" by the Author.

(Concluded from the November Number.)

In turning to the aspect of this paper that concerns the negro as a free labourer, no one can understand the pleasure with which I make the statement which I am now about to make, unless he has been a slave.—My Lord,—the American slave is free: the negro, as to his social existence, has risen from the degradation of chattelhood to the privileges and responsibilities of manhood. And the question which it will require the next few years to solve, is, Does this change involve a blessing or a curse to his race?

Is he inherently and irretrievably inferior as a man? And if so, is he, therefore, unfit to grapple with the difficulties of freedom, or to disprove his natural adaptedness to slavery, or to overcome its terrible traces upon him? There is no reason to account him naturally inferior, except on the Darwinian theory, that all races, at some period of development, are inferior. But even though that theory were allowed to be true, it would prove too much, since it would take away the only claim for the negro's enslavement, that, namely, of inherent inferiority. For, if the negro is in a transition state from the brute to the man, he is simply where all races have been at some point of their history; and if any other race has finally risen to superiority, so may the Negro race eventually rise. But refusing to accept this theory for the white race, I reject it in the case of the Negro; and until some one catches and exhibits a specimen of speaking ourang-outangs, or of a speechless race of men, or till I am shown a gorilla with a thumb that is not as long as its fingers, I shall continue to reject it.

Nay, while we have black men like Solouque of Hayti, who can be as despotic as white men ; and like Benson of Liberia, who are as able in statesmanship; and men amongst us as brilliant as Frederick Douglass and as dull as Dogberry, I must be excused for adopting the opposite theory.

But admitting the Negro to be inferior, how does that justify enslaving him, especially if we mean to hold our theory about the superiority of the white race, and to reap the results of it, since the inferiority of the Negro necessitates an inferior form of labour, an inferior social fabric, and inferior political appliances, from all of which the white man must suffer even more than the Negro? Brutality may be restrained when driving a mere brute ; but when the labourer has not only the feelings of a brute to be excited, but the determination of a man to resist, the driver must himself become a brute through the constant necessity of coercion. Further, the form of labour applied to such a being must in itself be inferior. If the labourer does not progress in the arts, the employer cannot progress in the science of labour. The form of labour must therefore remain stationary, which, in our time, is the same as being retrograde in character.

It may be right to deny marriage to a semi-brute, but it cannot be right to adopt a form of social existence that tempts the superior race to disregard marriage themselves, and to show that disregard in connection with semi-brutes in having progeny by them. For, if the negro woman is not a brute, it is a strange thing to say that she is one, seeing that members of the superior race are often the fathers of her children ; and if she is a brute, for them to be the fathers of her children is a thing stranger still. Then, too, if the superior race may become thus inferior without perceiving it, a shrewd suspicion may be allowed that the race accounted inferior by them may be equal without their recognizing it.

Still further ; to plead the inferiority of the victim of Slavery is to stand in the way of all political advancement. For if the Negro can be made and kept happy only at the expense of hampering the progressive tendencies of free government for white men—if a white man who is opposed to the negro's enslavement must be driven away from his enterprise and his residence when he would improve the law for white men—if, in short, the life of a white man is not worth as much as the life of a negro, where slavery exists, provided the white man refuses to be degraded by yielding to the terms of slavery, then, I say, the inferiority of the Negro is recognised and practised upon at fearful expense. For the white man is thus made as inferior as the Negro ; if not so inherently, he is practically, and with a curse greater than even the Negro fears or feels.

I submit that the Negro has no right to be happy and contented as a bondsman, at such fearful expense to the superior race.

I am prepared now for the rejoinder that this alternative is not necessary, since the Negro may leave the vicinity of the white people. But this yields the whole argument. If the Negro may go away from the white people, he may be free ; and if he may be free, white superiority does not require negro inferiority to set

it off. My argument does not interfere with the question of where he may go, but only with that of where he shall stay.

Our position, then, is this : That freedom is a good thing for all, the Negro included ; that his inferiority is no sound argument for his enslavement, since it makes his enslaver inferior ; that he is not inferior except from circumstances.

But were these positions false, what then ? The negroes are free, and it would cost as much blood and treasure to re-enslave them as it has already cost to free them.

Shall we allow prejudices which have been rebuked by Providence to stand in the way of the white man's advancement, by throwing them as obstructions in the way of the Negro's elevation ?

We are told by some that Emancipation may be right, but that the method of accomplishing it in America was wrong. We are told it cost too much blood, suffering, and treasure. Well, that may be. But that was the choice of the superior race, and if their wisdom was not equal to the task without this sacrifice, that only proves that they are not so superior to the Negro after all ; for had the method been left to him, he would have laid down his chains without shedding, or causing to be shed, one drop of blood.

We are told again that Emancipation ought to have been gradual and not immediate. Well, all that we can say, seeing such objectors have done nothing else but say,—it was not gradual ; neither is this any fault of the Negro. But if it be an evil, there is a partial remedy left for it ; especially if those who speak of it desire to cure, rather than to be captious about it. The remedy is this ; that good and able men of the superior race should carry or send to the negroes the aids and elements of knowledge, and so try to make up by the number of volunteers, and by the amount of aid, for the lack of preparation which attended the Negro's entrance into freedom. Nor is it the fault of the Negro or his friends that Emancipation was not gradual but immediate ; for those who approved of his enslavement continued to reject all offers to that end.

It is remarkable that whenever even slave-holders have had to deal with this question by practice rather than by theory, they have discarded gradual emancipation as impracticable. In the West India Islands the gradual had to be abandoned for the immediate system. When the District of Columbia had to deal with the question, Emancipation was immediate ; and this also was the case in Missouri and Maryland ; and in this the people of these states only followed the example set them by the great Creator and Emancipator, in the model act of Hebrew emancipation.

It is further objected that the negroes are lazy, because of the tropical influences that still linger in them, and on account of the habits engendered by slavery. Well, the claim which I set up for his equal humanity, compels me to admit, apart from his tropical tendencies or his slavish habits, that he may be lazy.

I have seen so many lazy men among white people, and I have seen them indulge their laziness at such fearful expense to truth, virtue, and uprightness, that

I am quite prepared to believe that the Negro may be lazy also. But I have known of so many negroes escaping to the cold and rigorous climate of Canada and the Northern states, where they knew they would have to work even harder than in slavery,—I have seen so many of them, by night-work and secret acquisition, purchase their freedom, and continue to work till they had purchased that of their whole family,—I have seen so many wealthy coloured people in the North, working against prejudice and proscription, up to positions of ease and affluence,—that I never would have believed that a negro was lazy, had I not seen so many lazy white men.

But why should this fact stand in the way of practical men? If the negro is not entirely a brute, he may, upon the Darwinian theory, eventually become a man; and supposing that impossible, we have seen that it is too great a hindrance to the material progress, and at too great a cost to social purity and political economy, for the white race to bring itself down to the only terms on which the negro can be kept a slave.

The alternative then being, that the negro must go free; and the fact being, that he is at least a progressive brute, what nobler work can scientific minds be engaged in, than helping to prove the soundness of their own theory about ethnological development, and the wise arrangement of providence, that even the lowest races may be uplifted by the help of the superior.

But if this theory is unsound, and that held by others is true, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth;" then, inasmuch as you would like help out of degradation, if in the negro's present condition, and would wish to be aided in effacing the traces of bondage, and would long for assistance in forming habits of self-reliance and feelings of self-respect, "Do unto others even as ye would that they should do unto you."

But apart from theory, this whole matter affects the objects for which this Association exists, in a most practical way. The world needs cotton. It is better for mankind that it should be got by free than by slave labour. Cotton may be got by free labour—from a race that understands its cultivation—that is acclimatised to its locality. Britain needs cotton more than all the world beside; because having got wealthy by it, her various industries must be carried on by its sufficient supply. By taking the right view of the social problem which I have so imperfectly touched upon, both America and Africa, through the aid of Afro-Americans, will lay their treasures of this staple at the feet of Britain, and the race to which her best minds and hearts have been devoted in its suffering, will rise up to call her blessed.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ERRATUM.—Among the contributions reported in our Sept. No. the name of Mr. Mayo, a donor of £5, was incorrectly spelt *Mays*.

DONATION.—We beg to acknowledge, with sincere thanks, a donation of £1 from Joseph Goddard, Esq., Leicester, for the free distribution of the "Freed-Man." We shall be most thankful to receive further aid in this way, as we know that great ignorance prevails as to the condition and claims of the Freed-men of the United States of America.

All orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to **ARLIS ANDREWS, 7, Duke Street, Bloomsbury.**

The Freed-Man.

DECEMBER, 1865.

JAMAICA.

We turn with a thrill of horror from the devastations made by the grim and gory fiend Slavery in the Southern States of America, to the atrocities so unexpectedly perpetrated in the island of Jamaica by the same cruel demon. We did hope before the breaking out of the rebellion in the United States, that the hatred of our countrymen to the African race, except on the part of a small portion of the bankrupt plantocracy, had ceased. We have been mistaken. It has not ceased. There is not in all probability a Colony of the British Empire in which the coloured man has an equal chance with the white. In Canada, in the Lower Provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, he is placed under the ban of social distinctions, poorly instructed and otherwise wronged. The Negro Pew, slang epithets, and exclusion from the very

Sacraments of the Church, whilst those Sacraments are being participated in by the whites, are the sad heritage of this race. Is this right—is it christian? We know how the coloured people have been treated in the West Indies in the past, and now in Jamaica in the present. They have been taxed to pay for the importation of labour to compete with their own in the market from which they hoped to derive support and a competency, and when by a long course of social oppression, combined with personal degradation, they are roused to an insane revolt, the opportunity is seized with a fiendish ferocity to flog, shoot, or hang in hundreds the innocent and the guilty in hot and eager haste. In the name of humanity we ask is this state of things to be tolerated? Is our boasted superiority of race to end in our oppressing a weak and defenceless people until, lashed into insanity, they fall upon their friends and foes? Have men forgotten that oppression maketh a wise man mad? Are we to turn round upon those who have been maddened by wrongs and not only punish the guilty, but decimate the innocent with a glee, which proves that the pretext for the long desired revenge is obtained. We know of no act more tragic and grimly terrible in history than that with which Gov. Eyre is associated. He arrests Mr. G. W. Gordon in Kingston, a district exempt from martial law, he has him conveyed in the same vessel with himself to a locality under martial law, tried by court martial, condemned and executed. Never was a greater violation of law and justice. Martial law is that rude form of judicature intended originally for the military, when the pillars

of the state being shaken, the carefulness of our criminal courts is dispensed with, in order to secure the safety of the community. This law has its origin in statute, and for the safety of the state its proceedings may be deemed necessary for a disturbed district. But who ever heard of a subject charged with crime being carried from a district in repose to one disturbed in order that he might be tried and hastily condemned? Such a course of proceeding is infamous in the extreme. And it is Governor Eyre that is reported to have done this. It was but a year or two since we heard that humane man and great lawyer, Chief Baron Pollock, reproving a young counsel who was too eagerly pressing a prosecution, exclaim, "Sir, when I was at the bar I never did so: do you not know that it is in the interest of the Crown that the prisoner should be found innocent, and not guilty?" Governor Eyre does not think so. His view is to find as many of the Queen's subjects as possible guilty of treason. When the law of the criminal tribunals will not suffice, he will strain the law—he will do more—he will embark the man whom he fears the tribunals in Kingston would not condemn, in the same bottom in which he sails to Morant Bay, and there he will hand his palpitating victim over to the barbarous tribunal of the drum-head. We repeat that such a course is infamous. It traverses—we assert without fear of contradiction, not only all law human and divine but assuredly the common law of this realm. But what do we mean by this? We mean not only the law of this fair island of ours where such infamy could not be perpetrated, but the island

of Jamaica, for Governor Eyre has no authority apart from the government of our Queen. We appeal then to our home Government to do its duty. Black or white the subjects of our Queen are under the same law as ourselves. But who was Mr. Gordon? Why he was a man almost white, for twenty years a senator, but like Moses at the court of Pharaoh, having a heart bleeding for his ostracised and oppressed countrymen. He was a political opponent to the men who incited the erring governor to that terrible deed, which has left the blood dripping from his fingers. We repeat that Mr. Gordon was a man of property and position, a member of the Legislative Assembly, a man intelligent beyond most; and this is the man whom the Governor removes to the disturbed district, and suspends upon the gallows tree. What was his crime? Why his crime was, that he had been the advocate of the negro in the house of Assembly, he had denounced the coolie immigration, he had wished alterations to be made in regard to the land-holdings of the poor coloured population; he could use his pen, and write Dr. Underhill, and through him reach the colonial secretary. The revolt in the eastern part of the island furnishes a slim pretext for his arrest, to hurry him to the disturbed district, and then to suspend him on the gibbet. But why speak of Mr. Gordon alone? There are hundreds weltering in their gore, or livid by strangulation, who have for ever passed from the land of the living by similar illegal and violent methods. If these crimes go unchallenged and unpunished, God help our nation. We appeal to our fellow-countrymen in this terrible crisis. We appeal to the

members of the Government who are Englishmen, and we say to them let justice be done though the heavens fall. This is not a question of party; but it is one of freedom and of humanity. Mr. Gordon was as much under the protection of our law, as the hand that writes this, or the eye that reads it, and his sham trial and violent death is an invasion of the Great Charter. Fellow country-men, meet, and by your voice denounce these cruel proceedings, and demand justice upon the guilty. Shall the honour of the British name be vindicated before the world, or shall this stain upon our nation and our Queen remain? If such deeds go unchallenged and unpunished, it will not be long before the judgments of the Almighty come upon our land.

ELLEN CRAFT'S MOTHER.

Seventeen years ago Ellen Craft, a young woman of colour, but almost white, resolving to be free, started from Macon in Georgia, and after numerous hair-breadth escapes, found herself a free woman in the city of Philadelphia. It will be remembered by many who have read the thrilling account of her run of a "thousand miles for freedom," that she escaped dressed up as a Southern young gentleman, accompanied by her faithful husband William Craft, who feigned to be her slave. That husband is at the present time in Africa, at the peril of his life endeavouring to open up commerce with the king of Dahomey, and in other ways to promote the welfare of the race to which he belongs. Mr. and Mrs. Craft have found, in America as well as in this country, many friends, and by their

consistent and Christian lives have proved themselves not unworthy of the helping hand that has been extended to them. Among their best and fastest friends have been the Right Hon. Dr. Stephen Lushington, the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and his philanthropic daughter, Miss Lushington. The distinguished counsel who had the courage to stand unmoved by the menaces of a throne as the defender of Queen Caroline, occupying one of the highest judicial positions in the empire, did not feel himself too elevated to foster with paternal kindness a woman and her husband who had been but recently slaves. For two years did Dr. Lushington take these poor people under his own charge, and into his own habitation. He has educated their son, an intelligent boy of British birth, and still takes a lively interest in his welfare. We trust that the honoured Judge will pardon us for mentioning these facts, which certainly he would never wish to reach the public eye. In this day, however, when it is the fashion to villify and scout the negro, it should be known that it is not every English gentleman that has closed his heart to the appeals of an oppressed people. In the midst of personal prosperity, there was one sorrow that hung like a cloud upon the life-pathway of Mrs. Craft. She had left a mother in slavery at Macon in Georgia. No communication had taken place between the mother and the daughter, and whether she were dead or alive, the ever anxious child did not know. Her old and tried friends resolved to aid Mrs. Craft in making enquiries. Miss Lushington sought the assistance of J. W. Probyn, Esq., of the

Reform Club, and that gentleman on the 9th of August last applied to Dr. Fred. Tomkins, of Lincoln's Inn, to obtain his assistance in order to ascertain whether Mrs. Smith, for that is Mrs. Craft's mother's name, was still alive. President Lincoln's Proclamation had set her free, and General Sherman's arms had opened up the country, so that it was not impossible that the mother after fifty-seven years spent in slavery might if alive embrace her daughter as a free woman. Enquiries were at once made, and through the assistance of numerous friends in the United States, and of Wendell Phillips, Esq., in particular, a communication was received from General Wilson, in command, in Georgia, which stated that Mrs. Smith was alive and well, living within two hundred yards of his Head Quarters. He had kindly sent for her, and told her of the enquiries made by her daughter and friends as to her welfare. General Wilson promptly wrote expressing his readiness to do all in his power to promote the union of the daughter and the mother. Dr. Fred. Tomkins immediately placed himself in communication with General Wilson, with Levi Coffin, of Cincinnati, with Francis Shaw, Esq., and the Rev. W. Hawkins, M.A., of New York. Funds were sent to Cincinnati, and thence transmitted to Georgia. General Wilson arranged with the skill of a soldier, and the heart of a philanthropist for the transit of Mrs. Smith to London. He placed her under the charge of Colonel Burton, of the late Confederate Ordnance department, who availing himself of her services as a nurse for his family, brought her to New

York, from whence she sailed in the "Persia," on the 18th of October last. In due course she arrived in England. Dr. Fred. Tomkins, immediately upon hearing of her arrival, went to Harrogate, to which place Col. Burton had proceeded, and on Saturday afternoon, November the 11th, handed over Mrs. Smith to her daughter Mrs. Craft, who was waiting her arrival at the Great Northern station, King's Cross, London. Dr. Lushington, the firm friend of the oppressed, has disbursed the entire amount of the expense incurred. Thousands were assembled to witness the departure of Mrs. Smith from Macon, and loud were the plaudits of the negro population as the cars passed out of the depot from the place where she had been a slave, to the land in which she is to be for ever free. Warm were the grateful expressions of that mass of black people to the friends of their race in England who so kindly cared for one too long held in unrighteous bondage. An anxious trembling pale-faced lady-like woman, with a little boy by her side, having more of the dusky shadow on his brow than his mother, met that parent so dear to them, who seemed like one risen from the dead. The arrival at King's Cross, though outwardly so different, was not less impressive than the departure from Macon. We need only add that Mrs. Smith is a gentle Christian woman, of light complexion, much debilitated by the long oppressions of slavery and the anxieties of the war; but in every respect worthy of all the concern exhibited on her behalf. Honour—eternal honour—upon all the parties who have aided Mrs. Craft in this recovery of her long lost mother.

INFLUENTIAL MEETING IN BRISTOL.

Reported expressly for "The Freed-Man."

ON Friday, October 27th, an influentially attended meeting of friends and supporters of the Freed-men's Aid Society, took place in the Athenæum, Bristol. It was largely attended by ministers and delegates of Congregational Churches in England and Wales, who were at the time assembled in congress in Bristol; B. Scott, Esq., F.R.A.S. Chamberlain of London and Vice-President of the Society, occupied the chair. The following appropriate hymn was sung:

O holy Father!—just and true

Are all Thy works and words and ways,
And unto Thee alone are due

Thanksgiving and eternal praise!

As children of Thy gracious care,

We veil the eye—we bend the knee,
With broken words of praise and prayer,
Father and God, we come to Thee.

For Thou hast heard, O God of right,

The sighing of the abject slave;
And stretched for him the arm of might,
Not shortened that it could not save.

The labourer sits beneath his vine,
The shackled soul and hand are free—

Thanksgiving!—for the work is Thine!

Praise!—for the blessing is of Thee!

And oh, we feel Thy presence here—

Thy awful arm in judgment bare!
Thine eye hath seen the bondman's tear—
Thine ear hath heard the bondman's prayer!

Praise!—for the pride of man is low,
The counsels of the wise are nought,
The fountains of repentance flow,
What hath our God in mercy wrought?

Speed on Thy work, Lord God of Hosts!

And when each bondman's chain is riven,
And swells from all earth's ocean coasts,
The anthem of the free to heaven;
Oh, not to those whom Thou hast led,
As with thy cloud and fire before,
But unto Thee, in fear and dread,
Be praise and glory evermore.

THE Chairman said: Ladies and Gentlemen, Christian Friends—Our meeting to-day is necessitated by one of the most momentous social

and moral crises which our world has witnessed—the sudden and, to many, unexpected emancipation of four millions of oppressed and degraded human beings on the continent of America. It was a great page in human history when with a high hand and outstretched arm Jehovah brought a nation of Slaves out of Egypt and educated them as a peculiar and favoured people; 'twas a grand page turned in human history when the leaven of Christianity, diffused through the ancient Pagan world, so worked as to cast out and destroy the slavery of the old Roman Empire; it was a grand thing in our own day to witness the fall of serfdom before the advance of civilization and social enlightenment in the Russian Empire; and it was an event, to which we may refer with pride, the exorcising of the demon of slavery in our own West Indian possessions and the liberation of eight hundred thousand Africans, when England repudiated for ever the 'guilty phantasy' that man could hold property in man. But what is this in comparison with the event which renders necessary our meeting of to-day? Few if any of us, four short years since, would have thought it possible that we should live to see the destruction of slavery in the United States of America. We hoped, we prayed, in some vague and unbelieving manner, that the yokes might be broken and that the oppressed should be free. But God has been better to us than our hopes, he has heard the unworthy prayers of his people and to-day we stand in the presence of the stupendous work which He has wrought, in adoring wonder and, I trust, of devout gratitude.

"Lord forgive us! who are we,
That our eyes this glory see
That our ears have heard this sound?

Did we dare

In our agony of prayer
Ask for more than heaven has done?
When was ever God's right hand
Over any time or land
Stretched as now beneath the Sun?

How they pale,
Ancient myth and song and tale,
In this wonder of our days!
When the cruel rod of war
Blossoms white with righteous law,
And the wrath of men is praise!"

Great crises involve corresponding duties and obligations. This is the text of my brief opening address this morning. We have not been called upon to shed our blood—our American brethren have given that without stint, and of that country it may be said to-day “there is not a house where there is not one dead.” We, in the observance of a national neutrality, have been spared any direct pecuniary sacrifices. Emancipation, under God, has been purchased by the blood and treasure of our American friends, some of whom we are gratified to see present to-day. We, however, cannot allow them to bear all the burthen. We feel that our honour, our Christianity is concerned in our bearing a part of it—however humble. We feel that practical sympathy is due. You know that of old when God brought out His oppressed people from Egypt it was well with those who befriended them, and how it went ill with those who stood aloof in unsympathising neutrality or who manifested overt hostility; let us be careful that we be on the right side on this occasion. Whether our sympathies have been with the North or the South in the past struggle I stop not to enquire. That is past, however, and cannot be recalled. I thank God that for myself personally my sympathy was loyally on the side of the free—the North, and my prayer was ever for the oppressed and for the defeat of the oppressor. (Applause.) It is of great importance, however, that we now lend a helping hand to the necessitous beings who took no part in the struggle, but who depended on the interposition of God; for of them, I doubt not, as of the oppressed of old, it will be decreed “blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed be he that curseth thee.” Dr. Sterrs and the Rev. Sella Martin, both from America, will inform you of the urgent necessity which exists for the supply, at once, of money, clothing, bedding, school books, and implements of trade and of agriculture. I shall leave that part of the subject in their hands. At this very hour a mourning nation is conveying to the tomb with every mark of respect, the mortal remains of a venerable statesman. It may interest this meeting to be informed that I very recently saw a letter from Mr. Layard, the assistant Foreign

Secretary, in which he says, that when the public and private life of Lord Palmerston shall be written, it will be manifest that that nobleman was ever the firm, constant and unwavering friend of the oppressed negro (cheers) May the blessing of him who was ready to perish come upon him. Mr. Scott in conclusion, mentioned a mode of help in providing clothing which he had found very efficacious.

The Rev. T. Binney of Weigh-house Chapel, London, moved the first resolution, which was as follows:—“That this meeting desires to express its gratitude to Almighty God for the emancipation of the four millions of bondmen in the United States of America, and also its cordial sympathy with the Freed-men's Aid Society, London, and with kindred institutions formed throughout Great Britain, to mitigate the present keen sufferings of Freed-men, as well as to aid in the establishment of schools for the education of these poor people, so that they may become fitted for the responsibilities and enjoyments of freedom.” He said he came there merely to listen, and to show by his presence his sympathy with the object of the meeting; he remembered the old slavery question agitation, and a great deal was then said about the compensation that should be given to the slaveowners on the liberation of their slaves; but there were many of them who thought that if compensation were to be given at all, it was most needed by the slaves themselves (Applause.) It had been argued that as the American nation had deliberately and with set purpose declared that these people should be no longer slaves, they themselves should take the consequences and the issue of their determination; that if they did the thing they should do it thoroughly, and that they should take all the responsibility of caring for these people, meeting their wants, making preparation for their education, and do every thing else that fairly, properly, and religiously required doing towards the blacks. He (Mr. Binney) could conceive of a person taking that ground, and he was not going to argue the matter; but there was a verse in Scripture which he believed answered the objection, and it said “Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them, and them that suffer affliction as being ourselves also in the

body." (Applause.) He thought therefore that their duty was perfectly clear—that they were called upon to be grateful to God for the emancipation of these poor people, and to feel a sympathy with them. (Applause.) If they felt this sympathy, it would take a practical shape, (hear, hear,) and he hoped that Bristol sympathy would display itself in subscriptions and donations. (Applause.)

The Rev. D. Thomas, B.A. of Bristol, and President of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, seconded the resolution, and said, he came there to-day in order to show and to assure the meeting that there existed a great sympathy among the congregational body in England and Wales in this great movement. He need not tell many present that of all the exciting meetings that had been held during the present week, none of them had excited their sympathies and entered into their hearts so much as that at which the causes of American missions to the freed-men were brought up (applause); he thought they gave the most practical proof of their sympathy, as a body, with the movement, in the resolution recommending that collections in aid of the Freed-Men's Aid Society be made in all the Congregational churches in England and Wales on the second Sunday in January. (Continued applause.)

He had no doubt that these collections would be very largely made, and that the example would stimulate the great Wesleyan body in its various departments, and also the Baptist body, which had always been amongst the foremost in expressing its abhorrence of slavery, and its sympathy with the free. He could not sit down without remarking, in answer to his friend Mr. Binney's hope that Bristol would practically show its sympathy with the cause, that Bristol had done a good deal in their matter already. (Hear, hear.) He was in a position to know that there been large gatherings of various sections of the christian church: for the purpose of working, and stimulating one another to work in this cause. (Applause.) Perhaps, there was no city that had done more—he did not know! and what it had done, it had done heartily. (Hear, hear.) Especially had a great deal of sympathy been shown by the ladies of Clifton, Cotham, and Kingsdown,

and their labours in this direction he believed had made them happier. (Hear, hear.) He believed the work would go on and increase, and he would assure the meeting that nothing should be wanting on his part to bring such about. (Applause.) Mr. Thomas, in conclusion, explained the absence of a number of clergymen who deeply sympathised with the object of the meeting, and said he could on their behalf assure the meeting that they deeply loved their American brethren, and that their prayers were for them and for the eminent success of the American Mission. (Applause.)

The resolution was cordially adopted.

The Rev. Dr. Storrs, of America, addressed the meeting at some length. He eloquently pointed out the present condition of the emancipated negroes, which large mass of humanity had been received by the American people not unwillingly, not constrained in their charities by selfishness but contented, generously and with determination to soften the severities of the transition period, and to bring them into the truest state of Christian manhood and freedom. (Applause.) It had been said, but he would ask whether it was right to say, that it belonged to the American nation to do the work—that it should be shown no co-operative sympathy because it refused to undertake this great christian duty itself. There was always a distinction justly to be made between the mere political parties which always infest a nation and the christian public of that nation; (Hear, hear) this distinction was to be observed in America. The christian public was engaged in the work mainly; but the government had rendered, and was still rendering, most important aid. (Hear, hear.) It had organised a Freed-man's Bureau, at the head of which had been placed a gentleman who had been called the Havelock of the American army, General Howard (Applause); and this bureau was providing so far as it could for the necessities of the freed-man. But their efforts required to be supplemented, and voluntary christian charity was arising in all quarters, and was supplementing the works of government by providing supplies of food and clothing, and by employing teachers in industrial arts, in necessary education, in religious principles, social order, family government and relation,

&c. In all the various organizations at present there were now something like 1,200 laborers employed, each of which taught sixty pupils, for which they received £60, being at the rate of \$1 each. The negroes, old and young, were very eager to learn in every part of the country, and they evidently recognised in the result of these efforts their being lifted to the proper place and power of freed-men. Had the friends of the negro reason to expect success in this world? The negroes of America were at present degraded; and what else could be expected after seven generations of bondage, what more could be expected as the results of a system that continuously for more than two hundred years had been engaged in the effort to make this man simply a knowing brute, that he might accomplish labour successfully for the selfish purposes of his owner? (Applause.) But their friends were convinced that when the labour of the negroes had its proper reward they would be found to justify the opinions entertained of them. Dr. Storrs then proceeded to contradict the assertion that the negroes were a lazy race; he said they had not yet become sufficiently awake to the new state of the country, and had not learnt to throw off that inertia which a state of thralldom had induced. In places, while the war was raging, where colonies of negroes had gathered, secure from guerilla incursions, they had become owners of the soil, and had proved themselves well qualified to undertake its management. He then pointed out that the great question of taking this negro population and raising it into a noble condition affected not only the Americans but socially and morally affected us in England in a thousand points which would make themselves manifest in due time; and concluded by praying for those present and the churches there represented, and the philanthropic public of this nation, whose heart-throbs he had been permitted to feel, the choicest blessings of God for the present and for all time to come in this world and the next; and be committed in solemn trust this great matter to their decision. (applause.)

The Rev. Sella Martin, a coloured missionary, followed, but we have space for only the briefest outline of his address. He combatted

the opinion that the help all nations united in giving the negro would encourage him in idleness rather than stimulate him to self-reliance; and in answer to the remark that a little wholesome neglect would do them good, stated that they were worthy of help. He denied that the correspondents who wrote in the newspapers about the laziness of negroes told the truth, and he gave several instances where they had amassed large fortunes for themselves. The fact was they did not work because they had, many of them, no work to do, the former owners of land having gone to Cuba or Brasil with all the gold they could get together, and Northern capitalists not liking to invest money in property the tenure of which was of a questionable character. He spoke of the reconstruction policy of President Johnson as making it all the more apparent that the negroes must get help from somewhere, because they were thrown back into the hands of the slave-owners; and then stated the circumstances under which help was demanded for them.

The second resolution was moved by the Rev. Dr. Waddington of London: — "That this meeting has listened with the deepest attention to the statements of the Rev. H. M. Storrs, D.D., and the Rev. Sella Martin; and upon the eve of departure of these honoured and beloved brethren to the United States, desires to express its obligations to them, as well as to the other accredited delegates from America, for the valuable services rendered by these gentlemen to the Freed-Men's Aid Society, London; and it would further express its cordial sympathy with the devoted men and women in America who, at the present time, are putting forth such strenuous efforts for the rescue of these freed people from the sufferings incident to their new condition; and also its earnest prayer that peace and prosperity may be enjoyed by our brethren across the Atlantic, and that the United States of America and our own beloved country may be united in bonds of constant friendship, and unite in promoting the moral and religious interests of mankind at large." Dr. Waddington spoke to the following effect: No duty, Sir, could be more pleasant to my own mind than to express to these beloved American

brethren our sentiments of grateful esteem and warm sympathy with the object that brought them to this country. In the absence of our friend Dr. Storrs, who is compelled to leave the meeting, I may take the opportunity to express to Mr. Martin the sentiments we entertain toward the millions of his race who in the glorious hour of freedom are suffering physical want, and not a few of them we fear are at the margin of the dark valley. With our feelings of sincere pity we blend the most sincere respect (hear). We are under special obligation to them for their almost supernatural fortitude and forbearance in the midst of the most trying and perilous crisis we have known in modern times (hear, hear). For two years they stood on the tantalising edge of freedom without losing self-control. They waited in the midst of bitter provocation and cruel indignities for the appointed hour to strike for their deliverance—when some of them after a transient taste of the sweets of liberty were remanded back to heavier bondage—they still endured with heroic calmness—where space was cleared for a belt of emancipation extending fifteen hundred miles they maintained unbroken order—at one time a procession eight miles long, including the halt, the aged, the young, the sick and the blind, harassed in their march by an opposing army, kept their onward course and reached the camps of safety without the loss of a single straggler. With the same noble patience they received President Lincoln's proclamation and when their humble shanties were pillaged and their hospital was destroyed in New York they still continued steadfast and immovable (hear, hear). Who can imagine the horror that might have ensued if they had acted a different part? We know what military service they rendered, but it is their unexampled moral courage and self-control that fills us with the greatest admiration (cheers). Now, Sir, what is due to three millions in the crisis of their fate? That they should be kept from perishing? Undoubtedly. But we must go further. The time is come for reparation. We ask it in no vindictive spirit but in the name of justice and humanity. The all-enduring negro race will have a career of improvement and usefulness if Christian men are faithful to their trust. In the days of sla-

very the future of the negro seemed to be bounded by his life in the field of unrequited toil. Now the hand of God has opened to them the door of opportunity and it cannot be closed. President Johnson has set a worthy example in recognizing the people of Africa in America as his fellow-countrymen—and in stimulating them to enter on a career of improvement. We may pledge the philanthropists of England that they take their full part in the work of amelioration. The people of Bedford have just raised the requisite funds to erect a Bunyan memorial school in one of the Southern States (cheers). The passion of the negroes for the acquisition of useful learning is well known. I will mention an incident that may interest the young people of Bristol. They have reason to cherish the memory of Hannah More and the associations of Barley Wood and Cowalip Green. When Mr. Knowlton visited one of the stations of the Freed-men a young coloured woman told him that in her desire to learn to read she asked the visitors at her master's house to read the labels on their trunks. She procured a primer which she concealed in her bonnet, and by degrees mastered the art. One day her master suspecting that she had been so far instructed, rang the bell violently and said to her in a peremptory tone "Malinda fetch me out of the library the first volume of Hannah More;" put off her guard and fearing to disobey her master, Milanda brought the book. "I thought, Milanda," said the angry slave-master, "that you had begun to read and now I know it." He whipped her with his own hand and almost whipped her to death (shame) "Oh, Mr. Knowlton," she said, in telling the story, "how can I be thankful enough, how can I be thankful enough that my daughter can be taught to read the Bible and not be whipped to death." Dr. Waddington adverted to the remarkable coincidences in Providence tending to advance the cause of negro emancipation, and related some thrilling instances. The path of the Freed-man, he continued, is still beset with perils and difficulties. Some in their impatience and selfishness are beginning to say, "Send them away." But the voice of Heaven repeats the word of authority and of compassion given the disciples. "They need not depart, Give them to eat."

The distribution is begun and the supply will be multiplied. You are aware, Mr. Chamberlain, that it is hinted by those who have not been on our side of the American question that we are un-English and that we have tried to produce un-friendly feeling. I hope, Sir, it is quite English to do right (hear), and with respect to the influence we have tried to exert, it is enough to know in our heart of hearts that we have had throughout a simple aim to secure harmony on the basis of justice to all and of mutual esteem. The two nations will go hand-in-hand in this work, they will renew their youth in the service of freedom and humanity and become a lasting blessing to the world (applause). Dr. Waddington in closing referred to the eminent service rendered by Dr. Storrs and Mr. Leigh, and to the toils and sacrifices of Professor Mitchell, Vincent Colyer, and Horace James.

The Rev. Dr. King of Dublin, seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously.

Dr. Fred. Tomkins, the Acting Hon. Secretary to the Society, stated that he had received an additional contribution of \$10 from the Chamberlain of London, (the Vice-President), and that the Rev. Algernon Warren, of Bristol, wished to give \$5 through the Bristol Branch Association. (Applause.) Dr. Tomkins then narrated an anecdote of the late President Lincoln, showing his sympathy with the negro. The Doctor was in Washington on the business of the Association, and he spent the evening of the 27th of February with the President, who requested Dr. Tomkins to use in whatever way he pleased, a military pass, on which his Excellency wrote:—"I heartily commend the object for which Dr. Tomkins has visited this country, and wish him God speed in it.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, February 27, 1865." Such, said the speaker, was the sentiment of that great and good man, the martyr-President. If, from his sainted elevation, he could behold their Meeting, and was conscious of the object for which they were assembled—and who dare say that he was not—that noble man would, if possible, urge them on in their philanthropic work. He would repeat, if vocal utterance were possible to the disembodied spirit, "I heartily commend the object for which you are assembled, and bid you God speed in it." (Loud applause.)

The Rev. Mr. Bacon, son of the late Dr. Bacon of New York, and the Rev. Dr. J. C. Holbrook, who has succeeded the Rev. Sella Martin as representative of the American Missionary Society in this country, also addressed the meeting, and a vote of thanks having been passed to the chairman on motion of the Rev. S. Hebditch (Bristol), Local Secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the following words were sung:—

When from each temple of the free,
A nation's song ascends to heaven,
Most Holy Father! unto Thee
May not our humble prayer be given?

For those to whom Thy living word
Of light and love is never given—
For those whose ears have never heard
The promise and the hope of heaven!

For broken heart and clouded mind,
Whereon no human mercies fall—
Oh, be Thy gracious love inclined,
Who, as a father, pitiest all!

And grant, O Father! that the time
Of earth's deliverance may be near,
When every land, and tongue, and clime,
The message of Thy love shall hear—

When, smitten as with fire from heaven,
The captive's chain shall sink in dust,
And to his fettered soul be given
The glorious freedom of the just!

The benediction was pronounced, and the meeting separated.

IMPORTANT LETTER FROM J. B. BRAITHWAITE, ESQ.

Richmond, Indiana, 27th 9th mo., 1865.
Amidst the close engagements connected with a visit to "Friends" in these parts, I have as yet been unable to make any actual personal observation as to the state of the Freed-men in the South. But there are a few items of information which may prove not altogether without interest to our friends in England. At each of our "Yearly Meetings," in Iowa, at Plainfield in Western Indiana, and here at Richmond, large meetings have been held specially devoted to the interests of the Freed-men. Our friends everywhere appear alive to the importance both of the subject

itself and of the present emergency in relation to it; and in each of the Yearly Meetings there are standing Committees in active operation with the view both of raising contributions, and of encouraging and assisting those who offer themselves as Teachers. A few days ago at Plainfield, my dear friend Joseph Cressfield and myself spent a highly interesting evening with a company of young friends, most of whom spent last winter among the Freed-men at different points of the Mississippi Valley or in Tennessee, and 15 or 16 of whom were intending to return to their labours in a few weeks. Their united testimony was that up to the age of 12, the coloured children manifested greater quickness in learning than white children of the same age—but that, after that age, the difference was in favour of the white children, especially in those branches of study which require abstract thought. The moral habits which they had learned in slavery require the exercise of much patience on the part of their teachers. They have little conception of the importance of Truth, and some of the teachers had not been able to maintain order at all times without resorting to corporal punishment. This had been applied in a few extreme cases, but in a way to convince the children that it was not the result of anger, but for their good. The hearts of these dear young friends seemed to be in their work. They go forth in a spirit of self-sacrifice, and in love to their Saviour, and we felt that we could commend them to His all-sufficient grace.

On the 25th inst., at Cincinnati, our valued friends, Judge Storer, Levi Coffin and some other warm friends kindly arranged an interview with General Fisk who under General Howard, the head of the Freed-man's Bureau at Washington, is appointed superintendent of the affairs of the Freed-men in Kentucky, Tennessee, and the adjacent portions of Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama. General Fisk is a man of great intelligence and bears a high character both as an earnest and sincere Christian and a true friend of the coloured man. All that we saw of and heard from him corresponded with his character. After explaining the nature of the Freed-man's Bureau and his own position under it, he

entered into some interesting details of the existing state of things. He has no doubt of the capacity of the coloured man both for education and for self-support and government. The men who have been maintaining by their industry both their masters and themselves, can surely now maintain themselves. His private secretary is a black man, "black as midnight," highly intelligent and thoroughly competent to his work. A white lady called a few days ago at his office at Nashville, to obtain the necessary order for the recovery of her property. She was dressed in silks and adorned with jewels but when asked to state her case upon paper, confessed that she could not write. General Fisk desired her to dictate her claim to that gentleman, pointing to his coloured secretary. "What," she exclaimed, "that nigger a gentleman; can that nigger write?" "Try him, madam," was the reply: and the white lady was obliged to accept the black man's services, and to sign with a cross the statement written out by him, whilst he added his name as attesting witness. She returned home mortified, with a higher conception of the capacity of the coloured race. Gen. Fisk is anxious, as far as possible, to break up the camps, as artificial arrangements, suited only for the temporary emergencies of the war, and to provide permanent employment and homes for the coloured population on the farms and plantations. In order to do this it is necessary to place the relation of the Freed-men to the landed proprietors upon a sound basis of mutual contract; he does all in his power to encourage such contracts; and is careful not to interfere with them unless in cases of manifest fraud or oppression. The freed-man must learn to protect his own interests. The numerous pardons granted by the Government is having the effect of rapidly withdrawing the confiscated lands from the hands of the Government and of restoring them to the former owners; large estates are thus being transferred to those who were lately in the Southern army. Much obviously depends upon the willingness of the land owners to employ the coloured people as free labourers upon fair terms. Many appear willing to do this, and to establish schools on their estates. The old confederate soldiers and generals are more

willing to accept the new position than the poorer whites who were not in the army. These latter are many of them as ignorant and degraded as the blacks; with the pride of caste about them; and under the strong impression that their late sufferings during the war were occasioned by the Anti-Slavery agitation. General Fisk has been lately through his district, holding meetings and explaining his views. It was but a few days since that he attended a meeting, a black man in the chair, an old confederate general on one side, a federal on the other side—whites and blacks all earnestly engaged in listening to his statement and considering what is to be done. Altogether, whilst feeling the momentous gravity of the crisis, he is cheered and hopeful. Teachers are greatly wanted—and for the next few years, having regard to the large number of the old, infirm, and disabled, and of the women and children, there must in his opinion, continue to be a loud call for active liberality and philanthropic effort. Much will be needed to supply the wants of the coming winter.

Our friend Levi Coffin accompanied General Fisk in a visit to camp Nelson, in Kentucky, where a large number still remain congregated. Dr. Massey is now here—and attended the Freed-man's meeting this morning. I expect to go into Virginia in the course of next week, and may probably spend a few days there previously to returning to Philadelphia.

On board the "Scotia,"

11th mo., 7th, 1868.

The pressure of engagements has hitherto prevented me from completing the foregoing. Previously to leaving Richmond, Ind., I had a very interesting interview with about 18 or 20 young friends who were going, and are now gone, into the Mississippi district, for the purpose of educating the Freed-men. Elkanah Beard and his wife were among them. They are thoroughly devoted to their work, and went forth with their lives in their hands, well knowing the danger to which they were exposed if military protection were withdrawn from the districts in which they were about to labour. Their evidence as to the capacity of the coloured children quite corroborated the statements of our friends at Plainfield; in

fact, there seems no doubt as to their capacity being fully equal to the average capacity of whites, allowing for the difference in outward advantages. At the close of the yearly meeting at Richmond in Ind., I proceeded to Richmond in Virginia, by way of Baltimore. At Baltimore I was gratified by witnessing a spectacle, very novel in that city—a procession of several thousand coloured freemasons. The whole arrangement was under the conduct of coloured men, and in order and respectability was fully equal to any similar spectacle that I have witnessed in England. Many of the men who took part in it were fine specimens of humanity, full-grown and well proportioned. The coloured population in Baltimore appeared in their holiday dress, highly delighted with what was going forward. And though it was the first display of the kind that had occurred in the city, all passed off in an orderly manner and without accident. In the evening I passed down the Chesapeake, and on the following morning, in company with a Friend deeply interested in the Freed-men, and about to settle at Richmond, we proceeded up the James River to Richmond, the late capitol of the late "Confederacy." The ease of our transit was in strong contrast with the difficulty of the journey when contending armies disputed the passage. I will not dwell on the many points of interest either in the journey or at Richmond itself—the Libby Prison—Belle Isle—the triple line of fortifications—the ruined warehouses and court-houses, &c. My business now is with the Freed-men. I had an interview with Colonel Brown, who has charge of the district of Virginia under the Freed-man's Bureau. He seemed to have greater difficulties to contend with in Virginia than General Fisk in Tennessee. There is a strong disposition on the part of the planters to enter into a combination as to the rate of wages and the employment of coloured persons without the consent of their former employers. He read me, by way of specimen, a long series of resolutions passed by the landowners of a district in Virginia, with that object. The Freed-man's Bureau treat these arrangements as utterly void, and otherwise discountenance them as much as possible, but the disposition to enter

into them is highly obstructive. Col. Brown gave me an encouraging incident. Col. Drury of Drury's Bluff, the well known Confederate officer, had been with him with a party of Virginians, a week or two before our visit. Col. Drury said in the course of their interview:—"When Lee surrendered I called my slaves together and told them—you know that I have done all that I can to keep you in slavery" (this was too true to be questioned) "I now tell you that you are free. You may go where you please—but I don't want you to leave me. I will give you higher wages than any one else—and will establish schools for you on my estate." Nearly all his slaves remained with him—only two or three leaving, and his testimony to his fellow planters was: "From what I have already seen of the result, I expect to have a much more profitable year than any that I have had under the old system of slavery." Col. Drury is a man of decision, and having tried one system and found it a failure, is prepared at once to throw his energies into another. It is to be hoped that many of his fellow citizens may be influenced by his example. My kind host, John B. Crenshaw, who has an estate about five miles from Richmond, and has lived there through the war, has had reason to be satisfied with the result of his kind treatment of his freed men. Being a member of the Society of Friends, his slaves were of course emancipated long before the beginning of the war. They had fled into the woods during the last year of the war, to avoid the conscription, but on hearing of General Lee's surrender they returned quietly to work. He had his faithful servants about him, whilst his neighbours were at a loss what to do for want of help.

I had a large and interesting meeting with the coloured people at Richmond. It was a pleasure to look upon their happy and thankful countenances. Returning to Baltimore, after a short visit to Washington and Philadelphia, (in each of which cities I had the pleasure of inspecting coloured schools, attesting both the capacity and proficiency of the scholars: in one of them the pupils were engaged upon Euclid, Algebra, and Cicero's First Oration against Cataline); I had the privilege of at-

tending and taking part in the first public meeting ever held in Baltimore on behalf of the Freed-men. It was crowded with a highly intelligent and influential audience; the speakers, in their anxiety to avoid political topics, pretty much confined themselves to the moral and religious aspect of the question. In the few observations which I ventured to make on the duty which the white population owed to themselves, no less than to the coloured race—of doing their utmost to raise, by a course of Christian training and education, their coloured fellow-citizens to the position which American citizens ought to occupy—I was ably followed by Bishop MacVaine, Ohio, whose fervent words were listened to with profound attention and scarcely suppressed applause. Our friends considered it a very successful occasion, and believed that it would produce good effects. In the important city of Baltimore the cause of the Freed-man has an able supporter in Judge Bond, who throws all the weight of his judicial and personal influence in favour of freedom. The State of Maryland has lately abolished slavery, but whilst the northern portion of the State is mostly anti-slavery there is still a strong pro-slavery prejudice in the south-eastern portion. This accounts for the report read at the meeting that five or six schools and churches in that part of the state had been burned by the mob for the single reason that they had been appropriated to the purpose of educating the Freed-men. This feeling must gradually give way, and its existence ought not to surprise or discourage us. Altogether, looking at the wonderful progress that has been made within the last few years, we cannot but look forward hopefully and trustfully—whilst not unmindful of what remains to be done, and of the necessity for continued watchfulness, that the ground which has been gained should not be again lost.

Miss REMOND, a lady of colour, formerly of Massachusetts, United States, will lecture to the Literary Institution, Tottenham, on Tuesday evening Dec. 5th, at 7.30. Subject "The Freed-men or Emancipated Negroes" of the Southern States of North America.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

Of New York was formed in 1846, on a strict anti-slavery basis, and has ever since maintained a consistent record. Its laws made it a prominent object to benefit the coloured race both in Africa and America. Since the outbreak of the civil war in the United States, it has given special and almost exclusive attention to the wants of the Freed-men. It was first in the field for their relief, and expended about £30,000 for this object before any other organisations were formed. It has sent forward large quantities of supplies for the destitute, and will continue to act as the almoner of the benevolent who desire to employ it for that purpose.

It seeks also to promote the intellectual elevation of this class, and has now in its employ at numerous points in the southern states, upwards of two hundred and fifty teachers of both sexes, including many refined and highly educated persons who are devoting themselves earnestly to that work. And this is indispensable to the permanent elevation and welfare of the coloured people. It has achieved much already in this direction.

And still another and a higher object it seeks to accomplish, viz: the moral and religious improvement of this hitherto downtrodden and oppressed people. Undenominational in its character, it is the chosen medium of great multitudes of christian people for reaching the spiritual wants of the negroes, and has been cheered by the most important results.

The Rev. Sella Martin has for several months been labouring in England and Scotland as its agent in diffusing knowledge as to the condition of the Freed-men. But he has been obliged to return to America, and is succeeded by Rev. John C. Holbrook, D.D., of New York, who is now labouring in a similar manner, and who can be addressed at No. 11, Queen Square, London, W.C.

Lewis Tappan Esq., the Treasurer of the Association, is extensively known in England. He was the friend of Joseph Sturge, deceased, and his guest several years ago when he visited this country.

Dr. Holbrook has a testimonial from the Freed-men's Aid Society, London, from which

it will be seen that he comes with the most satisfactory testimonials from America.

FRANCE.—A meeting has been held in the Music-hall known as the Salle Harp, Rue Provence, for the relief of the liberated negroes of America. The hall was crowded to excess; more than a thousand persons had to remain outside for want of room. The proceedings were opened by the Chairman, M. E. Labouraye, of the Institute, in a warm and spirited speech. Mr. Leigh, of New York, and Dr. Sutherland, chaplain to the American church in the Rue de Berri, addressed the meeting at some length. Three French clergymen (Protestants)—M. E. de Pressence, M. Coquerel the younger, and M. Saint Hilaire also spoke. But the speaker who seemed to produce the deepest impression on the audience was M. Cremieux, formerly member of the provisional Government, and long one of the leading advocates at the Paris Bar. M. Cremieux is a member of the Jewish persuasion. The preceding speakers dwelt particularly on the insufficiency of the efforts made by France in favour of the slaves, as compared with the results obtained in America and England. Nothing could be more exact, in a material point of view, but the meeting was reminded that France took a considerable part in the independence of America and the abolition of slavery. M. Cremieux admitted, with regret, that in 1802 France re-established slavery; but he reminded his hearers, amid general applause, of the two periods of 1792 and 1848, when its complete abolition was proclaimed. A collection was afterwards made for the benefit of the negroes. It amounted, I hear, to about 1,100*l.*, or £44—no great result, after such fervid appeals, and with so many listeners. A second meeting will however be held, in the hope of a better material result.

THE Committee of the Freed-men's Aid Society meet on the first and third Wednesday in each month, at two o'clock, at the Anti-Slavery Society's Rooms, 27, New Broad Street, City, E.C.

ALL packages of goods intended for the Freed-men should be forwarded to Messrs. Johnson, Johnson & Co., Blomfield-street, E.C.

Correspondence.

There seems to be a persistent effort on the part of some, to depreciate the intelligence of the freed-men, to represent them not only as entirely ignorant, but as incapable of taking care of, and supporting themselves. There is necessarily great ignorance and degradation among them, for we know that their entire life training has been only such as had a tendency to degrade, demoralize, and crush out whatever might be left of human nature. Now the great marvel to me is, that so much still remains of real intelligence, and earnest Christian character.

I have found them with few exceptions to be earnest and indefatigable in their efforts to learn, they are, if I may use the expression, hungering and thirsting for that, which many of our Northern children pass so indifferently by; they are as much pleased with the smallest acquisition of knowledge, as many a boy would be at the solving of some difficult problem. I rejoice that it has been my privilege to teach for a season among these poor freed-people. It has been a pleasure, bringing its own and immediate reward, both in their eagerness to learn, and gratitude expressed in many ways peculiar to themselves. How interesting to watch them as they sit before you in school, with their earnest upturned faces, ready to catch every word, and to seize every new idea and make it their own, giving you that implicit faith, which says plainer than words can speak, "We know you will teach us what is right and true," and in reference to the facility with which they learn, I would add that although I had been a teacher at the North six years, yet I have never seen a school, taking them as a majority, that learn more rapidly than the coloured schools in New Berne.

As a people they are naturally inclined to be religious, and are never so happy as when singing and praying; they would by most of our good Northern people seem too noisy and demonstrative in their mode of worship, yet I think none would doubt their sincerity. They need but the elevating, refining influence that an education must bring them, to teach them that true religion is as often found in

the "still small voice" as in the tempest. How often I have wished while in New Berne, that some of our Northern people, who persist in the assertion that the freed-men can not be educated, and thereby elevated, could for a little time stand within one of our coloured schools and see the earnestness with which lessons are studied, the quick bright answers given, and when you bring before them the incentive of comparing favourably with Northern schools the determination written on every face, to bring about such a result. One has only to mingle with the freed-people as a teacher must necessarily do, to discover under the dark sable skin a bright intelligence, a quickness of perception, and a kindness of heart, that at first almost startles you, and then you mingle with them day by day, and find so many Christian traits of character, chief among which is their forgiving, not only seven times, but seventy times seven. They are more Christlike in this particular than any wronged oppressed people the world has ever known, willing not only to forgive all the past wrongs of their masters, but when these same masters come back poor and penniless, in many instances they give them all their own hard earned wages. I have never heard one word expressive of revenge or retaliation towards their oppressors, from the lips of a coloured person during my stay at the South, even those who have suffered the most keenly, who have known nothing but harsh words and cruel blows, still express no other feeling than that of forgiveness, saying with much earnestness "I forgive Massa, and hope the good Lord will forgive him too, I always prays for Massa." How forcibly this brings to mind the words of the blessed Saviour "Father forgive them for they know not what they do." Never before have I seen so beautifully illustrated the forbearing forgiving spirit which Jesus himself has taught us. And in this connection I would speak of the Freed-men's Association of freedom.

During the latter part of the past winter, every day would bring scores of the freed-people to New Berne, they came to us in companies of 60, 70, or a hundred, in the most destitute ragged condition one could well imagine. Many of them had been fol-

lowing Sherman's Army for months, and although they were harmless, hungry, and almost naked, still I never heard them say they were willing to go back to their masters and to slavery. They are willing to wait patiently, cheerfully, for time to work out for them the precious blessings of freedom, they seem to think that any amount of suffering is not too great, so that they may at last come out from under the cloud that has environed them with worse than Egyptian darkness. I am sure that the smallest child who goes to school knows what freedom means. It is pleasant to see the little faces light up with joy, when you tell them they are no longer slaves. I said to one old man, "Well, Uncle, how do you like to be a free man?" The response came quick and earnest: "Bless the Lord, Missus, I never 'spected to see this day, but I knew my people would; I have been praying for it thirty-five years, and now my old eyes have seen the salvation of the Lord, and I thanks the Lord every day, that he has set my people free." Again I said to one, "Well aunty, I suppose you know by this time what freedom means." Her face lighted up, as she said, "Thank the Lord, honey, I belongs to myself now" and with still more earnestness, laying her hands on the heads of two little ones by her side, "And these are not Massa's, but they are mine! Now I don't care how hard I work, I can take care of myself and the children too." Generally speaking I have seen no more laziness manifested by the coloured people, than I have throughout the poorer classes at the North, give them work to do, and they will most cheerfully do it, as a majority they wish to prove to the world, that they can take care of themselves, let us only give them a chance, help them until they are able, if I may use the expression, to stand alone, and after that pass judgment upon them. They are now very very destitute, they need to be clothed, and I trust God will open the hearts of his children everywhere, to respond to this great and pressing need. They must be educated, for in this way we hope to develop the talent, energy and intelligence of this race, and give them an individuality as a people. We who are the professed disciples of Jesus, believe

that the Lord has in his own time and way, worked out the deliverance of this people, and we cannot fail to hear his voice saying "go over into the South and help them" and if we cannot go, let us send, send them clothing, give of our abundance to lighten in some small measure, their way as they tread the now rugged path of freedom, and when they are fully established they will never cease to call down blessings upon the heads of those who have helped them in their *greatest* need. It seems to me if I desired anything of the Lord, and wanted an effectual fervent prayer offered for it. I should go to some good old coloured man or woman and ask them to pray for me, for their faith so earnest, so implicit, could not fail to bring the blessings. They wrestle like Jacob of old, with God, and their faith never wavers; no matter how destitute they may be, how perplexed or encompassed with difficulties on every side, they resolve all their doubts and fears into this one sentence. "Only trust the Lord, and it will all be right." Oh for such faith, a faith that can look up through coming years of unrequited toil, years of martyrdom, and never for one moment doubt the goodness of God, and the final victory, "Vengeance is mine saith the Lord, I will repay." How wonderfully this promise has been worked out in the freedom of this oppressed and downtrodden people. Should we not then as a nation, be careful to deal justly with those whom God has set free, will they not with their passionate love of freedom, and their intense hatred of slavery and all its concomitants, prove an element of strength to this government? why should they not then have a voice in what even pertains to its best good, why not give them at least the same privilege we grant to foreigners who crowd our great thoroughfares by thousands, are they more ignorant than they? I answer from actual observation no. Let us deal justly with the Freed-man, lest a greater evil come upon us, and at last hear the voice of Jesus saying "Ye knew your duty, but ye did it not."

FRANCIS E. BONNELL.

Teacher at New Berne, N. C.

Rev. A. M. Wylie.

If I can assist you at any time by giving you further information I shall be glad to do so.

FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY.

RECEIPTS FOR SEPT., OCT., AND PART OF NOV., 1865.

CASH

Per Hon. O. C. Leigh.	
Per Rev. W. B. Boyce, Bishopsgate Street, London	185 19 7
The Freed-men's Aid Society London	250 0 0
—Esq., per Rev. A. Hampson	20 0 0
Mr. E. Bell	0 8 6
Per Messrs. Lombard, Odier, & Co., Geneva	120 0 0
F. W. Cobb, Esq., Margate	3 3 0
R. H. Lloyd, Esq.	10 10 0
Per Mrs. Whitehorn, Gower Street	0 7 6
Rev. Baptist Noel's Sunday School	1 0 0
J. Cash, Esq., Coventry	5 0 0
Per Ladies' Society, Frome	6 2 8
„ C. A. Simons, Collecting Card	0 4 0
„ Rev. M. J. Evans, Stratford-on-Avon	3 3 0
„ Miss Remond, London	0 6 6
„ Mrs. Haynes, Brentford	0 10 0
„ Cheltenham Freed-men's Aid Society	126 0 0
Mrs. E. Townsend	5 0 0
Collections from the Continent	3,270 16 8
	3,958 11 0

Per Rev. James Wilson, collected by Rev. George Bowen, Bombay.	
Colonel Shaw	100 Rs.
Major Garner	10
A. A.	50
F. L. Brown, Esq.	50
N. Spencer, Esq.	10
Major Candy	30
A Friend	5
Rev. Dr. Wilson	10
Dr. Livingston	10
	275 25 10 0
	3,984 1 0

GOODS.

Ship C 510, Sundry Contributions in package (additional)	25 18 1
„ 519, 533, 598, 599, Band of Hope Union	12 5 0
„ 598, Highbury Park Church, per Rev. J. E. Edmonds	6 19 0
„ 598, L. H. A. Society, Mrs. P. A. Taylor, Secretary, (per Miss Remond) ...	20 10 0
„ 599, Per Mr. Briscoe, Chertsey	2 0 0
Carried forward	267 12 1

Brought forward	267 12 1
Ship C 599, Per Rev. J. Spong, Southgate Road Chapel	20 0 0
„ 601, Per J. Allen, Esq., Kensington	5 0 0
„ 705, Per Free St. John's Church, Dundee	50 0 0
„ 702, 703, 704, Per Panmure Street, Congregational Church, Dundee	30 0 0
„ 706, Per United Presbyterian Church, Dundee	30 0 0
„ 707, Per Rev. Mr. Syme, Congregational Church, Broughty Ferry	7 1 8
„ 708, 709, 710, Per Free St. Paul's Church, Dundee	15 9 8
„ 711, Per Rev. Mr. Spence Dundee	6 6 8
Per Miss L. Greenwood, Halstead	15 0 0
Per Mr. R. Bell, Newcastle-on-Tyne	7 0 0
„ 455, 623, Per Oxford Place, Wesleyan Chapel, Leeds	26 5 4
Per Ladies' Sewing Soc., N. Brentford, Mrs. Haynes	33 9 7
Per Constitution St., Baptist Chapel, Dundee ...	20 0 0
Mr. R. Dale, Rochester, (books)	0 4 6
Per Congregational Church Ryde, Isle of Wight ...	5 0 0
(No name) Folkestone ...	5 2 0
Per Castle St., Congregational Church, Dundee	17 14 5
(No name)	40 0 0
(Ditto)	29 10 0
„ 636, 648, Per R. Longdon, Esq., Manchester	68 8 2
„ 631, Per H. Brown, Esq., Norwich	21 1 6
„ 567, Per Freed-man's Aid Society, Boston	24 0 0
„ 635, Per J. J. Cross, Esq., Colchester	8 0 0
„ 606, 653, 654, Per S. L. Clemistead, Esq. Preston	28 10 0
„ 650, Per Thos. Harlock, Esq.	9 7 6
„ 651, Per P. Ellis, Esq., Leicester	4 0 6
	593 2 9
Other sums, which will be particularised next month ...	1,143 8 9
Total in Cash and Goods	25,719 8 6

THE FREED-MAN.

AUTHORITY OF THE EXECUTIVE TO PROCLAIM MARTIAL LAW.

BY WILLIAM WILLIS, ESQ., LL.D., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE recent transactions in Jamaica give rise to two inquiries—First, was the riot or insurrection at Morant Bay, the result of mis-rule and official incapacity? Secondly, were the proceedings by which that riot or rebellion was suppressed, legal? These two inquiries are sufficiently distinct to admit of a separate discussion—I purpose therefore to discuss the legality of the measures adopted by Governor Eyre to quell the insurrection.

In the suppression of the insurrection the lives of British citizens have been sacrificed, and with the consent, and under the authority of Governor Eyre and his subordinates. The deaths of each and every one of these citizens must be justified by the principles of English law. In every case where the life of a citizen is taken, the burden of shewing all the circumstances, which justify or excuse the killing, devolves upon him who hath taken the life. Governor Eyre and his subordinates must therefore be prepared to show such circumstances, or they stand guilty of wilful murder.

Those who have been put to death may be divided into three classes, (1) some were killed in *flagranti delicto*, (2) others suffered death after inquiry before a tribunal, (3) others not found in actual resistance, were destroyed without any inquest. Whether the proceedings against the first and third of these classes are legal, admits of little discussion. The lives of the first were lawfully sacrificed. The lives of the third were unrighteously taken, and all concerned in their destruction are guilty of murder. The question, whether the lives of the second class were lawfully taken, requires a longer examination, but I hope to supply a test by which that question may be satisfactorily answered.

In respect of the second class, the plea of justification would be, that they suffered death by process of law. This plea consists of two parts, (1) that they were guilty of offences known to our law, (2) that the court which pronounced the sentence had jurisdiction of such offences. Both these parts must

be made out, and if therefore the tribunal had no jurisdiction, the plea of justification fails.

What then was the tribunal? It was a military tribunal. A military tribunal has a two-fold jurisdiction: under the one it takes cognizance of offences committed by members of the army. This jurisdiction is derived from the act which is annually passed to preserve discipline, and suppress mutiny in the army. The act points out precisely the offences, and the military tribunal may take cognizance of such offences in peace as well as in war. Under the other branch of its jurisdiction military tribunals may try offences ordinarily cognizable in the civil tribunals. But this jurisdiction only arises when in consequence of the riot or rebellion it is impossible to try offenders before the ordinary tribunals. This jurisdiction is the creature not of the will of the crown, or of a governor of a colony, but of exigency: and the moment that exigency has ceased the jurisdiction of the military tribunal is determined. In short, there arises an authority in the executive to create a military tribunal to try civil offenders, when the military is the only remaining power in the country. But if there be a civil tribunal open, before which the offenders can be tried, the exigency does not exist and the executive cannot proclaim martial law.

This statement of the law I shall sustain, (1) negatively, by shewing that the only permanent military tribunal known to the common law had no jurisdiction in matters cognizable by the civil tribunals: and that our ancestors watched with the utmost jealousy, and restrained by various statutes all its encroachments upon the jurisdiction of the common law courts; (2) positively, by adducing an unbroken series of precedents and acts of Parliament and the opinions of our best legal writers, which declare all trials of offenders by military tribunals to be illegal, except in the one instance, where it is impossible to try them by the ordinary tribunals.

The court of chivalry was the only court military known to, and established by, the permanent law of the land. It was formerly held before the lord high constable and earl marshal of England jointly, but since the extinguishment of the former office by the attainder and execution of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in the thirteenth year of Henry the Eighth, it hath usually, with respect to civil matters, been held before the earl marshal only. This court was in great reputation in times of pure chivalry, and afterwards during our connexion with the Continent, but the criminal as well as the civil part of its authority is long since fallen into entire disuse. Of this court there is very little notice before the reign of Richard the Second. In the second year of that king we find the Commons petitioning that the constable and marshal might surcease from holding plea of treason or felony, which should be determined only before the king's justices. The objection to this court was that it was governed by the law of arms and not by the general custom of the kingdom; and the Bishop of St. David's, who happened to make the usual speech at the opening of Parliament, stated it as a grievance that the law of arms and the law of the land

did not concur. So jealous were our ancestors of the encroachments of this court upon the common law, that at length, by 13 Rich. 2, stat. 1, they defined the jurisdiction of the court military with remarkable precision. "To the constable," says the act, "belongs the cognizance of contracts touching deeds of arms and of war out of the realm; and also of things which touch war within the realm which cannot be determined or discussed by the common law; together with other usages and customs to the same matters appertaining, which other constables before that time had duly and reasonably used." It was also ordained to guard against the slightest infringement of the common law jurisdiction, that if anyone would complain that a plea was commenced before the constable and marshal, which might be tried by the common law, he might have a privy seal of the King without difficulty, directed to the constable and marshal to surcease in the plea till it was discussed before the King's council whether the matter belonged to the common law or to that court. It is therefore certain that wherever the common law could give redress this court had no jurisdiction. But the abuse by no means ceased after the passing of the statute, as several subsequent petitions that it might be better regarded will evince. The following instance is quoted from Mr. Hallam. It is of the fifth year of Henry the Fourth "On several supplications and petitions made by the commons in parliament to our lord the King for Bennet Wilman, who is accused by certain of his ill-wishers and detained in prison, and put to answer before the constable and marshal, against the statutes and the common law of England, our said lord the King, by the advice and assent of the lords in parliament, granted that the said Bennet should be treated according to the statutes and common law of England, notwithstanding any commission to the contrary, or accusation against him made before the constable and marshal." And a writ was sent to the justices of the king's bench with a copy of the article from the roll of parliament, directing them to proceed as they shall see fit according to the laws and customs of England. And not only did our ancestors thus limit its jurisdiction; by certain statutes in the reigns of Henry the Sixth, Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth they took certain offences from the cognizance of the court military and placed them under the jurisdiction of the common law courts.

I will now proceed to state, which is the more important, the direct evidence of the law as above laid down.

It is declared and enacted by Magna Charta, that "no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseised [of his freehold] or be outlawed, or exiled or any ways destroyed, nor will we pass upon him, nor will we send upon him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." These provisions are confirmed by statutes in the reigns of Henry the Third and Edward the First, and declare illegal, and deprive the crown of all authority to grant, commissions to try offenders by courts of a constitution and method of procedure different from the common law. This proposition has been ratified from age to age by the votes, resolutions, declarations, judgments of the High Court of

Parliament, and other public courts of justice, and by all whose reputation for knowledge of English Jurisprudence is highest.

Thus in the first year of Edward the Third, Parliament reversed the judgment which had been pronounced against Edmond Earl of Kent. He had been taken at Pomfret in the fifteenth year of Edward the Second. The King and divers lords proceeded to give sentence of death against him as in a kind of military court by a summary proceeding; which judgment was afterwards in the first year of Edward the Third reversed in parliament; the reason of the reversal being that every man is entitled to be tried by the law of the land, and that during the whole time of the proceedings, the ordinary courts were open.

In the reign of Richard the Second great numbers of the villeins and the peasantry rose in rebellion: there was a wide-spread insurrection. These risings of the peasantry were not confined to England, for we find the rising of the Jacquerie in France about the same time. There can be no doubt that the insurrection of the villeins was of fearful proportions. Many of the peasantry were put to death without due process of law, and those who had put them to death sought and obtained an indemnity. Prynne says, "Many of the King's lords, gentlemen, and other subjects in the general insurrection of the villeins and other rebels against the King, in the fifth year of Richard the Second, having inflicted divers punishments upon the said villeins and traitors without due process of law and otherwise than the laws and usages of the realm required: though they did it out of no malice prepensed but out of mere loyalty to the King and to appease and cease the present mischief, and out of ignorance of the said laws and usages in which if they had been learned, yet at that time they ought not to have tarried the process of the laws in those punishments of their good discretion: yet those punishments and executions of them in a summary way being contrary to, and not warranted by the laws and usages of the realm, they were enforced for their future indemnity against the king and his heirs, and the heirs, wives, and friends of those they punished, to petition the king and parliament for a general pardon by act of parliament, to secure and indemnify themselves; which was granted them in 5. Rich. 2, c. 5 else they might have been impeached for the same as well as king Richard the Second himself; who as the parliament in first year of Henry the Fourth, rot Parl. n. 44, (wherein he was enforced to resign his crown and then deposed for his misgovernment) was amongst other articles impeached, for that against the great charter and his coronation oath, he suffered many of his liege subjects to be maliciously accused, apprehended, and imprisoned and tried before the constable and marshal in their military court."

In 1487 Henry the Seventh, after the battle of Stoke, ordered certain persons, accused of holding intelligence with the enemy, to be tried by commissioners of his own appointing, or by courts martial according to martial law instead of the usual courts of justice. "This," says Tomlin in his Law Dictionary, "was an arbitrary and illegal exercise of power not authorized by any law of the land."

In the thirteenth year of Elizabeth, one Peter Burchell stabbed the famous sea-captain Hawkins. The Queen, being much incensed against Burchell, commanded him to be tried forthwith by martial law. But her judges and council resisted this illegal proposition with spirit and success, stating, that he could not be so tried by law, it being done not in an army but in time of peace, when her courts of law and justice were open.

In the thirty-seventh year of Elizabeth, some riotous apprentices having committed a few disorders, a commission was directed to Sir Thomas Wilford, appointing him provost-marshal, with authority, on notice by the magistrates, to attack and seize such notable rebellious and incorrigible offenders, and in the presence of the magistrates to execute them upon the gallows. "This peremptory style," says Mr. Hallam, "of suspending the common law was a stretch of prerogative without a parallel, and no other measure of her reign can be compared to it in point of violence and illegality."

The rebellion of Essex, at the close of Elizabeth's reign, is well known to ordinary students of history. He was tried by due process of law before his peers at Westminster. Hume, citing lord Bacon as his authority, has said that the trial at common law, which was granted to the Earl of Essex and his fellow conspirators, was a favour shown them by the Crown: and that the case would have borne and required the severity of martial law. On this, Mr. Phillips, in his edition of the State Trials, remarks, "there is no ground whatever for such a statement. On the contrary, it appears from the most approved authority, that if he had been executed by martial law for this rebellion which broke out in time of peace, he had been murdered."

In the beginning of his reign, Charles the First, to suppress the insolence of soldiers and mariners then billeted in sundry parts of the realm, granted commissions to sundry persons of quality, in time of peace, to execute martial law upon those soldiers and mariners and other dissolute persons only joining with them, for murder, robbery, felony, mutiny and other outrages committed by them; by pretext whereof some of the said soldiers and subjects were put to death by some of the said commissioners; when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no others ought, to have been judged (before the King's justices) and executed. Upon complaint of those commissions, as illegal, in the parliament of the third year of Charles the First, they were after full debate by both houses voted to be against law. And in the petition of right itself it was then prayed by the lords and commons and assented to by the King, that hereafter no commissions of the like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by color of them, any of his Majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchises of the land. This act stands yet in its full force, and until the rebellion of 1688, when the first mutiny bill was passed, it was illegal even to try soldiers by martial law in time of peace. Prynne tells us "that upon due consideration

of this provision of the petition of right, the long parliament, of which he was a member, in the cases of the lord Connor Maguire and Mac-Mohun, and the court of King's bench wherein they were tried by their special order, in Michaelmas and Hilary terms, 20th of Charles the First, were so just, punctual, and honourable in conforming themselves to the rule of law and justice, that though they were principal conspirators in the late most horrid, barbarous, bloody treason, rebellion and massacre in Ireland, and taken in its prosecution, yet they were so far from trying them by martial law in a council of war, even in a time of open war both in England and Ireland, that they assigned the said Maguire counsel to argue against the very jurisdiction of the King's bench itself; whether he, being a peer of Ireland, could in point of law or justice by statute 35 Hen. 8, cap. 2, or any other act, be outed of his trial by his peers, and tried by a jury of good and lawful men in the county of Middlesex, for a treason committed in Ireland, being sent a prisoner from thence against his will; which was then publicly argued at the bar by counsel pro et con, and then by the judges, and overruled at last against him, before he was put to plead guilty or not guilty to his indictment; after which they were admitted to take their peremptory and legal challenges to the juries returned, and all just exceptions to the witnesses produced, and had a most free and fair trial; being found guilty by the jury before any judgment passed against them."

Sir Mathew Hale, in his History of the Common Law, speaking of martial law, says, "first, that in truth and reality it is not a law, but something indulged, rather than allowed, as a law. The necessity of government, order and discipline, in an army, is that only which can give those laws a countenance. Secondly, this indulged law was only to extend to members of the army or to those of the opposite army, and never was so much indulged as intended to be executed or exercised upon others." He then refers, in support of his opinion, to the reversal of the judgment against Edmond, Earl of Kent, and to the petition of right.

It is worthy to be remarked that neither in the Monmouth rebellion in 1685, nor in the rebellion of 1715, nor that of 1745, did the executive proclaim martial law.

In *Grant v. Sir Charles Gould*, 2 H. Bl. 98, Lord Loughborough says, "Martial law does not exist in England at all. Where martial law is established and prevails in any country, it is of a totally different nature from that which is inaccurately called martial law, merely because the decision is by a court martial, but which bears no affinity to that which was formerly attempted to be exercised in this kingdom; which was contrary to the constitution, and which has been for a century totally exploded. Where martial law prevails, it extends to a great variety of cases not relating to the discipline of the army. Plots against the sovereign, intelligence to the army, and the like, are all considered as cases within the cognizance of military authority." His lordship then refers to the fact that the persons charged with conspiring to take the life of King William the Third, and the incendiaries who attempted to set fire to

the docks at Portsmouth, were tried by the common law. "Therefore," says his lordship, "it is totally inaccurate to state martial law, except so far as it is given by the mutiny act, as having any place whatever within the realm of Great Britain."

The Irish statute 39 Geo. 3, c. 2, after reciting that "martial law had been successfully exercised to the restoration of peace, so far as to permit the course of the common law partially to take place, but that the rebellion continued to rage in considerable parts of the kingdom, whereby it has become necessary for parliament to interpose," goes on to enable the Lord Lieutenant "to punish rebels by court martial." Sir James McIntosh says "Even in those most deplorable of all commotions which tore Ireland in pieces, in the last years of the eighteenth century, in the midst of ferocious revolt, and cruel punishment—at the very moment of legalizing these martial jurisdictions, in 1799, the very statute that was passed for that purpose, did homage to the ancient and fundamental principles of the law, in the very act of departing from them. This statute is the most positive declaration that where the common law can be exercised in some parts of the country, martial law cannot be established in others, though rebellion actively prevails in those others, without an extraordinary interposition of the supreme legislative authority itself."

Sir James M'Intosh, in his speech on the case of the missionary Smith, says, "the only principle on which the law of England tolerates what is called 'martial law,' is necessity; its introduction can be justified only by necessity; its continuance requires precisely the same justification of necessity; and if it survives the necessity in which it alone rests, for a single minute, it becomes instantly a mere exercise of lawless violence. When foreign invasion or civil war renders it impossible for courts of law to sit, or to enforce the execution of their judgments, it becomes necessary to find some rude substitute for them, and to employ for that purpose the military, which is the only remaining force in the community. As soon as the laws can act, every other mode of punishing supposed crimes is itself an enormous crime."

From the foregoing authorities, it is beyond dispute, that the executive authority cannot create anomalous tribunals except in the one instance of necessity. Unless therefore it can be affirmed, that this necessity existed on the day on which Gordon was tried, or some authority for martial law can be dug out of the law peculiar to Jamaica, Governor Eyre and his subordinates, were guilty of murder—all the more malignant because masked under the forms of justice.

It is worthy to be held in everlasting remembrance, that there is scarcely a protection which the subject can need, against the misrule and oppression of the executive, which our ancestors did not struggle for, and obtain. Let it be our duty to know our rights and in the spirit of our ancestors, maintain them. To let this case of Jamaica pass without retribution, is to establish a precedent that the executive may, on its own allegation of public danger, take the lives of

subjects, at its will and pleasure. No time is to be lost. The whole British nation should be suppliants for justice.

It is impossible to discuss any portion of the Jamaica tragedy, without referring to the death of Gordon. The whole range of English history scarcely supplies such an instance of cruel and heartless murder. The cases of Russel, Sidney, Alice Lisle and Armstrong, cannot be compared to Gordon's in intensity of darkness. Their trials and condemnation were righteous compared with the flagrant injustice of Gordon's trial. Admitting the jurisdiction of the court, there seems not a particle of reliable testimony, and the clear assertion of his innocence in immediate prospect of death, is in a just man's eye, worth all the evidence a government, in a reign of terror, could collect. A month ago Gordon was unknown except to a few, and now his virtues and his martyr's death "have become the argument of all tongues." The serenity of his last moments was the true expression of a virtuous life. "May the like happy serenity in such dreadful circumstances and a death equally glorious, be the lot of all whom tyranny of whatever denomination, or description, shall in any age or in any country, call to expiate their virtues on the scaffold."

WHAT "FREED-MEN'S AID" MEANS.

BY J. M. LUDLOW, ESQ.

THE establishment of the proposed "National Freed-men's Aid Union of Great Britain and Ireland" is seriously threatened by a difference which has arisen between the London Freed-men's Aid Society on the one hand and the Birmingham and Midland Freed-men's Aid Association and Friends' Central Committee on the other, as to the very meaning of its title. On the occurrence of the late deplorable events in Jamaica, among a people kindred in race to the coloured men of the United States, the original objects of the three Societies' sympathies and exertions—only so far differing from them in condition, that their freedom reckons its age by years and not by months—and who, as being our own fellow-subjects, have a right to claim our first attention over any inhabitants of a foreign country, the Freed-men's Aid Society of London felt it to be its duty to take cognizance of those events, and to associate itself with the Anti-Slavery Society in the monster deputation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on December 9th. The course thus taken appeared so natural and reasonable, that at the meeting at Radley's Hotel at which the "Jamaica Committee" was definitively constituted, it was taken for granted that the work of that Committee would be confined to the purely political one of enforcing justice for the Jamaica Freed-man, and that the purely social one of providing for his necessities was to be left to the Freed-men's Aid Societies.

Under these circumstances, when the scheme for the "National Freed-men's Aid Union of Great Britain and Ireland" came under discussion, the Freed-men's Aid Society of London felt that the object of the proposed Union, as set forth in Article II of that scheme, was too narrow for the existing state of

things, and still more so for the views and purposes of usefulness which the contemplation of that state of things had forced upon the Society. Its very title, which had been unconsciously adopted by it from its prototypes in the United States, was seen to mean more than the founders of the Society themselves had supposed. It contained an implied promise of aid, not to the Freed-men of one particular country, but to all Freed-men, according as justice should dictate, and the means at command should allow. The claim of aid from British Freed-men in Jamaica had already arisen and was sounding loud in men's ears. But when that had passed away, other claims might arise on behalf of other classes of Freed-men in our own colonies or in foreign countries, quite as fit to engage the sympathies of the Society and to demand its aid. With this view, at the meeting of the Society's Committee to consider the proposed scheme of union, amendments were successively brought forward, differing only in the greater or less prominence which they assigned to what may be called the general claim of the Freed-man as compared with the special claim of the American Freed-man; and one of these, which made it simply optional to the Union to extend its operations to other Freed-men besides those of the United States, was adopted.

On this amendment being brought forward, as that of the Freed-Men's Aid Society of London, (one or two of its members indeed dissenting) at the conference of the three associations held at the Friends' Institute on Dec. 22nd, it met with such opposition on the part of the members of the two other bodies as leaves apparently little present hope of the proposed scheme of union being realized, at all events otherwise than in name. It will visibly prove impossible for those who have once felt that as professed friends of the Freed-men their first duty is to British Freed-men, their next only to foreign, and that the latter duty cannot be limited to the Freed-men of one particular foreign country, to take part in the proceedings of a Society which, under the title of aiding Freed-men, deliberately ignores all claims but those of American Freed-men. Such men will do so without bating one jot or tittle of their sympathy for the American Freed-men as such, or their hearty admiration of the efforts of the American Freed-men's Aid Societies. So far from expecting to forfeit the approval of the latter by the course which they have advocated, they will confidently reckon upon such approval. They believe it will appear as strange to our American friends that English Freed-men's Aid Societies should deliberately ignore the claims of English Freed-men as it would appear strange to ourselves if an American Freed-men's Aid Society were to ignore all claims of the Freed-men of the Southern States in order to bestow all its efforts upon those of Jamaica. They know that in fact the course which they have advocated only follows the example set by that American body which has been worthily represented in this country by the Rev. Sella Martin, whose benevolent exertions were long confined to British colonies, but which on the arising of the larger necessities of the Secession War, deemed it no breach of faith towards its subscribers or towards

the public, but a simple act of duty, to transfer its main sphere of action to the United States themselves. And as those necessities pass away, they confidently hope that the day may come when the Freed-men's Aid Societies of England and of America shall join in fulfilling to the utmost the whole promise of their names by giving aid, as need shall require, to the physical and moral wants of coloured Freed-men throughout the world.

The conflict of opinion which has thus arisen is the more to be deplored, that among those who at the Friends' Institute opposed the enlarging the operations of the English Freed-men's Aid Associations to the full breadth of their name, there was not one who did not profess the utmost sympathy for the Freed-men of Jamaica, whilst urging the throwing upon some distinct body the burthen of looking after them. A scheme of union between existing associations was thus to become the occasion for creating new ones within the actual scope of the title of the union itself.

It is impossible of course to question the sincerity of the views adopted by either side in this debate. But the course of those who hold the larger view as to the duties of the friends of Freed-men seems clear. As there is a British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which has done yeoman's service towards putting down slavery throughout the world, beginning with the British colonies, so there needs to be a "British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society," to foster, strengthen, and develope the young freedom of the coloured race throughout the world, beginning with the British colonies. The task is gigantic, and yet it is one which of right belongs to England, the mother of Freedom. The task is gigantic, the means for fulfilling it are as naught. But sooner or later, God's burthens find shoulders to bear them.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are again reluctantly compelled to defer until next month the insertion of several letters and articles of importance.

Our correspondent at Glasgow will see that the "Freed-Man" may be had of George Gallie, 99, Buchanan Street.

ALL orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to **ALFRED ANDREWS, 7, Duke Street, Bloomsbury.**

L. C., SURBITON. Your suggestion is admirable. We trust many more will follow your example, and the "Freed-Man" will not then want for support.

The Freed-Man.

JANUARY, 1866.

THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES AND THE FREED-MEN.

We record with feelings of unspeakable satisfaction the fact that the Congregational Union has assumed its true position in regard to the Freed-men of America. During the long and lamentable years of the American war, all discussions on the question of slavery were prohibited, and the usual protests of this reverend body against slavery were silenced. It is our deliberate conviction that this course of apparently heartless apathy never met the approval of the members of the Union. Many persons in this country were indeed horror-stricken at the terrible effusion of blood, and would have put an end to the carnage at any price. Though we think such persons were mistaken, we cannot condemn their motive. Some looked with a jealousy upon the ever increasing growth of the United States, and foolishly

hoped that two objects might be accomplished by the dismemberment of the Union. The power of Columbia was to be so limited that it would be no longer a menace to our possessions in British North America: and again, it was thought that the wicked idea of establishing a permanent nation with slavery for a corner stone could never be realized. Such an effort was regarded by some as the very doom of the cruel system. There were not lacking Englishmen, strange and incredible as it may seem, who had commercial relations with the confederacy. Now, we rejoice to announce that the Congregational Union has vindicated itself. The cause of the Freed-man is under great obligations to the Chairman of the Union, the Rev. D. Thomas, of Bristol, to the Rev. Dr. Raleigh and to the Rev. Thomas Binney. The last gentleman had been too long silent, and his advocacy was sadly needed. All who know Mr. Binney know that he has ever been a staunch anti-slavery man; but a variety of influences tended to silenced him when the utterances that his loving heart and his noble intellect ever prompted would have been an unspeakable benefit to the cause of Freedom. The meetings, however, of the Congregational Union, which we were unable for want of space to mention in our last, were of a character so demonstrative and hearty in the cause of the Freed-man, that it would be ungenerous not to condone the past. Some wise and good men intimately connected with the Union, admit that they have learned a lesson, and we will not allow ourselves to doubt that they will be found a firm phalanx on the side of freedom in the discussions

in relation to the coloured and black race that await us in the future. The following notice has been issued to the pastors and deacons of two thousand churches:—

4, Blomfield-street, Finsbury, E.C.

December 12, 1865.

Dear Brethren,

We are instructed by the Committee of the Union to invite your attention to the following Resolution in relation to the temporal relief and religious instruction of the Freed Colored People of America, adopted by the Autumnal Assembly, in Bristol, in October last, and to entreat you to arrange if possible for a Congregational collection in aid of this great object on the second Lord's-day in January:—

"That it be a recommendation to the Churches of the Congregational Denomination generally, to make a collection for this object on the second Sunday in January, and that the amount collected be sent to the Chairman of the Union for the present year, the Rev. David Thomas, B.A., (Cotham Park, Bristol), or the Secretary, the Rev. George Smith, D.D., (Congregational Library, Blomfield Street, Finsbury, E.C.), to be transmitted to the selected Organ of the Council of the Congregational Churches in America."

In forwarding this Resolution we beg to remind you of the importance and urgency of this case—temporal and spiritual—referring as it does to the condition of millions of persons recently emancipated from slavery, many of whom need food and clothing, religious instruction and the means of Christian worship.

Our Brethren and Churches of the Congregational order in America hitherto shut out by the institution of slavery from any systematic effort for evangelizing the Southern States, are now, in consequence of its abolition and the termination of war, happily able to undertake this work, and especially to direct their attention to the religious improvement and social elevation of the coloured people of the South. Any aid we can afford will be thankfully received by them as a proof of sympathy in their most work, and as an evidence of our Christian

interest in the well-being of the United States of America. We are confident that no argument is needed to induce your compliance with this request, and in the earnest hope that you may find it convenient to make the proposed Collection in common with our churches in this land, on the day already mentioned, we remain, dear Brethren, yours faithfully,

G. SMITH,

R. ASHTON, Secretaries.

We earnestly hope that this kindly appeal may be universally responded to.

We cannot close these remarks without one word addressed to the members of the Congregational Union itself. How has it come to pass that this wise and Christian body, has by its reticence given rise to so much dissatisfaction and pain in relation to the American question in the past. There are two reasons—reasons which, unless remedied, may not only imperil but ultimately destroy the Union. The first is that the Union as at present constituted does not admit of discussion, and the second reason the entire absence of party. Lord Bolingbroke says that without party there can be no free government. The House of Commons would not have lasted from the time of the Plantagenets to the present hour, growing at every stage of its existence in its influence, if it had silenced discussion, and if the government had not been criticised in its every movement by a keen-sighted opposition. More than twenty years ago, the late Algernon Wells, who may be regarded as the Father of the Congregational Union, expressed his fears upon this very point, in relation to the great body that he was mainly instrumental in calling into existence. These remarks however must

not be construed as censuring, not to say condemning, the present executive of the Union, which is composed of as good and honourable men as that body may ever hope to secure; but as the defects incident to its constitution. Without discussion and without a party to keep in check the executive, any executive may imperil the moral influence of a large christian denomination, and stand as a huge impediment in the path of freedom.

WORK FOR THE FUTURE.

At a recent Meeting of the Committee of the Freed-Men's Aid Society, London, it was unanimously decided that the basis of that society was broad enough to sustain the claims of the coloured race of any and of every clime. In accordance with this decision, the committees most cordially united with the deputation appointed to wait upon Earl Russell and Mr. Cardwell by the Anti-Slavery Society, in relation to the late tragic events in Jamaica. The Freed-Men's Aid Society was glad to embrace a legitimate opportunity to co-operate with the Anti-Slavery Society and also to stand by its excellent and devoted Secretary, Mr. Chamerovzow. Now, it is of importance to call the attention of our readers to the fact, that the Freed-Men's Aid Society of London by its constitution can embrace the emancipated negro in every land, and the coloured man of every clime. Its sphere ought not to be narrowed. The time indeed seems to have arrived when this fact must be more fully recognised, for manifestly the "Negro question" is passing into a new stage, or, to speak more accurately, the claims

of those who were once enslaved—of those millions of men and women from whom a gracious providence has cast off the chains of bondage—must be regarded with new and wider aims than the friends of these oppressed races have hitherto contemplated. The chains which still clank like dull castanets on the limbs of the unenfranchised of our world will soon be unriveted and torn asunder. What then is the work for England, the very cynosure of freedom, to be in the future? Is she to relax her efforts when the present urgent wants of the Freed-men of the United States are relieved? Is she to limit her philanthropy to the coloured men of that great nation, which has resolved to put forth its own best efforts on behalf of its newly-born four millions of citizens? Is she not to care for her own coloured citizens in every part of the world? Is she not, moreover to elevate her aims and to labour more decidedly than she ever has yet for the social, the moral, and religious culture of this freed race? It is obvious that there are only two courses open to us. We may treat or we may allow others to treat the emancipated races as inferior and degraded—the very Helots of humanity; or we may resolve to make a strenuous well-directed and prolonged effort for the mental and moral growth of this increasing family among the nations. We maintain that the vitality of the negro race is so vigorous that you cannot destroy it. For good or for evil this people must exist. Who would wish to destroy the race? No man with a human heart—who knows the sweets of "dear life"—no real disciple of that Incarnate one

whose advent millions of our countrymen have just celebrated. What then is our plain duty? Not certainly to restrict our exertions to any clime, or to any one section of this people who at the present time appeal so strongly to our countrymen; but to see to it that our philanthropic organizations are broad enough to render the right kind of help when and wherever it may be needed.

AMERICAN FREED-MEN'S AID COMMISSION.

DR. FRED. TOMKINS, the Secretary of the Freed-men's Aid Society, has received the following communication:—

“TO FOREIGN FRIENDS.

“Resolved—That it is the grateful duty of this Commission to acknowledge with sincere thanks the brotherly sympathy in our work, manifested by the several foreign Aid Societies in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe, as well as the efficient and timely aid rendered by them, to the cause of the Freed-men and humanity, by their liberal contributions in money and material.

“We thank them for the assistance heretofore extended to the various local and State Societies, now forming integral parts of this Commission, and assure them that our present comprehensive organization will enable us to render any future contribution from them, still more effective for the education and elevation of the Freed people throughout the whole of our country.”

“JACOB R. SHIPPERD, Sec.”

REV. H. W. BEECHER has had an interview with President Johnson, who frankly declared that no State lately in rebellion ought to be permitted to resume its former status and position in the Union until it has adopted the Constitutional amendment, and promised to extend protection to all freedom.

Correspondence.

Department of State, Washington,
October 16, 1865.

Fred. Tomkins, Esq., M.A., D.C.L.,
Sec. Freed-men's Aid Society, London.

My dear Sir,

I take pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 23rd ult. I regret to inform you however that a copy of the Speech of His Grace the Duke of Argyll, therein referred to, was not received.

The humane interest in the condition of the Freed-men, and in the welfare of the United States, manifested by the distinguished body on behalf of whom you write, is gratefully appreciated by this Government.

I am, my Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

W. HOWARD, Acting Secretary.

War Department,
Bureau of Refugees, Freed-men and Abandoned Lands, Washington,

October 13, 1865.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 27th September, transmitting for the information of Major-General Howard, U.S.A. Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, a copy of an address delivered by His Grace the Duke of Argyll, at a meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, May 17th, 1865. General Howard is now absent from the War Department on an inspection tour, through the southern States, with the view of informing himself more thoroughly touching the relations existing between the Freed-men and their late masters. On his return I will submit the document you so kindly transmit, and beg leave in his behalf to present the thanks of the Bureau, for the friendly interest expressed in your note, for its operations among the Freed-men of America.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

MAXWELL WOODHOUSE.

Assistant Adjutant General

Frederick Tomkins, Esq.,

Sec. Freed-Men's Aid Society, London.

Headquarters Assistant Commissioner, Bureau Refugees, Freed-men and Abandoned Lands, South Carolina and Georgia, Charleston, S. C.

Nov. 8rd, 1865.

My Dear Sir,

I thank you sincerely for your kind letter of Sept. 22nd in which you did me the honor to forward to me a copy of the speech of his Grace the Duke of Argyll, delivered at the Westminster Palace Hotel. I greatly regret that, through the failure I presume of the mails, the speech has not yet reached me. I shall take measures to procure a copy of it if possible. It is a great source of gratification to me to know that one in the high position, and with the influence of His Grace of Argyll should feel and act with us "Abolitionists" of the United States in a cause whose success we regard as vital to the best interests of humanity in our own country, and throughout the world, and essential to our own existence as a nation. I can say for myself, and in behalf of thousands of my countrymen, that we shall ever feel grateful for the sympathy which our "Fatherland" has given us in the mighty struggle through which we are passing. We believe that whenever we have spoken out for freedom, England has been with us always. Her honoured sons whom I could name, who have spoken brave words of encouragement to us in our darkest hours, and by the teachings of the past and prophecies for the future bid us be of good cheer, need only to come to America to know how they are understood and appreciated. That our country's future may not disappoint the hopes of those who love liberty and believe in justice to all men, is my earnest prayer.

I remain my dear Sir,

With great respect and esteem,

Yours sincerely,

R. SAXTON.

Brevet-Maj.-Gen.

F. Tomkins, Esq., M.A., D.O.L., London, Eng.

[The above important correspondence will be read with the deepest interest by the friends of America and the Freed-men in this country. The interchange of philanthropic sentiment between the United States and Great Britain cannot fail to be productive of lasting good.]

To the Editor of the "Freed-Man."

Sir,

The recent decision of the committee of the London *Freed-Men's Aid Society* to comprehend within the range of its practical sympathies the emancipated negroes in all lands who may need help in their suffering condition is sound and just.

The unconscious pride of philanthropy may lead some to keep exclusively to the American field in order to swell the aggregate amount of contribution, but it will be found ultimately that the Freed-men in the Southern States will sustain no loss by this equitable enlargement of our basis of operations.

The truth is that Jamaica has long been a great stumbling-block to the cause of emancipation in America. The friends of freedom across the Atlantic are extremely anxious that it should be removed. They are setting us an example that we shall do well to imitate. The President — the Congress — Christian Churches — voluntary benevolent associations and the different Boards of Trade — are putting forth combined effort to relieve the physical wants of the Freed-men — to find them immediate occupation, and to raise their moral condition, not only for the improvement of the negroes but for the permanent advantage of the country, and in that for the benefit of the world.

We are sadly in the rear, but there is no necessity that we should always lag behind.

The startling events in Jamaica have revealed a state of destitution, ignorance, and crime, that is a scandal to our Christian civilization. It is clear that casual and spasmodic efforts will not meet the exigencies that have arisen. We must put forth our united strength with systematic persistency until the work is fairly accomplished.

Party complications or sectarian contention afford no valid excuse for continued neglect. The claim of humanity is simple, and in great extremities it is paramount. It need not surprise us to learn that from the outrages committed in Jamaica negrophobia in this country has assumed a more aggravated type, and that the crimes of a part of the neglected population has rendered some willing that the entire race should perish. More than this, it

is possible to find persons who will say if you furnish relief to the houseless, naked and wounded black people of Jamaica, you shall have no help for the millions of the same colour in America. But our homage to prejudice of this kind should not be excessive. We must plant ourselves firmly on a right principle and trust in Him who has all hearts in His hand and who can turn them as rivers of water.

It is not intended that contributions given for the Freed-men of America should be diverted from the object to which they were devoted—but for the future we should stand in readiness to watch for opportunities to convey help from those who are inclined to afford it to Freed-men in our own colonies or in any part of the world.

To multiply organizations needlessly is a waste of time and means that every honest man should deprecate. I express only my personal conviction when I say that in order to secure the continuance of generous confidence we must guard against the manufacturing of societies in the name of benevolence, and perambulating committees in which there is of necessity in some form an amount of expense incurred which is worse than useless. If it should be found that other associations cannot adopt a simple and economical basis this should not prevent the London Society from abiding by its more expansive policy—assuredly it would not long stand alone.

The existence of your Journal (the “Freed-Man”) is a great advantage to the cause of philanthropy at this juncture. No sectarian or political party can deal with the Jamaica question in all its bearings. Nothing is really settled until it is settled right. We shall wait before the work is over the aid of the finest minds in the country, and it is well that an organ is provided for the communication of facts and for able and free discussion. I feel assured that you will be sustained against all antagonistic influence, come from whatever quarter it may.

I am Sir,

Yours faithfully,

JOHN WADDINGTON.

THE AMERICAN FREED-MEN PERISHING *To the Editor of the “Freed-Man.”*

Sir,—Will you permit me to lay a few facts before your readers going to show the present distressed situation of many of the freed negroes of the United States, and the pressing necessity that exists of sending them aid? I fear that their real condition is not generally appreciated. No comments, it seems to me, are needed on the following extracts, to enforce the claims of suffering humanity upon the benevolent.

In the monthly report of the National Freed-men's Relief Association of New York, recently issued, it is said: “The concurrent testimony of our correspondents from all points is to the same sad effect. With a nominal freedom but without money or land, surrounded by a population ignorant, prejudiced, hostile, and a local government suspicious and unfriendly, they have no reliance save in help from abroad.

“From Louisiana we hear, ‘there are several thousands in my charge, and it is pitiful to see their necessities and hear their sad cries for help. The women and children are worse off than the men. A large proportion are crippled and infirm, most of them bruised and mangled by cruel task-masters.’

“Mr. Kevine writes from Florida: ‘Since the suspension of hostilities many are coming from the plantations because former masters refuse to remunerate them for services in raising the crops, either by wages or shares. Others are driven off by violence and threats, stripped of everything and compelled to wander without food for days except as gathered in the woods or begged. Their condition defies description.’

“From North Carolina comes the same sad story. ‘Old men and women who have worked all their lives long are driven away without one mouthful of food, or clothing enough to cover their nakedness. Hardly a day passes but my sympathies are strongly appealed to by some case of entire destitution.’

“From these reports,” says the secretary, “some idea may be gathered of the prospects for the winter. The accounts, painful as they are, fall short of the reality and would drive us to despair but for our reliance on providence.”

In an appeal of the Union Commission of New York in October signed by Rev. Dr. Thompson and others, we have this statement: "Half the continent has been desolated by war. In many portions of the South, especially in the track of Sherman's army, the distress is great and constantly increasing; official reports received at our office tell us of women and children (whites) who walk from ten to forty miles for bread, and then only obtain a morsel, frequently nothing; of naked human beings curling down by the side of their once prosperous and happy homes, now reduced to nothing save the roots of an old brick chimney; of tiers of counties in Northern Georgia in which there is not as much food growing for man and beast as can be found on a respectable northern farm. In the distress the innocent suffer with the guilty—children with their parents, freed-men with their former masters."

Now if such be the condition of whites, what must be that of the blacks? The Union Commission, organized for the relief of the suffering whites, have been compelled to give assistance, they tell us, "to not less than twenty thousand suffering poor in Middle Tennessee and to an incalculable number in Eastern Tennessee, and have given food and clothing to fifteen thousand in Richmond and over 2,000 dollars in supplies in the valley of the Shenandoah (Virginia), and less amounts to various points from Little Rock in Arkansas (west of the Mississippi) to Fernandina in Florida (on the Atlantic coast)."

And finally, the following, dated only a few weeks ago, comes from the highest official source, General Saxton, second in position to General Howard, the head of the Freed-man's Bureau, under the government.

"Head-quarters, Assistant Commissioner, Bureau Refugees, Freed-men and Abandoned Lands, South Carolina, Georgia, Charleston, S. C., October 12, 1865.

"Joel Cadbury, jun., Friends' Freed-man's Relief Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

"My dear Sir,—I deem it my duty to call your attention to the fact that great numbers of destitute persons, for whose protection this

Bureau was established, call again for the benevolence of the North. Unless clothing of all kinds is furnished there must be great suffering and loss of life during the inclement season now approaching.

"The means at the disposal of the Freed-men's Bureau are entirely inadequate to meet the demands of destitute humanity.

"Blankets, woolen shirts, pantaloons, women and children's underclothing and dresses, shoes and stockings of all sizes, are needed.

"Great portions of these two States have been desolated and laid waste by the late war. Industry has been interrupted, and even large districts entirely suspended, and thousands of people are utterly destitute.

"35,000 blankets are needed in South Carolina and on the Sea Islands alone. Every necessary article of wearing apparel which you can send will be the means of saving some one from suffering.

"Great care will be used in the distribution of the clothing and supplies sent, as an officer will be specially appointed to acknowledge the receipt of the above articles, and attend to their distribution.

"I am, with great respect, your obedient servant, R. SAXTON, Brevet Maj. Gen. and Asst. Com."

I shall be happy to give further information to any who desire it, as to the mode of forwarding supplies, free from customs duties and without expense of freight, or to address public meetings, when desired, in reference to the condition and prospects of the colored people in the United States.

JOHN O. HOLBROOK,
Representative of the American
Missionary Association, New York.
Address, 11, Queen Square,
London, W.O.

THE Committee of the Freed-men's Aid Society meet on the first and third Wednesday in each month, at two o'clock, at the Anti-Slavery Society's Rooms, 27, New Broad Street, City, E.C.

ALL packages of goods intended for the Freed-men should be forwarded to Messrs. Johnson, Johnson & Co., Blomfield-street, E.C.

NATIONAL FREED-MEN'S AID ASSOCIATION.

The third quarterly meeting of this society was held in Manchester on Wednesday Dec. 13th. A large number of ladies and gentlemen breakfasted at the Trevelyan Hotel, Corporation-street, after which, speeches were made, Mr. Jacob Bright in the chair. Deputations were present from America, but the Rev. W. Channing, who had been announced to attend, was unable to come.

The Chairman said that the first meeting of the association was held in Birmingham about six months ago, and the second in Bristol, and both were eminently successful in advancing the objects the society had in view, namely, the obtaining of moral and material support for the Freed-men in the United States of America. The total amount already subscribed for that purpose was £62,000, and to show the sort of zeal which was exhibited in some places, it might be stated that, during the week succeeding the first meeting, £1,000 was subscribed in Birmingham alone. (Applause.) Considering the wealth and population of Manchester, it could hardly, perhaps, be said that the society had been similarly supported here—where, however, it should be remembered, business had been interrupted for a long time in a most extraordinary manner, and could only be carried on with great risk and anxiety. He was not sure, too, that in this wealthy portion of England the sympathisers with the Confederacy were not more numerous than in some other parts. (Hear, hear.) And, by a process of reasoning, the logic of which he could never understand, it was found, in endeavouring to raise subscriptions for the Freed-men, that the opposition which was given to the North in the late contest was now transferred to those who were endeavouring to assist the Southern population. It would have been very extraordinary if we had not done something in the emergency which had now arisen, for there was no country in the world more benevolent than ours. A great deal of the money raised in England had been expended in clothing, which had been forwarded to America: and remembering the hard American winters, the funds 'd not be better employed. It was only

necessary to mention the word Jamaica to show them that there was a universal feeling amongst those who had been connected with this society that the term "Freed-men's aid" must now be understood in a more comprehensive sense than when it was first adopted. (Applause.) The Freed-men of to-day in the United States demanded our aid and sympathy, and had obtained it to a large extent; but the Freed-men of thirty years ago, who were our own fellow-subjects, who were a part with ourselves of the British empire—these were just now also appealing to us for assistance, and if he did not over-estimate the character of Englishmen that population in the West Indies would speedily receive the assistance they required. (Cheers.) There was a committee in London being formed called the Jamaica Central Committee, and every person who could, should, by name, influence, or money, assist that committee. He for one had never any great confidence that a government would do the right thing, unless the rod was held over it. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) It seemed to him to be in the very nature of governments never to show any extraordinary energy, except when they were defending their own existence, or perhaps sometimes when they were shielding their nominees or protecting their tools. (Renewed laughter.) In the present instance he should have more confidence that justice would be done, if it were vigorously demanded by the people. We could not help the Freed-men of America in any way so well as by helping them through the Freed-men of the West Indies. If it were shown that justice was done there between white and black, an example would be set which would extend to all future times. (Applause.) He could not believe there would be uninterrupted peace and harmony in the Southern states for some time. Nothing was more likely than that in a little time there would be collisions between the white and black populations, resulting perhaps in barbarous deeds similar to those we now deplored in our own possessions. It would be a great thing if in such a case we were in a position to point to our own example in the West Indies, and prove that the blacks there had as much protection as the whites. We were told

not to judge the governor and his associates upon suspicion. The very thing asked for was that those officials should be rightly judged. Inquiry, not punishment, was asked for. When it was remembered that the men who were charging people with attacking Governor Eyre and company without evidence had nothing at all to say when thousands of men and women were slaughtered upon mere suspicion, it ill became them to talk about the haste with which an inquiry was demanded. He confessed he did not regret that the barbarities in Jamaica were followed up by that profound piece of stupidity,—the local government's attack upon the Dissenting chapels and schools. There was a time when Dissenting chapels were attacked in England, but the chapels won the battle at last. (Cheers.) The questions affecting the Freed-men of America and Jamaica could not be separated, and he did not believe we should be found deserting our friends in the former country because we were attending to our own people in the latter. If in after years a parallel should be drawn between America and England in this matter of reconstruction and dealing with the black populations, he hoped the parallel would not be to the disadvantage of the British people. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. A. Albright, of Birmingham, moved a resolution expressing sympathy with the Freed-men of America, and welcoming to Manchester the gentlemen who had attended as a deputation from the United States. In explaining the causes of non-attendance on the part of gentlemen who had been invited, he referred to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who, as member for South Lancashire, had been asked to attend. Some of his (Mr. Albright's) friends had had an extremely satisfactory interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Thomas Hughes, M. P., in describing that interview said, "Mr. Gladstone expressed a deep interest in the cause of the Freed-men and in the endeavours we are making to aid them;" adding, towards the close of his letter, "His warm goodwill you are permitted to announce." (Applause.) In appealing for funds for the association, Mr. Albright said that according to a careful estimate, corroborated on the previous day by

a cotton spinner, the country lost £20,000,000 by the cotton famine, occasioned by the American war. At the time of the Irish famine the Americans sent over £170,000 in four months, and there could not be a better time than the present to repay the debt by assisting those who had been described as "a stripped and perishing multitude, torn to pieces between the giant monsters of slavery and war." (Applause.)—The resolution, having been seconded by Mr. Kingsley, of Manchester, was carried unanimously.

The Rev. J. S. Jones, of Liverpool, moved the second resolution, asking for practical aid. He said when we fed our own slaves we thought our work was done, and thereupon framed, and glazed, and hung up over the national mantelpiece a picture of that memorable £20,000,000, and every time we looked at it, we thought it was a permanent testimonial to ourselves. (Laughter.) Recent events had called into existence once more the true anti-slavery ring; this was the case even in Liverpool. (Loud laughter.)—The resolution was seconded by Mr. Morgan, of Birmingham, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. D. Holbrook, accredited representative of the American Missionary Association, the Rev. A. L. Post, president of the American Baptist Free Missions, and the Rev. H. Weller, formerly chaplain in Sherman's army, in very brief speeches (limited to five minutes each), severally acknowledged the welcome they had received.

A cordial vote of thanks was proposed to the Chairman. It was stated by Mr. Joseph Simpson that there was only £100 in hand at the present time, but that it was hoped to raise £500 during the day to send off by the next mail to America. One gentleman had offered £100 towards that sum. A gentleman in the body of the meeting suggested that a general Sunday-school subscription should be set on foot.

Mr. Jacob Bright having acknowledged the vote of thanks, the meeting terminated.

A public meeting was held in the evening, in the Friends' Meeting House, Cross-street. Mr. R. Charlton, of Bristol, was voted to the chair, and he opened the proceedings by describing

the history, success, and position of the movement to aid the freed negroes, incidentally mentioning that the Americans themselves had raised in various ways a sum equal to £1,250,000 sterling. He also announced, amidst considerable cheering, that the £500 mentioned at the morning meeting had been raised during the day.—The Rev. Mr. Brown, of Birmingham, moved the first resolution, urging the claims of the society.—The Rev. Mr. Jones, of Liverpool, seconded the motion; the Rev. Mr. Brittain supported it, and the meeting carried it unanimously.—The Rev. Dr. Holbrook, from America, in addressing the meeting, stated there were four millions of emancipated slaves in America needing aid; one-third of them were aged, 800,000 were children under twelve years of age, and a large proportion, either from cruel treatment, neglect, or disease, were incapacitated from sickness. Hundreds and thousands of them were in danger of perishing from want of clothing and the barest necessities of life. Much suffering was apprehended during the coming winter, not only for the blacks but also whites. He indignantly repudiated the calumny that the negroes would not work. The hostility in the South towards the blacks had increased, because the residents looked upon the negroes as the cause of their troubles. He believed that, after the reconstruction, if the Government did not interfere, the blacks would be shut out from all privileges in the future as in the past. Only a day or two ago, he saw the draft of a bill, contemplated in South Carolina, aiming at the virtual restoration of slavery when the power got back in the hands of the white masters. The Southerners were determined to cling to the last rag of slavery, either in the form of serfdom or by oppressive laws. If they could not get the form, they seemed determined to get the fact. The great thing then to do was to educate and elevate the negroes, to disqualify them for slavery, and to qualify them for freedom while they were still under the protection of the Northern government. (Applause.)—The Rev. Mr. Post, from America, said the slave was perfectly able to take care of himself, for he had, during the last 200 years, supported not only himself, but his master and his

master's children. (Laughter.) What would be the condition of the aristocracy of England, if all our mechanics and labourers were taken away? How many of that aristocracy would be starved before next spring? (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The American "chivalry" boasted their descent from the English aristocracy, and the correspondent of a London paper, writing from Charleston but a week or two ago, said that the sympathies of the slave-holders were with the aristocracy of England, and that therefore England ought to have come to their defence, and recognised them as an independent power. (Loud laughter.) In helping the slave it must not be forgotten that we should be also helping the white man.—Dr. Tomkins, of London, said he had had ample opportunity of proving that there was no truth in the allegation that the negroes would not work. He had seen camps of negroes which were so superior to those of the whites that they attracted general attention, and he gave a number of instances showing the dexterity, perseverance, and providence of the coloured population. Officers who had commanded black troops preferred them, and General Grant himself said to him (Dr. Tomkins), "If I wanted men for watchfulness, for diligence in the trenches, and for dash, I would choose black troops. In the field, where coolness might be required, I should put white troops with them." (Applause.)—A vote of thanks was moved to the chairman by the Rev. Dr. Massie, seconded by Mr. Clegg, and carried amid applause.—The meeting then closed.

A LADY writes to us that "she and her friends have been taking in 14 copies of the 'Freed-Man,' since its commencement, and she handed another name to the booksellers a few days since. One and all of the above much value the publication, and extra copies can be readily disposed of to advantage. One of these was forwarded the other day to a gentleman at Kentucky." This lady and her friends have lately sent about £60 worth of goods to the American Freedmen. Another lot is to be forwarded shortly. Many poor shivering women and children will feel the effects of this benevolence during the winter.

FACTS VERSUS FICTION.—WILL THE NIGGER WORK ?

BY WILSON ARMISTEAD ESQ.

Many times recently when saying a word on behalf of the emancipated slaves of America, have I been accosted with this remark, or something to the same effect, "*But what is to become of them in the end, for the niggers are by nature lazy and indolent, and will never work unless compelled to it?*" The origin of this belief is to be traced very much to statements found in the *Times* and other papers, which appear to be received as gospel by those who read them. That such an idea is, however, the very opposite of the truth, and that the fears arising from it are much exaggerated, we have abundant testimony from credible witnesses not a few.

In a recent letter from Philadelphia from a gentleman who has the most reliable information, occurs this striking passage, embodying in itself a direct contradiction of the serious charge brought against the freed negro;—*There is great room for help of all kinds, but the most gratifying feature is the ability and will of the [freed] people themselves to do a large part of their own work.*

By last mail, I have also a letter from one who has been for many months in immediate contact with the refugee camps in the South. Dating from Nashville, Tennessee, he says, "There are some noble men among them. As a striking comment upon their inability to take care of themselves, is the fact that out of about 1,500 in Huntsville, only forty receive rations from the Government superintendent." The letter goes on to say, "The stories of hardship and cruelty which these men tell are pitiful indeed, but the patience and perseverance they have displayed in learning to read is wonderful. What dost thou think of a man's chalking one by one the letters from a signboard on his black arm, and then asking some white boy its name? One man, the most intelligent of all, had to work evenings to eke out a support for his family, and yet by passing sleepless nights taught himself to read. I found he knew something on every subject which I mentioned.

At a recent meeting of the Society of Arts in London, Leonard Wray stated that "of all

the people he had ever employed in tropical climates, none were equal to the African. Henry Robin, the first young African placed under his own care in this city, immediately learned to clean cotton, acquired a knowledge of other processes, then went into a turning shop, and worked as a mechanic; next learned carpentering and building, all the time worked as a Sunday school teacher (the best in the school according to the clergyman's account), returned to Lagos, and was employed by the West African Company at £400 a year. But for the training he received he would probably have been labouring at from 5d. to 1s. per day. The same might be said of another man named Faulkner, who was engaged at £120 a year. The Africans whom he knew had shown such force of character, such rapidity in learning, such ability in execution, that he had arrived at the conclusion that Africans simply required education to compete with us in any undertaking."

This rather reminds one of the statement made by a gentleman on his return from America, who said that "when he was at the slave marts of the South he remembered auctioneers would describe a slave as being "a good wheelwright" or "a good carpenter," would say "he understands the management of a steam-engine," "he works well," "he bears a good character," and he wanted to know what more could be said of a white man who could neither read nor write."

A Paris paper, the *Opinion Nationale*, considers as exaggerated the fears entertained by many persons as to the unfavourable result to arise from the emancipation of four millions of slaves, which it has been alleged must be attended with great difficulty, if not danger.

This paper comments as follows:—

"The blacks are said to be lazy; for them liberty will be simply liberty to do nothing, and they will become a national trouble and a burden without compensation. We cannot share in so sweeping an opinion. The blacks are capable, under a *regime* of liberty, of performing regular and profitable work; they have other wants besides those of the *far niente* order; and these other wants, spontaneously and of necessity developed by contact with the active life of men of other races, will, as

we cannot doubt, stimulate the black to remarkable exertion of productive force. We are not uttering any random opinion; we can point to the living proofs of what we advance. There exists, as every one knows, and even in the vicinity of the United States, a country in which the blacks, entirely their own masters, have formed during two-thirds of a century an independent State. If there is a country on the earth where they are permitted to wholly give themselves up to their natural instincts, it is beyond contradiction the Island of Hayti. But what has actually happened in this negro Republic? Let figures answer the question. The Haytian negroes exported in 1821, 21 millions of pounds of coffee, six millions and a-half of pounds of logwood, and 130,000 feet of mahogany. But in 1863 they furnished to foreign merchants 71 millions of pounds of coffee, 116 millions of pounds of logwood, and two million of feet of mahogany. These facts are unanswerable, and we might add a host of others drawn from the history of the black race in the United States themselves. The demonstration will become much more complete yet, if we reflect that the Haytian blacks are not stimulated, like those in the United States, by the sight of the most active civilisation in the world, that they lack means of communication and carriage, and that their markets and outlets are comparatively very limited."

These are stubborn facts; and they are by no means isolated ones. We have the testimony of our own friends who have gone out to see how things really are. And what is their testimony? They all give the same report. Take that of Joseph Simpson, of Manchester, who is now visiting the various Freedmen's colonies in America. Writing from Philadelphia, last month, he says:—

"It is the unanimous testimony of all with whom I have spoken, and of all who have mixed with the Southern negro during the last few years, that he neither asks nor desires continued charity. Just give him a hand out of the misery in which his race has been steeped for generations—give him facilities for acquiring that knowledge which has not only not been given to him, but positively forbidden him—give him freedom and just enough edu-

cation to fit him to use it aright—and he asks for no more. If you will refer to the reports of the teachers and inspectors at the various camps and schools, you will see how universal is this evidence of an independent feeling on the part of the blacks themselves. "We can work—are willing to do so—but we don't like to live upon charity." The women are taught to sew; material is provided for them, and they are paid for their work just as our women were in the sewing schools in Lancashire. Many, if not most, of the able-bodied men were induced or compelled to enlist; others remain at home, and where practicable work for wages in the fields. The children are taken into the schools, and show a really wonderful quickness in the acquisition of knowledge. The idea, by the way, of the intellect of the black man being inferior in its nature to that of the white is entirely scouted by those who have taught both. Give them equal chances, and the teachers say the black is certainly not behind his competitor."

Let none then be deceived by the false alarm that "the nigger will not work, and that he cannot take care of himself." Rather let us patiently wait, and having "proved all things, hold fast that which is good." Now that his freedom has become an established fact by the defeat of the South, a little time and patience will manifest that the negro is not wanting in anything that can constitute him a human being, by no means perfect, but subject to all those infirmities incident to our fallen nature. Already it has been 'pretty well proved that he is much more stimulated to active exertion by the payment of cash rather than by the infliction of the lash, which, thank God, can never more be applied to human back in the United States of America, now truly "the home of the brave and the land of the free."

In a recent case tried before Judge Storer, at Cincinnati, when a coloured man was ejected from a Street Railroad Car, and in which he sought an indemnity for what he claims to have been an injury to his person and his rights, the jury, after a brief deliberation returned a verdict for the plaintiff (the man of color,) and assessed his damages at eight hundred dollars.

FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY, LONDON.

RECEIPTS FOR NOV. AND PART OF DEC., 1865.

CASH			£ s. d.		
<i>Per Miss Sarah P. Remond.</i>			Brought forward £70 0 0		
			Collection at Unity School Room,		
			Islington	2 1 4	
			Anonymous Stamps	0 2 0	
			Mrs. P. A. Taylor	1 1 0	
			Mrs. Cunliffe	3 0 0	
			James Stansfeld, Esq., M.P.	2 0 0	
			Mrs. William Ashurst	0 10 0	
			John Scott, Esq.	0 10 0	
			Little Maurice Hill	0 0 9	
			Little Margaret Hill	0 0 5	
			Collection at Rosalyn School room,		
			Hampstead	13 4 4	
			Herman Bicknell, Esq.	0 10 0	
			John Ridley, Esq.	5 0 0	
			Miss Nora Hill	0 7 6	
			Frederick Baines, Esq.	0 10 0	
			A Friend	1 0 0	
			Mrs Wood	2 0 0	
			Mrs Hemming	0 10 0	
			Mrs Hill	0 10 0	
			Mrs Slack	0 10 0	
			Mrs H. D. Brown	0 10 0	
			Mrs H. Brown	0 10 0	
			Mrs Conway	0 5 0	
			Mrs Squire	0 2 6	
			Mrs Semes	0 2 6	
			Mrs Stedman	0 10 0	
			L. L. W. S., per Mrs P. A. Taylor		
			Hon. Sec.	6 2 8	
			"	8 8 0	
			"	10 2 0	
			"	7 0 0	
			"	5 17 0	
			"	1 10 0	
			"	4 0 0	
			"	5 12 0	
			"	2 12 0	
			"	5 0 0	
			"	3 10 0	
			"	5 0 0	
			"	3 5 0	
			"	2 10 0	
Carried forward			£70 0 0	Carried forward	176 16 0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	176	16	0	Brought forward	1,264	14	9
L. L. E. S., per Mrs. P. A. Taylor				Edwin C. Clarke, Esq., per Morning			
Hon. Sec.	1	10	0	Star	1	11	6
"	2	5	0	T. O. White, Esq., do	1	2	0
"	5	0	0	Mr Goddard, for the circulation of			
"	1	18	0	the "Freed-Man"	1	0	0
A Friend from Maine, U. S.	0	5	0	Per Mrs J. Curwen	0	8	0
Mrs William Malleeson	0	5	0				
Mrs Steer	1	0	0	Total	£1,268	16	3
Mrs P. A. Taylor, Hon. Sec. of the							
London Negro Aid Society	40	0	0	We feel pleasure in giving space to the			
Mrs H. D. Brown	0	7	0	following list of recent contributions for-			
Per Treasurer.				warded by the Treasurer of the Clogher			
H. I., Bye, in Stamps	0	4	0	Anti-Slavery Association. The balance sheet			
Editor of "Christian World"	40	0	0	to Dec. 31st, 1865, shows a sum in hand of			
L. W., Hull	0	5	0	£1 4s 10d, after £35 being forwarded to			
Miss E. S. Sturge, Bath	1	10	0	Baring Brothers, and the Irish Branch of the			
Reading Association	85	5	0	Freed-Men's Aid Society; the entire con-			
Westminster Palace Hotel Meeting.				tributions amounting to £36 4s 10d.			
Archbishop of Canterbury	10	0	0	Anketell Moutray, Esq	2	0	0
— Levi, Esq	10	0	0	Mrs Thomas Moutray	1	0	0
Robert Garkell, Esq	5	0	0	Mrs R. Waring Maxwell	1	0	0
Hon. Arthur Kinnaird	25	0	0	Miss Crooks	1	0	0
Collection at doors of room	14	11	1	Mrs Donnelly, Auburn	0	10	0
Sale of "Freed-Man"	0	0	9	John Simpson, Esq	0	10	0
Cheltenham Association, through				Whitney Moutray, Esq	0	5	0
Mr. James Downing	126	0	0	Do	0	5	0
Northampton Association through				Mrs Ellison Macartney	0	5	0
Mr. John Blunsom	60	0	0	Mrs Hunter	0	5	0
Mrs. Buxton	5	0	0	Miss Hornidge	0	5	0
Miss D. S. Dykes	5	0	0	Miss Gervais	0	5	0
Dundee Association, per Mr. P.				Lady Emerson Tennant	0	5	0
Watson	220	9	9	Mrs Bell, Armagh	0	5	0
Do. do.	200	0	0	A Friend	0	2	6
Aberdeen Association, per Mr. A.				Mrs Caldwell	0	2	6
Brand	70	0	0	Wm Caldwell	0	2	6
Perth Association, per Mr. Alex.				Do.	0	2	6
Greig	150	0	0	Geo McMaster, Esq	0	4	0
Halifax Association, per Mr. Geo.				Mrs Geo McMaster	0	2	6
Webster	100	0	0	Mrs O'Driscoll	0	2	6
By "Freed-Man," Gs. 1d. Mr.				Mr James Donnelly	0	2	0
Partridge, £3. Dr. Ingall, Eus-				Mr Bernard Trainor	0	2	0
ton Square, 20s. At Bristol,				Mr Manasses Cullinan	0	2	6
£1 17s 1d. Mrs. Nainby, 20s.	7	3	2	Mr Charles Little	0	1	0
				Mr Lendrum Morrison	0	1	0
Carried forward	1,264	14	9	Total	£9	7	6

THE FREED-MAN.

NOTES ON THE PAST AND PRESENT.

BY J. H. ESTCOURT.

It is proposed in this article briefly to consider the past and present in relation to the progress of Freedom and the condition of the emancipated people in the United States, and in our own colony of Jamaica.

About ninety years ago, a section of the Anglo-Saxon race, inhabiting the North American shores, declared their independence of the old country, and established a republic on the principle of the equality of all men before God, and "their inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." That republic, known as the United States, has been wonderfully successful in her prosperity, in the growth and settlement of her population, and in the development of a marvellous national power. Whether her position be considered in a commercial, political, educational or military point of view, she occupies an eminence unsurpassed, and in some respects unequalled. Her free-school system has furnished an educated and intelligent native population; her form of government admitted of the freest representation, needed the lightest taxation, and imposed no restraint upon the conscientious belief of the people. Indeed, the vastness of her territories, the freedom of her laws, the competence and number of her population, and their spirit of enterprise and progress, commanded the respect of the civilized world. Yet, notwithstanding her high position and undoubted greatness, there existed in her midst an established wrong, the growth of centuries, known as American slavery, an institution planted by the mother country early in the time of her colonial dependence. This social, moral and political curse was tolerated for the sake of peace, and it was hoped, that, inasmuch as it was confined, organically, to that portion called the slave states, the competition, energy, teaching and example of the free states would in the course of time undermine and finally destroy it. Years of such association and influence demonstrated the futility of non-intervention with an internal and monstrous wrong, for instead of

diminishing, it had accumulated force by duration, had inoculated society with its poison, and obtained a firm hold of the political power of the republic.

The progress of the slave power had been so sure, and its usurpation of power so daring, that in 1860 Jefferson Davis, on behalf of three hundred thousand slaveholders, demanded that the constitution should declare that all men were not equal before God; that all men had not inalienable rights to life, to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, for he placed on the record the following as the ultimatum of the slave power.

That the constitution should be made to declare the legal right of the slaveholder to hold, use, exchange and sell his labourer, the same as any other kind of property.

That he should take this property into any state or territory of the Union, the same as any other property.

That no FREE state should be permitted to pass a prohibitory law against slaveholding in the state, nor should ANY state ever possess the power to emancipate its slaves.

That the General Government and the Legislatures of all the territories in the Union should be deprived of all power thereafter to interfere or injure the right to hold such property in man.

The rejection of this ultimatum to remove Slavery from its LOCAL and STATE institution into a NATIONAL and CONSTITUTIONAL one, caused the rebellion and made the defensive action of the Federal government substantially a war on behalf of liberty.

The readers of the "Freed-Man" will remember the all-absorbing events of the succeeding years, and how certain well-known oracles of the Press, and the devout believers therein, fell into the humiliating blunder (blunders being now considered in that coterie worse than a crime) of supporting the cause of the slaveholders, and publicly as well as privately using every influence to crush all sympathy with the Federal power, and will also have a very vivid recollection of the signal failure of the cause of the slave power, and how it and its belongings became a complete wreck.

Suffice it therefore, to remark, that freedom in the hands of a patriotic, intelligent and christian people, was made eminently triumphant, and that the fourth anniversary of the first rebel shot against Fort Sumter was the day of celebrating the return of peace, and the political destruction of the slave power in the United States.

Memorable as was 1863 for the Emancipation Proclamation of the good and noble Abraham Lincoln—memorable as 1865 may be for the conquest over slavery as a military and political power—yet still more memorable, aye, even glorious in the scroll of years, will be 1865 for the final consummation of freedom in the United States, by the passing of AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE SOLEMN RATIFICATION THEREOF BY THE PEOPLE, WHEREBY SLAVERY IS LEGALLY ABOLISHED AND FOR EVER PROHIBITED IN ALL THE

STATES AND TERRITORIES OF THAT FREE AND GREAT REPUBLIC. It is indeed remarkable that this grand message has fallen on the national ear without a recognition, as if the magnanimity and humanity of the nation was dumb, and deaf, and blind. But though that appeareth so, yet there are thousands who in their Christ-jubilation of 1865 forgot not to receive the message as a part of the glad tidings which would be a joy to all people, and to devoutly and joyfully praise the Ruler of all men for the evidences thus vouchsafed of his continued government of the ways of men.

In the words of that brave patriot and good man, William Lloyd Garrison, "Not a slave is left to clank his fetters, of the millions that were lately held in seemingly hopeless bondage. Not a slaveholder may dare to present his claim of property in man or assume the prerogative of trafficking in human flesh and blood." "Hail, redeemed, regenerated America!" "Hail, all nations, tribes, kindred and peoples, made of one blood, interested in a common redemption, heirs of the same immortal destiny!"

In the transition of those millions from bondage to freedom, hardships, tribulations, hunger and even nakedness, had to be borne, suffered, and patiently endured. Early in their journey, however, the LOYAL people remembered them, and directly and indirectly administered to their necessities. Freed-men's Aid Associations were formed in the Eastern, Western and North Western States, specially to attend to their wants and condition, the Federal government furnished rations and provided shelter for them within the army lines, the Christian Commission, the American Missionary Union and other kindred societies voluntarily fulfilled their philanthropic duties. For the Freed-ones towns were built, schools were established, orphan asylums opened, ministerial and lay teachers provided, and implements of industry furnished, and thus their journey from the darkness to the brighter light was rendered as easy as under the circumstances it was possible to be made. Subsequently a Freed-men's Bureau, under governmental authority, was organized, to guard the rights of their persons and property, and administer the varied provisions of the general authority for their benefit and advantage, until the re-construction of the rebel states was completed. To all this noble and vast work of the loyal people and the government, has been added the help and sympathy of the Freed-men's Aid Societies of this country and of the continent. It is therefore with honest pride we record this page of the triumphs of voluntaryism in time of emergency.

So much material and educational aid having been supplied for this noble purpose, we hopefully look for an early opportunity of announcing the fact that extraneous help is no longer needed, the helpless permanently provided for, the orphanage housed and in process of education, and work, paid for with fair wages, the boon and enjoyment of all the able-bodied of the emancipated people. We feel a sure faith that it will come and speedily too. Until then, however, the help we can give will be acceptable and welcome, as much for its expression of

continued sympathy and interest in the grand work, as for its intrinsic value. In the year of America's great joy and greatest act, she is astounded to find that the old country has yet a grave and serious work to do in her own colonies, for the outbreak in Jamaica was and is as much the topic of the day in the States as here, and Americans are naturally looking over here to see how we act, after all our upbraidings and unbelief in them for their apparent lack of interest in the coloured people of the States. Indeed the riots in Jamaica have revealed our short-comings, and the reckless way with which we finished our emancipation of the slaves, and hastened to glorify and praise ourselves before the nations of the world.

That we did the right thing in paying for emancipation, rather than not obtaining it in another manner, may be quite sound and true, but having paid the planters twenty millions of pounds sterling, and enabled them to pay the debts to the English capitalists (perhaps voters and legislators, many of them) and giving a term of apprenticeship labour to the planter as a *douceur* beside, we committed a grievous wrong in making no provision for the freed-ones, exacting no guarantee for their well-being, either temporally or morally. The emancipated people were indeed left without the means of education, without example, subject to cruel usage, to prejudice against them and theirs, and through the Red Sea of contempt and neglect they had to force a passage, full of suffering, under which many died. No light shone into their minds, no general manifestation of sympathy beamed over their generation, nor were they blest with the means of inspiring hope and vigour in their children. We are forced to the conviction that we have not done our duty to those for whose welfare we were and are responsible, and the discovery is now made plain, that the want of honestly paid-for labour, of the means of education and of equitable government, have produced poverty, ignorance and natural discontent. Indeed during thirty years of emancipation we have not done as much for our coloured people in Jamaica as the young republic has done for hers in the first year of their freedom.

With a knowledge of our neglect, brought to our doors in such a humiliating way, let us diligently set to work to fulfil our responsibilities to our own people; let us ascertain their exact state and condition, and then to the utmost of our ability provide that which is most needed for the present, and establish the means for the improvement of their material and moral condition in the future. Let our Freed-men's Aid Societies so widen the object of their operations, as to be able to take up and afford relief in all cases of need. Let us see to it that those under our own immediate charge be cared for, that we discharge faithfully our home duties, that we enlighten those belonging to us, that we free from oppression those who under our own government are enduring it, and that protection, justice, education and good administration, may be enjoyed by all under the British rule, whatever shade of colour may be the skin or in whatever part of our dominions they may dwell.

JAMAICA AND THE FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY.

BY F. W. CHESSON.

RECENT events have made it so painfully manifest that the work of the friends of the negro in Great Britain is only half accomplished, that I need say but little on that point. The indiscriminate massacre of negroes in the disturbed districts of Jamaica, without distinction of age or sex, and without regard to the guilt or innocence of the majority of the miserable beings who have been hurried to their last account, affords the most conclusive evidence that the character of the West India planter has undergone no change for the better since the abolition of slavery. The defects upon which Lord Grey expatiated in his well-known work, have become more apparent, and therefore more dangerous, since he employed the words of rebuke and expostulation; and it may with truth be affirmed that no one who is familiar with the course of events during the intervening period can feel the least surprise at the treatment which the negroes have received since the so-called insurrection, with the deliberate sanction and to a large extent with the guilty connivance of the ruling classes of the island. There has unquestionably been a conspiracy in Jamaica; but it has been a conspiracy on the part of the descendants and representatives of the old slave-planting interest to deprive the blacks of the protection of the law; to exclude them from the franchise; to supersede their labour by the importation of coolies partly at their expense; and gradually to prepare the way for the restoration of slavery. If language may be interpreted according to its well understood meaning, and if a long succession of acts, all pointing to one end, betokens design, then we do no injustice in imputing to these individuals an intention to bring the labouring population, by some means or other, under the old yoke. In forming this purpose they have no doubt derived great encouragement from the pro-slavery party in this country. Every article which was written and every speech which was delivered in this country in support of the confederates and of their wicked attempt to establish a slave empire acted as a direct incentive to the dominant class in Jamaica to adopt the same institution as their corner stone. Not less fruitful of evil have been the audacious theories of pseudo-scientific bodies, who with such assistance as they could derive from an examination of the skull and the heel of the negro have pretended to discover "his true place in nature," and have accordingly adjudged him to be predestined to a life of subordination and servile labour. In England we know the exact value of these discussions and the precise authority of the dogmatists who indulge in them. We know where Sir Charles Lyell and Professor Huxley stand on this question; and how immeasurably inferior are the authorities which are ranged on the opposite side. But in a colony like Jamaica every speculation which tells against the negro, or ministers to the pride of white attorneys and managers and overseers, is welcomed with exultation by a certain party, and is accepted as a clear proof that public opinion here will soon be prepared to turn the portraits of Wilber-

force and Buxton to the wall, and to give the planters a full bill of indemnity when they feel themselves strong enough to return wholly to their fathers' ways and once more to call over the muster roll of their slaves, as Senator Toombs threatened to do on Bunker's Hill.

There is therefore urgent need for intelligent, systematic, and organised action on the part of the friends of freedom in England, not merely in the interest of the negroes, but for the sake of those constitutional principles which are the foundation of our own liberties, and the subversion of which in Jamaica could not fail to compromise our character as a people and to weaken those national institutions which are at once a source of public safety and of legitimate pride. It must be admitted that the danger has been considerably lessened by the energy of our political leaders, who not only saw the peril but adopted effective measures to avert it. The Anti-Slavery Society lost no time in setting its machinery to work, and in enlightening the public mind on the facts of the so-called "insurrection" so far as they could be ascertained, and on the cruel and merciless system of repression of which it was made the pretext. The Jamaica Committee, in connection with which it is no little satisfaction to find associated names which are endeared to the country by the memory of illustrious services—the names of Buxton, of Wilberforce, of Bright and of Lushington—has taken charge of the legal and political questions which are involved in this great controversy. That they will do their duty with judgment and with thoroughness—that they will not shrink from any portion of the work which events may hereafter prove to be necessary—is rendered certain not only by the names which I have mentioned, but by the steps they have already taken to submit evidence to the royal commission; to obtain the best legal advice on the grave principles of law which there is good reason to believe the authorities in Jamaica have shamefully violated; and to get from the island the materials which are essential to a sound judgment and a righteous course of action on the whole subject.

What then remains to be done? Why there is clearly a great field open for benevolent efforts of a most extended and pressing kind; and one which neither the Jamaica Committee, nor the Anti-Slavery Society can occupy. Private reports from Jamaica teem with piteous and harrowing accounts of distress among the survivors in the desolated parishes. Whole villages have been swept away; the crops destroyed over a large area; and thousands of families reduced to a state of starvation. General Nelson's troopers and Colonel Fyfe's maroons, aided by Commander Brand's blue jackets, have put to death between two and three thousand adult persons. The dead are gone—their bodies lie "as closely packed as sardines;" but among the survivors there must be thousands of homeless, destitute widows and orphans. The Jamaica legislature is too busily engaged in the work of self-destruction, and far too indifferent to the sight of human misery when the sufferers happen to wear a dark skin, to give heed to the piteous appeals for the means of shelter and subsistence which are now being

made on every hand. But those appeals will not be heard in vain in this country. There are, I feel sure, tens of thousands of Englishmen and Englishwomen, of all ranks in life, who are only waiting for an opportunity to do what they can to alleviate the misery which so widely prevails in the eastern districts of the colony. I am not aware that any organization exists, save that of the Freed-men's Aid Society, by which the benefactions of the public for this object can be dispensed. To form another association would unwisely and unnecessarily multiply societies; create confusion out of doors; and embarrass those who, whenever work in this cause has to be done, find that they have to do it, or it remains unaccomplished. If another society were established it would consist, for the most part, if not entirely, of the same men who have already given abundantly of their time and labour and money to the Freed-men's Aid Society. I therefore think that the committee have acted judiciously, as well as strictly within the limits of their powers, in deciding to recommend to the general body of the subscribers that a Jamaica fund should be opened in connection with the existing organization. The same power which created the Society can amend its constitution and enlarge its objects; and in appealing to that authority, a step has been taken with which the most scrupulous should be amply satisfied. No one can reasonably urge that the interests of the Freed-men of the United States will be injured by such an arrangement. Those who wish to contribute towards the purely American object can do so with a perfect conviction that their money will go to the right quarter. But there are four or five other societies in Great Britain which are exclusively devoted to the cause of the emancipated negroes of the Southern States. Their past history, brief though it has been, and their present unquestionable zeal and activity, are pledges more precious than gold that the claims of Jamaica will not be allowed to stop the flow of English benevolence towards the American negro. But of this I am sure—speaking not only on the authority of correspondence and personal intercourse here with Americans, but from the knowledge derived from more than one visit to the United States—that the best men on the other side of the Atlantic would rather not receive our money at all than receive it with the consciousness that while we were loud in the expression of our professed sympathy with their emancipated population, we exhibited a practical indifference to the physical sufferings of the black inhabitants of one of our own colonies, who have been reduced, by no fault of their own, to a condition more deplorable than that of the most abject negro in Georgia or South Carolina.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A FREEMAN, Torquay.—An acknowledgment of the postage stamps will be found in our contribution page this month. Thanks.

BLOSSOM.—Your poem is very pretty indeed, but scarcely suited to our columns: we wish to devote our space entirely to our original object—the welfare of the “Freed-Man.”

ALL orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to ARLISS ANDREWS, 7, Duke Street, Bloomsbury.

The Freed-Man.

FEBRUARY, 1866.

THE FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY LONDON.

We invite the special attention of our readers to the important decision of the above Society. That the Committee have come to a right conclusion we think does not admit of a doubt: hence we solicit the kind co-operation of our friends with this the first Freed-men's Aid Society, in its onward progress. The following are the preamble and the resolutions to which we call attention:

“Whereas, there is urgent need for the formation of a Society in this country to ascertain the condition and promote the well-being of the Freed Coloured People in our Colonies, as well as in other parts of the world: And whereas, this Society can without cost or delay be made the desired organization by the simple extension of its title and a written definition of its object:

“Resolved—That the name of the Society shall be ‘The British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society;’ 2nd, That its object shall be to relieve the necessities and ameliorate the condition of the Freed Coloured People in the British Colonies, America, and throughout the world.

“Resolved—That all funds contributed to this Society up to the time of the Annual Meeting, unless otherwise designated, shall be regarded in aid of the American Freed-men.

“Resolved—That a ‘Jamaica Fund’ be opened, but that for the present the moneys paid into that fund shall be only those specifically designated.

“Resolved—That this be an instruction to the Honorary Secretary to convene a Special General Meeting of the Members of the Society on the day of and prior to the Annual Meeting, whereat the foregoing resolutions shall be submitted for their adoption.”

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON.

An immense concourse of people gathered in the Hall of the House of Representatives on December the 17th to hear the discourse of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher on behalf of the Freed-men's Aid Commission. The inclemency of the weather seemed to have no effect in deterring people from venturing forth, and long before the hour for the commencement of the meeting the floor of the house and the gallery were crowded to their utmost capacity. Chief Justice Chase presided, and at half-past seven o'clock arose and announced that the hour for commencing had arrived, and introduced to the audience the Rev. Mr. Garnett (coloured), who opened the exercises of the meeting in a prayer marked by much fervency and eloquence. An incident that occurred here is worthy of being chronicled. Scarcely had Mr. Garnett arisen when the attention of the audience was attracted by the sound of a female voice, and soon something in the nature of an objection was heard about “niggers addressing the white

people." Immediately afterward a lady was observed elbowing her way up the aisle toward the door, the outside of which she was in evident haste to gain. In all the immense audience there was not one to follow her example or give an expression of approval, and the incident was regarded with a feeling of amusement mingled with pity for this victim of prejudice, rather than with any touch of indignation.

After the prayer was concluded, Mr. Jacob R. Shiphard, secretary of the Commission, was introduced, and read a report sketching the organization of the Commission, the objects it has in view, and the work it has accomplished.

Mr. Beecher was then introduced, and received a most enthusiastic greeting. In the limited space at our disposal we can crowd but a brief abstract of a speech of more than an hour's length, which was filled with striking thoughts and forcible illustrations, and adorned with all the beauties of rhetoric. The speaker said:

"Two great periods in our national history have transpired: they are now complete: we stand upon the threshold of the third. What the character will be of this new period will depend on which class of precedents we decide to follow—those furnished by the first period, or those supplied by the second. The first period was that embodying the birth of the nation, the struggle for independence, the establishment of our fundamental laws, the development of our republican institutions.

"The second period commenced with the introduction of ideas and principles directly antagonistic to our own—at variance with those which formed the

basis of our institutions. It terminated with the contest which resulted in the final triumph of our original principles. In speaking of the principles of the first period he did not especially refer to those embodied in the bill of rights, but rather to that indulging sentiment of which this was but the legitimate expression and result. The most cogent and influential forces at work in the minds of men are not those which have been written, but impulses and convictions which lie far deeper than any of those.

"If called upon to give a name to the period from Luther to the American Revolution, he would call it the period of the birth of faith in man. There had always been faith enough in particular men, but not in man. There had always been enough ready to recognize and do homage to the great, but there had been no faith in humanity—no recognition of capabilities. He had never known a man who did not like cream, and there were always enough ready to skim off and lick the cream that came to the surface of humanity. Until recently man had always been treated as an animal. Kings had thought as much of common people as farmers think of dirt—that they were very good to make crops out of.

"The literature of the world had always been utterly contemptuous toward the masses. The priest and the ecclesiastic had believed in man, but only to the extent that he was good to be saved hereafter. This universal want of faith in man had been the cause of great controversies and revolutions that agitated the world.

"Our fathers brought with them to

this continent, as their chief peculiarity, FAITH IN MAN. They got their idea out of the New Testament, a very good place to get ideas out of. They measured man by God's standard, considered him with respect to his possibilities, not by what education might have made him. With them, man was a being to be developed—a creature requiring two summers to ripen—time and eternity. From this belief sprung another faith, the capacity of man to receive education. It had formerly been the custom of legislators and teachers of mankind to believe that man must be restrained; that it was unsafe to trust him with liberty. Our fathers believed that man was more safe in proportion as he was more free and more fully developed. Without education they regarded man as a man and animal, with the animal on top. It was education that placed the two parts of his nature in their proper relation, making the true Christian centaur.

"The Jews had believed that God was the father of all mankind in Judæa, and there were some among us, who believed that God had an especial regard for the Anglo-Saxon. He believed that God was the father of all mankind. For ages God had stood almost alone on the side of humanity. Our fathers had believed the best way to educate a man was to let him learn to govern himself. The exercise of our civil functions has been to us a constant process of education. Speaking of our fundamental principles of civil polity, he said he could scarcely think of any other word than democracy. That had been a good word once until it was smitten with leprosy. It would be a

good word again; but it must stand out from among the people, as did the leper under the old Jewish law, until it got well. Our democratic principles had shaped our policy and our social customs. Nowhere else in the world did professionalism—law, divinity, learning—aristocracy of every kind, find itself compelled to do obeisance to the people. Here nothing could stand that did not commend itself to the common sense of the common people.

"All these results sprung from the great radical idea of faith in man. Some imagined that a few men were responsible for all the disturbance created in our politics, and believed that if a few agitators were shot, everything would move quietly on in the old grooves. As well might they think of draining the ocean dry by corking up a few springs among the Alleghanies.

"The education of mankind had redeemed labour from the realm of muscle. Brain-work exalted labour to a dignity never before known. He who had learned to work, first through the head and then through the hand, had redeemed himself from drudgery.

"It was the want of faith in man that had been the greatest weakness of the South. There they had believed in learning, in endowments, in adventitious manhood, but had shown no faith in man as God made him—simply as men they had a thorough contempt for him. The result of their belief had been seen in the issue of a great war. If God had made a proclamation two centuries ago that the opposing principles of faith in man and the want of it should be fairly tested side by side, their respective merits could not have been more forcibly

illustrated. The speaker here showed that the section wherein labour was despised, and wherein the capacity of men for improvement was ignored, had enjoyed the finest natural advantages and should have outstripped the other. Like two knights, the rival forces and principles had grappled with each other, and the white knight had ground the black knight to powder. It was simply impossible that men despising labour and debasing humanity should compete successfully with men breathing the atmosphere of freedom.

"The speaker went on to urge in eloquent language the necessity of carrying the fundamental principles of Republican liberty into all our political action. We must give the freed-man his rights: the right of person and property; the rights of labour as they are enjoyed on the prairies of Illinois. Liberty must be to the black man what it is to the white man.

"The speaker glanced at the objects of the Commission, and in conclusion drew a hopeful picture of the future in the South."

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE U. S. OF AMERICA.—DEC. 18, 1865.

PROCLAMATION.

To All to Whom these Presents May Come, Greeting:

Know ye, that, whereas, the Congress of the United States, on the 1st of February last, passed a resolution, which is in the words following, namely:

"A resolution submitting to the Legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States:

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several

States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE XIII.—SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

And, whereas, it appears from official documents on file in this Department, that the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid, has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maryland, New York, West Virginia, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Vermont, Tennessee, Arkansas, New Hampshire, Connecticut, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia, in all twenty-seven States:

And, whereas, the whole number of States in the United States is thirty-six:

And, whereas, the before specially named States, whose Legislatures have ratified the said proposed Amendment, constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue of and in pursuance of the second section of the act of Congress approved the 20th of April, 1818, entitled "An Act to provide for the publication of the laws of the United States and for other purposes," do hereby certify that the Amendment aforesaid HAS BECOME VALID TO ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES AS A PART OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed. Done at the City of Washington, this 18th day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1865, and of the Independence of the United States of America the 90th.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Sec. of State.

Correspondence.

PLAN FOR GIVING PROTECTION TO THE LABOUR OF THE FREED-MEN.

To the Editor of the "Freed-Man."

Sir,—It will be an encouragement to all who are anxious for the preservation of the Freed-men to know that in conjunction with voluntary associations for their present physical relief, the attention of earnest and intelligent men is being directed to the question of the better protection of their labour and the temporary supply of capital by the government of the United States for raising the next crop of cotton. In the Lancashire distress it was found necessary to raise a loan to provide occupation in public works for the thousands of honest and industrious people at that time out of employment. A plan was submitted by the Hon. E. S. Tobey, of Boston, to the Board of Trade at Boston, Nov. 27th, 1865, which is explained in a pamphlet entitled "The Industry of the South; its immediate organization indispensable to the financial security of the country." The Board of Trade at Boston unanimously adopted the following resolutions.

"Whereas by the recent civil war, many of the Southern States have become greatly desolated, and a large part of their capital destroyed; and no inconsiderable portion of the labouring classes are destitute of employment, whose labour, unless now aided by capital, must be lost to the country.

Resolved, that the commercial and financial interests of the United States alike demand that speedy and efficient measures be immediately employed to organize and develop industry in the Southern States, in order to increase the production of their staples, and especially of cotton.

Resolved, that while we recognize the fact that the causes and principles which more or less affect the ability of the banks to redeem their circulation in specie are various, the quantity of cotton raised in this country must in a degree determine the time when specie payments can be safely resumed, and that to hasten that time is the part of sound political economy and a wise statesmanship, and is indis-

pensable to the permanent prosperity of the entire country.

Resolved, that in view of the fact that efforts by private enterprise to draw capital and intelligent labour to the Southern States, must in their results be remote and contingent, and however ultimately useful they may be, cannot be relied upon materially to increase the agricultural products of next year, or even for several years to come, it is vitally important to interests of the nation that the Government should, within the sphere of its legitimate powers, aid forthwith in sustaining and organizing such portion of the labouring classes now in the Southern States, as cannot be reached by private capital, not only on the ground of a considerate humanity, but also to save their labour to themselves and to the country."

Mr. Tobey in support of these resolutions said: "Nearly the same working population which raised the four millions of bales of cotton and other products in 1860, is now there to plant and raise the crops of 1866. How can this labour be made available so as to affect the productions of 1866? Let private capital, so far as it exists in the South, or to the extent to which it can be transferred there from the North, or elsewhere, by adequate wages, stimulate the labouring classes, and a much greater and more general response will be made than has been supposed. But capital, as already observed, is greatly depressed in the Southern States, and as it is seldom placed by its possessors where society is disorganized and life and property comparatively unprotected by a stable and efficient government, it cannot be presumed that it will seek investment in Southern property in the present unsettled condition of society there to an amount materially to affect the crops of next year, when in other portions of our country so great inducements offer in the development of mineral wealth and the various branches of industry, which have already made profitable returns to a degree without a parallel in the history of this or of any other country. This deficiency in capital and the protection and organization of labour now there, can be measurably, and perhaps I may add in a

great degree, provided by government, and at the present moment by it only—and this being done to meet the present emergency and as a temporary measure, private capital will soon follow order and security, attracted by low prices of land, a supply of reliable labour, and high prices of product. Happily for the country, congress at its last session created an agency and a power which in the hands of the President may do much towards accomplishing these most important objects through the operations of the Freed-men's Bureau, as a military branch of the government." After giving an outline of the plan for "protecting alike the labourer and the employer in their respective rights of contract, and otherwise until the States shall be in a condition to adopt a similar policy," Mr. Tobey adds: "No part of the country can have a greater interest in the results and advantages of such a method of action as has been proposed than the people of the South, and it is to be hoped that a candid and comprehensive view of the subject will lead them to welcome such reports on the part of the government. Security to life and property in these States is the first condition indispensably necessary to their future developement and prosperity. Southern people freely allege that it is their desire to interest northern capital and co-operation in the work of repairing the desolation of war and in promoting their commercial and agricultural enterprises. Can it then be the part of wisdom and of sound policy to await the slow process of immigration of white labourers, which it must require many years to gather in sufficient numbers largely to affect productions, and in the meantime allow a considerable proportion of the labourers now on the spot, where they are acclimated and have been trained from childhood to the pursuits of agriculture in the South, to perish, and their labour to be lost, merely from want of power or disposition to make temporary provision for them, and to employ measures to secure their industry?"

It is not within my province to pronounce a judgment on a question of political economy, but nothing can shake my conviction that the course of sound commercial prosperity in the track of justice to humanity. Mr. Tobey

occupies a high position in the commercial world, and as a Christian philanthropist and senator commands the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens. Whatever may be the fate of his proposals it is to his honour to have submitted them for practical adoption. His example is worthy of imitation. Too much conceit and affectation, there is reason to fear, have sometimes mingled with our benevolent operations. A philanthropic mission is proposed in haste—the worthy delegates pack up their trunks in a few hours—start for the scene of oppression or distress—raise a fund—publish a pamphlet or a volume—and reap the glory, such as it is, of their rapid excursion. We want more forecast, greater patience, and a single and steady aim to do the work thoroughly, with perfect indifference to the opinions of superficial and sanguine men. I hope you observe attentively what the *British Quarterly* says of Jamaica and the negro—"It is worth our while to study his nature and needs thoroughly; for the negro will hang to our skirts inevitably, and be the source of our most grave embarrassments, if we cannot lift him and set him by our side. Other coloured races with which the ever-widening sweep of our empire has brought us into contact seem likely, alas! to spare us the solution of the difficult problem which the negro forces on us. The New Zealander, the South Sea Islander, the American Indian, wither slowly before our advancing steps. The breath of our civilization wastes them; the most earnest and strenuous efforts fail to arrest the steady progress of decay. But nothing withers the negro. He can live with us, and multiply, and can retain his careless, joyous nature under the yoke of the sternest toil. It needs surely no prophet's eye to foresee that God is nursing the race for a great future, and that substantially our work is to train them for the possession and civilization of some of the fairest tropical regions of the earth." We must welcome light from every quarter to ascertain the real facts and to arrive at sound principles. Unless we do this, our labours will be in vain.

I am Sir,

Yours faithfully,

JOHN WADDINGTON.

London, January 13th, 1866.

Fred. Tomkins, Esq., M.A., D.C.L.

Dear Sir.—I fear, that through misapprehension, my remarks made at the Manchester Meeting, and reported in the January No. of the "Freed-Man," may prove detrimental to the cause of the Freed-men, in this country. I am reported as having said "The slave was perfectly able to take care of himself, for had, during the last two hundred years, supported not only himself, but his master, and his master's children."

I used substantially the words thus reported, but I connected immediately with them, the qualifying words not reported, "Give him compensated labour."

This may be inferred, but I think it of too much importance to be left to a mere inference. I wish, in all that I have to say upon the subject, as meaning, that the slave on becoming free, loses none of his ability to take care of himself. The Freed-men of America are just as able now to work as when they were slaves, and far more willing. Their former masters, to a great extent, are either unable or unwilling to compensate them for their labours. Here is the ground for the Freed-man's suffering, and the reason for furnishing him aid. This case is by no means that of the lazy pauper who is likely to starve or perish, because he will not work. Permit me here to introduce an extract from the inaugural address of the Hon. Charles J. Jenkins, recently chosen Governor of Georgia. I copy from the N. Y. Weekly Tribune of 30th December, ultimo.

"Since the fiat of emancipation, although sometimes unsettled in his purposes, and inconsistent in his services by contract (the natural result of a transition so thorough and so sudden) I take you to witness, that in the main *his conduct has been praiseworthy beyond all rational expectation* . . . The fidelity of the negroes in the past, and their decorum under the distressing influences of the present, are *without a parallel* in history, and establish for them a strong claim upon our favouring patronage." Surely no better proof than this need be giving to any person to convince him that the Freed-men of America, are worthy objects of sympathy and aid.

By giving this explanation a place in the "Freed-man," you will much oblige,

Very respectfully yours,

ALBERT L. POST.

COLONIZATION.

To the Editor of the "Freed-Man."

Sir,—The negro haters in the United States, and their allies on this side of the Atlantic are now doing all they can to prove the negro unfit for freedom. Among other devices our old enemy "Colonization" seems destined to another revival. It is the custom of this foe to appear at intervals like "the famous Sea Serpent." I have no word of objection to offer against free emigration either for white or black men, if they emigrate of their own free will. But I do oppose any coercion or pressure of any kind which in the least forces anyone to live anywhere, but in the locality which their own head and heart dictates. Still more will I oppose colonization, when this pressure grows out of hatred to an oppressed race, or because a dominant race has neither the moral courage, nor the justice to do as they would like to be done by. I well know the other side of the question: that there are honest men, some whowish well to the negro, and who think it would elevate his *hated race* if they could build up a Republic for themselves. But it will be proved in the long run, in fact the only sound policy which will be effective, and the only way to really elevate any oppressed race is to bring them within the influence of the most civilized races. And this is particularly true of races long enslaved. This has long been the opinion of the most eminent friends of the negro on both sides of the Atlantic, and history also gives abundant proof of the result. Never until our friends as well as our enemies understand and act upon the principle which underlies this essential fact and to which they may add another fact of much importance, that coloured men and women desire to be treated according to their intellectual and moral worth, or in other words without any reference to their complexion, exactly the same as any white person would be treated when placed in similar circumstances. Until this is done no real advance to their advantage can be made. The spirit

of colonization so lamentably exhibited by President Johnson, and so malignantly imitated by the London *Times*, will I believe be a failure. The propositions similar in character which have been put forth during many many years have been complete failures. Colonization for the freed negroes at this period of their history is most wicked in its conception and I hope is destined to an early death. Wendell Phillips, Esq., delivered a speech at Boston, U.S. on the 17th of October. It is most forcible, and eloquent, every line of it "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." He speaks with genuine knowledge of the negro race, and with equal knowledge of his own race. He speaks for us, and of us as he has a right to do; no moment during the history of the negro was ever so critical as the present. Mr. Phillips is more than equal to the hour; that man has more moral courage than almost an army of ordinary men. Negro character is not unfrequently supposed to be delineated by a class of vulgar men called "Ethiopian Minstrels," or the negro-hating press on both sides of the Atlantic. To those who wish to know something of the negro character from one who has studied it well for many years, and who has had an opportunity to learn something of the bitterness and agony through which the negro has been forced to pass, I again ask both friend and foe of the negro to read that most opportune speech. At the present moment some portion of the influential press of England and the United States are doing all they can to make the negro the scorn of the civilized world, as if the negro had not received his full cup of bitterness.

"We sue for simple justice at your hands
Nought else we ask nor less will have."

SARAH P. REMOND.

Wilmington, Delaware,
Dec. 31st, 1865.

My Dear Sir,

Your very kind letter of Nov. 25th has just reached me here; please accept for yourself and for those for whom you write, my thanks for the kind expressions of your letter.

I am pleased to know that Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Craft have at last been united, and that they have found such true friends as Miss

Lushington, and the Right Honourable Stephen Lushington.

I heartily concur with the spirit which seems to animate the humane people of England in their labours for the poor freed people of our country. Several weeks ago I wrote a letter to the Honourable C. A. Dana, giving him the results of my observation during the last four years of war, touching the political, social and mental condition of the South, and have requested him to lend you a copy of his admirable journal containing it, the Chicago Republican.

With great respect believe me,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient Servant,

J. H. WILSON, *Maj.-Gen. Vols.*

A NATION'S TRUE GLORY.

THE wisest prince that ever sat upon a throne hath told us, that *righteousness exalts a nation*. (Prov. xiv, 34.) It is not valour in war, but righteousness; it is not policy in government, but righteousness; it is not wittiness of invention, but righteousness; it is not civility in behaviour, but righteousness; it is not antiquity of forms, but righteousness; it is not largeness of dominion, but righteousness; nor it is not greatness of command, but RIGHTEOUSNESS that is the honour and the safety, that is the renown and security of a nation. That nation that exalts righteousness, that nation shall be certainly exalted by righteousness. It is not Ahithophel's policy; it is not Jeroboam's calves in Dan and Bethel; it is not Jehu's pompous zeal; it is not Goliath's sword; it is not rich mines of gold and silver, nor magazines, nor armies, nor counsels, nor fleets, nor forts,—but justice and righteousness that exalts a nation, and that will make a mean people to become a great, a glorious, and a famous people in the world. The world is a ring, and righteousness is the diamond in that ring; the world is a body, and righteousness and justice is the soul of that body. Ah, England! England! so long as judgment runs down as waters in the midst of these, and righteousness as a mighty stream, thou shalt not die, but live, and bear up bravely against all gainsayers and opposers.—T. BROOKS. Written in 1862.

THE FREED-MAN.

OUR POSITION AND OUR DUTY.

SINCE the publication of the last number of the *FREED-MAN*, the Society of which it is the recognized organ has advanced to a position demanded by the peculiar condition of the millions of the sable race who suffer from the effects of their former state of servitude. It is now clearly seen by the more thoughtful and earnest friends of the emancipated negro that the simple abolition of slavery does not complete the duty of the philanthropist in his case and ought not to exhaust his sympathies. If the Samaritan in the gospel had confined his efforts to the lifting up of the man who had fallen among thieves there would have been practically little difference between him and the Levite who passed by on the other side. The poor victim might have sunk in exhaustion, perished with hunger, or suffered from the fatal violence of a second attack of the banditti. But the tender and considerate Samaritan took a wiser and a kinder course: he went to the bleeding victim—he bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and took care of him.

The Freed-men, of all people in the world, need the most judicious care—not indeed to pamper them or to foster on the part of any vain sentimentality, but to fit them for the service required from them in the progress of Christian civilization. A conviction of the necessity of this proper care seems to have impressed the minds of many friends of the Freed-men simultaneously. Lloyd Garrison, after the unequalled labours and sacrifices of more than thirty years in the anti-slavery cause, urges strongly the duty of now looking to the mental improvement, and to the industrial and moral training, of those who have been liberated from bondage. An able writer in the current number of the "*New Englander*" says, in reference to America,—“The mind falters in striving to imagine the glory of that new era which is opening upon our country, if we are faithful and vigilant. The present winter may be one of severe hardship to some sections, but by another harvest the call for benevolence in feeding the hungry and naked will have ceased, and labour will be in the quiet exercise of its industries. The return of prosperity will soften animosity, and the failure

in the trial of strength will produce, even among rebels, content with existing arrangements. This recovered empire, whose Titanic energies put forth in the bloody wrestle are now working for the common good, rescued from the bane of weakness and dissension, must leap to the foremost rank by the development of its immense resources. Everything is hopeful, if we remain true to those principles which have conquered in this terrible conflict, and are earnest for the reformation of the South, and not for re-construction under the old process of state sovereignty and the nationalizing of slavery. Never has a christian people been summoned to a nobler task, than that which is waiting for us in the education and evangelization of emancipated millions, and of their former masters. Never could the church pray more confidently for the gift of the Holy Ghost in setting apart those gifted to lead in this heavenly service. We must seize the passing moment, ere society has fallen into the ancient mould, and cast it into a higher form. We must not however expect instantaneous success, for the spiritual grows to its harvest far slower than the material, and in neither do we reap on the day of sowing; yet if faithful to our country, our ancestry, and our God, we may rejoice in the hope of realizing the dream of philanthropy and the expectation of prophecy, to the amazement and confusion of those who have deemed our republic doomed."

This is the view our transatlantic brethren take of their present duty, and it is in exact accordance with our own sense of obligation to meet the claims of the Freed-men in the British colonies. Jamaica must under Providence be saved and we must gird ourselves for the arduous but deeply interesting task of restoration. The opportunity is most favourable. The government of the proslavery plantocracy has broken down. The commissioners of enquiry on the spot will bring all the chronic and complicated evils to light and an opening for intelligent and thorough philanthropists will be presented such as is rarely found. Who could read the nine columns respecting the "Reign of Terror" recently given to the public but with some alleviation in the sadness and humiliation produced by the account arising from the fact that the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society has been called into existence for such a time as this. After describing horrors—unexampled except in the greatest excesses of the Inquisition—the writer refers to the noble faithfulness of McLaren, who when asked under sentence of death to accuse Mr. Gordon said "I know I am going to be hanged this night. I don't know if he has anything to do with it." Faithful and true to the end—for he was hanged that night. He did not miscalculate the nature of the beings who were making a hell upon earth in Morant Bay. One thing only he could do, and that was to preserve his integrity unblemished and to go before his maker with a white soul. People of England, this man's aged mother is now living in a destitute condition among the ruins of her home. She has been driven from her provision ground because the Legislative Assembly, acting under the pressure of terror, passed an act to confiscate the property of all rebels, and the sentences of the courts-martial are accepted as conclusive.

An agent of the government has gathered up all the property, and policemen drive the people from their holdings. With her daughters, who have been made widows, and the fragments of their broken households, they now live in some poor hut in the woods, glad to court the companionship of the snakes and lizards rather than trust themselves to the tender mercies of those who profess to act in the name of Queen Victoria. "They said the Queen had left we," said the old lady mournfully, when I mentioned to her the arrival of the Royal Commissioners. The proverbial charity of the English people must flow to those poor afflicted fellow-countrymen. We cannot bring back the dead to life; but let us at least succour the living, and prevent the sting of absolute want from entering the soul, and making those who are now children brood in after years over their father's wrongs. Men acting in the name of England, have spread desolation widecast; let Englishmen come forward to lessen the privations. A little money will help to rebuild the houses, replace the clothing, restore the implements of husbandry, and give them their chapels. The latter have not only been destroyed but made the scene of horrors. Nine of the Stoney-Gut men were hanged in what is called Paul Bogle's Chapel. I was told so by a woman who had fled to the woods with her husband and her sick children. Her house was burned and all their little property destroyed, and they lay for two nights in the bush with their young ones amid the pouring torrents of rain. One of the poor babies got cramped with cold and hunger, and the mother in spite of her terror ventured at night out of their lair to endeavour to find shelter in the ruins of the chapel. She stealthily entered; but imagine her horror when looking up she saw the grisly forms of nine of her neighbours swinging round responsive to the night blast. A return to the wood and the wet lair among the frogs was better than this, and so she hastened back. The woman however was afterwards caught and flogged.

England was never more dishonoured, and humanity never more disgraced, than by these transactions—but we ask our transatlantic brethren and the representatives of all civilized nations to pause before they pronounce on the entire nation the anathema that should only fall on those who have perpetrated these horrors. Remember Andersonville. Slavery alone could corrupt the principles and steel the hearts of men for atrocities like these.

Wait and you shall see that our country will do herself justice in this momentous matter. The Jamaica Committee will take the requisite judicial and political action, the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society confines itself to a ministry of compassion and benevolence. We admit with shame and sorrow that the minds of thousands have been perverted, and that they talk as if they had lost all natural and moral sensibility—but the righteous reaction is at hand. Meetings will be held throughout the country for the necessary instruction of the people in right principles, and to call forth their practical sympathies. We can point to the Grand Meeting at Exeter Hall, as a proof that the heart of England is yet sound. A more earnest and appreciative audience never assembled beneath its roof. The great subject was discussed with rare intelli-

gence, candour and becoming ardour. Not a word of rancour fell from the lips of the most impassioned. We have only to appeal to the people to find a warm and generous response.

The mother of the noble McLaren will not want a home. We can answer for it that the land of Guthrie and McLeod will not be the last to succour the "childless, homeless and starving" people of Jamaica. We shall hear ere long that the British army and navy do not pride themselves on the slaughter in cold blood of unresisting fugitives and in the massacre of women and children. Men in high places will soon understand the claims of humanity as distinctly as the common people who have so promptly obeyed the instincts of the conscience and of the heart, and in some form or other the heart-broken widows and orphans will learn that the Queen has not left them. What is done should be done quickly, universally and continuously. Let us gird ourselves anew to this sacred task, with a single aim—self-oblivion and hearty co-operation with all who are interested in the object. The blessing of those who are ready to perish will come upon us—and in life we shall find there are few blessings that are richer.—W.

THE CONNECTION OF ENGLISH PROSPERITY WITH AMERICAN SLAVERY; A MOTIVE TO ELEVATE THE EMANCIPATED SLAVE.

WHILE American slavery was continued, the labour extracted by the lash of the task-master from the oppressed bondman was employed to a very considerable extent in cultivating the cotton fields, whose produce found its principal market in England. In this production the merchant realized the great agent of commerce, the manufacturer the material for the construction of all cotton fabrics, and great multitudes of the inhabitants of the northern districts ready and remunerative labour which supplied their homes with ample and numerous comforts. Nor was there a family throughout our country or colonies, but was clothed to a considerable extent by the labour of the American slave.

That these results of slave labour on English prosperity are not exaggerated, will appear when we consider the immediate effects of the closing the southern ports of America, to our commerce, consequent on the American war. Trade in the manufacturing districts at once experienced an universal collapse. The lofty chimneys of the mills ceased to pour forth their smoke; the rattle and roar of mighty machinery was hushed; the light tread of the operatives to the scenes of cheerful labour was no longer heard; and as the result pinning want nurtured disease and excited discontent throughout the population. The northern counties of our country became one vast poor-house, and the inhabitants were supplied by the voluntary humanity of the entire country. Nor is all this surprising when we consider that this form of our national prosperity was the fruit of a long series of great injustice to four millions of our fellow-men; and though this prosperity appeared at the time as the goodly Babylonish garment

the shekels of silver and the wedge of gold to Achan, yet as then so now, it produced trouble through the entire camp; for in the long run our national prosperity was visited by a national calamity at once extensive, severe and paralyzing.

But amidst the sufferings of England and the horrors of the American war, God has said to the bondmen in a most sudden and wonderful manner "Go free," and the manacles which have bound them for ages are entirely universally and for ever broken to pieces. But though blessed with liberty they are in a state of great necessity. They require dwellings to protect them from the weather, clothing to cover their nakedness, and food to supply their hunger. Beyond this they need to be taught the first principles of general knowledge, and the great truths of religion. Thus to fit them for liberty they must receive the help of those who have always been free. For this purpose mercy has addressed an earnest appeal to English benevolence and the sum of £60,000 has been contributed. Justice now adds its plea to that of mercy and addresses the merchant and manufacturing prince, and asks, Has not your prosperity been built to a considerable extent on the labour and sufferings of the American slave? Should you not therefore give back for their elevation a portion of that large wealth which some of you have derived from their hard and unjust bondage?

Justice also pleads with the northern operatives and enquires, Should not your humbler contributions be freely bestowed for the benefit of a people, whose FORCED labour for so many years has furnished you and your fathers with the means of FREE labour, by which your homes have been filled with unnumbered blessings while they were suffering the curse of slavery?

Further justice extends its plea throughout the entire land and says to all, Should you not be prepared to unite for the elevation of the emancipated negro while you consider how his condition as a slave has furnished yourselves and families during your lives with the material from which your comfortable clothing has been constructed and thus your health and happiness promoted.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN
FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY.

GREAT MEETING AT EXETER HALL.
BENJAMIN SCOTT, Esq., F.R.A.S., Chamberlain
of London, in the Chair.

On Thursday, February 15th, 1866, a public meeting was held in Exeter Hall, under the auspices of the above Society, to commemorate the Passing of the Constitutional Amendment by which Slavery is abolished for ever in the United States of America. The Meeting was attended by several thousands of persons, and the proceedings were characterised by the utmost unanimity and enthusiasm. A large number of Members of the House of Commons had promised to attend and take part in the Meeting, but were prevented by the pressing nature of the public business, and by what is denominated as a "whip."

The following were among the gentlemen present:—Rev. Hugh Allan, D.D., rector of St. George's, Southwark; Samuel Garratt, M.A., incumbent of Trinity Church, Lincoln's Inn Fields; Henry Killick, M.A., rector of St. Clement Dane's; W. Brock, D.D.; Newman Hall, LL.B.; Alex. King; Dr. Holbrook, of New York; Alex. Hannay; W. K. Rowe; Alex. MacKennall, B.A.; R. Ashton, Secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales; E. G. Cecil, J. J. Sinclair, W. Morton Mather, J. Bligh, Philip Coter, J. Bidwell, J. Curwen, Aspinall Hampson, T. Barker, R. E. Forsaith, J. Waddington, D.D., W. Shaen, M.A., Professor Leone Levi, Dr. Fred. Tomkins, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, J. Hodgkin, Esq., of Lewes, Handel Comsham, F. W. Chesson, W. Tweedie, J. H. Estcourt, Stafford Allen, J. W. Probyn, J. Carvell Williams, E. T. Smith, T. A. Burr, James M. Macrum (Pittsburg), Mason Jones, Dr. Sandwith, C.B., of Kara, William Willis, Esq., LL.D., &c., &c.

The Rev. Samuel Garratt, M.A., offered up prayer.

THE CHAIRMAN:—It has been arranged by the Committee that previously to the speaking the Constitutional Amendment which has been

recently carried in the United States should be read to you by Dr. Tomkins. And as a mark of respect we request that you will rise, and remain standing whilst that Constitutional Amendment is read to you.

DR. TOMKINS reading, the meeting standing:—"Abolition of Slavery in the United States of America, December 18th, 1865. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction." (Loud cheers.) This article has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maryland, New York, West Virginia, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Vermont, New Hampshire, Tennessee, Arkansas, Connecticut, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia, in all twenty-seven, and since the time that this was written, in New Jersey, making twenty-eight states. (Renewed cheers.)

THE CHAIRMAN:—Ladies and gentlemen, those who have done me the honour—and I conceive it to be a very great honour—to preside on this occasion, have two main objects before them in convening this meeting. The first object is to commemorate worthily one of the grandest events that has yet been written on the page of history, the complete, final, and irrevocable abolition of slavery in the United States. (Cheers.) The other and second object is to commend to public attention the urgent necessity—the very pressing necessities—of four millions of human beings who are now in the transition state between slavery and independence. We are not here to-night, to discuss the recent war in America, either its cause, or the conduct of that war; we have to do with a great fact which stands facing us, the consequence of that war. Slavery has fallen! (Loud cheers.) Mortally wounded by the sword—drawn first by the slave-owners themselves—it has fallen by the sword; and as you have heard just now, by legislative enactment of twenty-eight states out of thirty-six it has been consigned to a deep grave from which there is no resurrection.

(Hear, hear.) We are not come together to attribute this grand result to the wisdom of this man, or the valour of that—we might perhaps find a divided sentiment on that subject; I think we shall be all agreed, however, that there is apparent in this great accomplishment a hand mightier than man's and a wisdom more profound, even the hand and the wisdom of Him who is "wonderful in council and excellent in working," who rules and who overrules, who maketh the folly as well as the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of which He restrains. Neither are we come together in a spirit of self-complacency to welcome our sister across the Atlantic because she has put away her sin; the sin is ours as well as hers; let us not forget that we carried slavery to America, and we kept it there as long as we had power to do so. (Hear.) We can I trust to-night hold out the hand of cordial congratulation to the American people without uttering one word of crimination or sanctimonious self-laudation. (Cheers) There is no doubt a great and glorious future for the American people, a future of which perhaps the most far-seeing amongst us can form no conception. We trust and believe that there is a great future for ourselves and henceforth we can go forward in the march of progress side by side, the laws of these two great nations having been now fundamentally assimilated. We realise to night what was formerly a vision of one of the American poets, that great people sitting in the councils of the free nations,

Not challenging the nations round

To note her tardy justice done;

Her captives from their chains unbound,

Her prisons opening to the sun:

But tearfully her arms extending

Over the weak and unoffending:

Her regal emblem now, no longer

A bird of prey with talons reeking,

Above the dying captive shrieking;

But stretching out her ample wing—

A broad impartial covering—

The weaker sheltered by the stronger."

(Loud cheers.) This is the vision which greets us to-night—this is the attitude of that great people, and I trust we shall be able to stretch

forth to them, by the resolutions passed in this great meeting, the right hand of a hearty, cordial congratulation. (Cheers.) It may be objected by our critics—and they are many—that this is sentimental and not practical. I deny that; sympathy is a practical thing; and it is time that sympathy were extended openly and manifestly by the people of this country to the suffering and the oppressed everywhere. (Hear.) I for one wish we had held a meeting of this kind some few years ago when the Emperor of Russia decreed the freedom of twenty-five millions of serfs; and when the Dutch Government freed the slaves in the Dutch Colonies (hear); and I could have wished that friends had seen with me the propriety of coming together, so far as we could—in our aggregate capacity, to express our gratification to those who had accomplished these great ends. I think that if we had then expressed our sympathy as we might have done, in kindly words to the Emperor of Russia—such words as we could then have used with great appropriateness to him, he might have been disposed to listen to us with regard to unhappy Poland, but the time is past. Indeed, to go back to an earlier period, in 1854, we let slip the opportunity of speaking our sympathies before this great nation and before America. In that year I attended with a deputation, accompanied by the Rev. Ringold Ward (a black clergyman from Canada) to submit to Earl Russell the names of twenty British subjects who had been taken from ships at Charleston and Savannah, and sold into slavery. On that occasion the Foreign Minister told us plainly that there was little or no help to be expected, and I shall never forget the words, the looks, the gestures of unmitigated scorn when Mr. Ward addressed us as we left the audience chamber, and he closed his remarks by saying, "Now go and sing your Rule Britannia, Britons never will be slaves." (Cheers.) I, for one, felt that I could not comply with that request of his, and I never have complied with it, or remained in any room in which that song was sung since those British subjects were left to pine without a word of pity or of protest, in slavery. We can sing Rule Britannia now, for although that poetry was a piece of harmonious hypocrisy from the days of Dryden,

when it was written, down to 1864, I believe now it can be said that no British subjects are slaves. (Cheers.) (A voice: "Jamaica") They are not slaves in Jamaica, they may be oppressed, but I say that no British subjects are in slavery. My opinion is, I state it humbly, that if there had been more expression of public sympathy upon these matters before the great British public, there would also have been less of cruelty in the world, and possibly the Jamaica tragedy might never have been enacted. That however is past; let us learn by the past how to act in the future, and I congratulate you my friends upon this great meeting, and it will not be without its results. We still—although it is very unfashionable so to believe—we still do believe in the words of the ancient book—words which reverberated about the old Galilean Lake and re-echoed from Mars' Hill at Athens—that God has made of one blood all the nations of man to dwell on the face of the earth. (Hear, hear.) We believe that if God has made men of different colours, he has made them of one heart, one blood, one soul, one spirit, and we believe that Christianity teaches us that God, our great Father, is no respecter of persons, and that we his children likewise ought to be no respecters of persons. If there is any difference to be made, that difference must be in extending the greater amount of sympathy and the larger amount of protection to those who are the humblest and the most oppressed. (Cheers.) That is our creed, and we are not ashamed to own it; it may not be the fashionable creed, but we know this, it is a creed that will prevail in the earth. (Hear, hear.) And now, with reference to the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society. That Society has been labouring for more than eighteen months under the name of the Freed-man's Aid Society, before it made its appearance here. We are not here to-night to originate any movement for the poor freed-men who are struggling into independence in America: they have collected either in clothing or in cash about £12,000 Other societies, of which I cannot speak officially, have been doing the same good work quietly and unostentatiously, and probably at this moment upwards of £60,000 has been already remitted

across the Atlantic to aid these suffering freed-men. We to-night hope that this meeting will afford a healthful impulse to all those movements, that we may do something commensurate with the great needs of this suffering people. There are many thoughts which crowd upon me on this occasion, but there is no time for their expression. I feel that it is my duty, occupying the chair to-night, that I should inculcate by my example and in my person a lesson of brevity of statement, which I shall have to inculcate upon others. (Cheers.)

HANDEL COSSHAM, Esq.:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, the resolution which I have been asked to move, and to which I hope I shall have—as I expect to have—your unanimous consent is as follows:—"That this meeting reverently, and gratefully acknowledges that in the good providence of God, the crime, and withering curse of chattel slavery—first introduced by England into her transatlantic colonies, and then perpetuated by the fundamental constitution of the United States of America" (which you have heard read to-night) "has by the recent adoption of the Constitutional Amendment, been rendered illegal, and for ever hereafter prohibited throughout those United States. And this meeting tenders cordial congratulations to the friends of freedom in America upon the occasion of this gratifying and signal triumph of the course of righteousness and humanity, recognising in this auspicious assimilation of the fundamental laws of the United States, and of Great Britain a new and enduring bond of union between the two nations." (Cheers.) Such is the resolution which I have to-night to submit for your approval, and I quite endorse the sentiment with which the Chairman opened his valuable speech, when he said, that we are met to celebrate one of the greatest triumphs, and one of the most glorious events of modern times. I venture to say in your hearing to-night, there has been no such event since the time when Moses marched out of Egypt at the head of two millions of Freed-men, in the history of the world, in connection with this humanity of ours (excepting of course the coming of our Lord to redeem the race) there has been nothing like it in the history of this world. My only wonder Sir,

is, not that we have this great meeting but that my countrymen have been so tardy in recognising—in thanking God for—in congratulating themselves about—and in sending congratulations to America over this grand achievement. I know of nothing in the history of our country comparable to it. I am not going for one moment to under-rate that grand event by which we struck off the chains from 800,000 men thirty years ago. It was one, if I may be allowed to mention a matter concerning myself—one of the events of my life that taught me to take an interest in politics. I was a boy then, and I remember my father making me sit up all night to watch the sun rise on our country free from the curse of slavery. I see boys here to-night who will look back upon this event—this 18th of December which we have heard of—and this grand meeting as one of the epochs in their history which will help to make them fight the battle of freedom when some of us are gone. Comparing it with that—as 800,000 is to 4,000,000—you have the difference between the one and the other. I am not here to-night to under-rate the greatness of that event—when the Corn Laws were abolished in this country—it was a great thing to give the people free bread, but as the soul is more important—as man's higher interest in this world, and in the next, are more important than the way in which he lives, so the event which we are met to celebrate here to-night is greater than that. I am not here to-night to depreciate that great period when we obtained the Reform Bill of 1832, and that greater event of which we shall have notice before long. "There is a good time coming, wait a little longer." But still I stand here without fear of contradiction, to say that in the face of all these events, the event which we are met to celebrate to-night, is the grandest of them all. It is the march of 4,000,000 of men from slavery into freedom. Now, there is another reason why I am anxious to celebrate this event to-night. The Chairman has very properly said we had something to do with planting slavery in that country. I am rather afraid during the time of the discussion of the American question, for the last four years, we have often forgot-

ten, that during the time of the discussion of the American question for the last thirty years, we have forgotten in reference to this sin of slavery, our own part in it. While we have often pointed the finger of scorn at our transatlantic brethren, we have too often forgotten that we left them the legacy, and that it was easier for us to abolish slavery in a distant colony than for them. But mark me, my countrymen, when the history of the struggle in America for the abolition of slavery comes to be written—as written it will be—it will exhibit before the world a moral manhood, and a spirit of self-sacrifice; such, perhaps, as we have never witnessed before. The struggles in the cause of right there have been something more than our struggles here. They have struggled often with the halter round their necks. All that we have ever had to fight against in this country, has been a few hard words, and they do not break many bones. All that we have had to fight against in this country, has been opposition from head-quarters, but there they have had to fight not only with opposition but blows—they have had to fight with the only weapons that the South could use—physical force—for they recognised nothing else. Was there not something grand the other day when Lloyd Garrison set for the last time the type of the paper he first set thirty-two years ago, putting at the head of it the motto, "I am in earnest, I will be heard," and it is not given to mere mortals often to live thirty years, starting, as he did, with such a little band, to see the great principle triumphant throughout the whole of a great country. When he set up the last paper, what did he say? "You Boston people have taken me round this city three times with a halter round my neck—you Americans have tarred and feathered me—my life for the last 30 years was not worth an hour's purchase in the South,"—and his experience practically was the experience of thousands in America. We have not sympathised with them as we ought to have done, and I stand here to-night to claim for that noble, that glorious band of moral heroes, the sympathy, the kindly feeling, and the prayers of every right-hearted man in England. There is another reason why I am anxious

that this meeting should give no uncertain sound to-night. I do not think we did America justice in the last five years of the war, in all due deference to our excellent Chairman, and that although I am a peace man and opposed to war, if there ever was a war that was right, that war on the part of the North was right. I stand here to say that if there ever has been a war in which I would have lifted the sword it was in that mind. I am a peace man, nevertheless, for what I say, and I believe that from the first, if the North had fought the South as they ought to have fought them years ago, in a more determined way, they might have avoided it, but you must take things as they are, and I say that when the South resolved that nothing but the sword should settle it, I thank God that the sword settled it against them. And mark, my countrymen, it was not the North that appealed to that sword; never forget the North never drew the sword till the South said we will settle it in no other way, and they drove the North at last to this. They said you must let Slavery go over the whole of that country—you must submit to the downfall of liberty or you must take the sword to put them down. And I rejoice that when that challenge was thrown to the North, they said you shall not—our country shall be free and whole, and there shall not be a slave throughout its broad domains. (Cheers.) Never were the words of Scripture more fully verified than in their experience. "They took the sword and they perished by the sword." And I rejoice, my countrymen, to-night, that in the same grave that buries the sword, there is the chain of the slaveholder; and all the villainous hellish instruments of his demoniacal power are buried in the same grave with it. I am not here to-night to conceal from you the fact that we made a sore place in America during the discussion of that war. We did not do America justice; she did not want our help, she had a right to look for and wanted our sympathy—they said here are we engaged in a great war, forced upon us by the unholy advocate of Slavery—you in England have been always pointing at us because we have been too friendly with the slave power—we want your sympathy—they expected it—and looking

across were disappointed they did not have it. I will tell you, my countrymen, to-night, and say from experiences which I will give you directly, because I am not a very long time from the United States—I say that they had a right to expect that sympathy, and not having it, we have lost the power with America which we ought to have had. Up to the time of that war America was sensitive almost to a fault of English opinion, and I am afraid we shall not have as much influence with America as we have had. America has learnt that she can conquer even without that sympathy, for though I speak it to the honour of my country, I believe that never was a time when the majority of Englishmen were against them, though I believe that men in high places, and the majority of the press in this country were trying to corrupt public opinion. My countrymen, I have another source of satisfaction to-night. I believe the discussion of the American war for the last four years, and the sympathy that has been shown for the South in that time has deteriorated public feeling in this country on the subject of slavery. We have not now the same feeling as we had twenty years ago; it is one of the things in which we have gone back. Do you think if there was the spirit in us that there was in our fathers, that that vile thing could have occurred in Jamaica? Do you think you could have the *Times* newspaper writing day after day to defend the blackest atrocities that ever were committed against our fellow creatures? My countrymen, that could not take place if our feelings, if our sentiments, if our thoughts on this slavery question were as sound as the thoughts of our fathers five and twenty years ago. Why, if half the cruelty that has been practised against the black race in Jamaica had been perpetrated against the whites, do you not think that every paper in the country would have denounced it? I stand here to-night to demand as much justice for a man with a coloured skin, as I do for a man with a white skin. (Hear, hear.) We will make use of this circumstance to bring our countrymen up to that noble moral platform from which they have fallen, and, as the *Times* has been so utterly wrong for the last four

years on America, every prediction having been falsified, every statement having been proved to be untrue, so it will be equally wrong in reference to Jamaica, and we shall come out of this struggle with the public sentiment raised higher, and put on a different platform to what it has been before, and I rejoice that out of this apparent evil to the Black there should come a real good. I have another reason for congratulating you here to-night, gentlemen, and, that is, I have witnessed with my own eyes during the last few months, the efforts that America is making to overcome and to overreach the great event that has come upon them. I stand here to-night to admit that perhaps it would have been better to have had slavery abolished gradually, and if the North could have had their way it would have been so. When Mr. Lincoln was voted to that chair, he said that slavery should not exist. He and his party saw that if they circumscribed the area of slavery it would die in the end, and the South would not submit even to that, and therefore it was that you had slavery abolished suddenly. If there are any evils resulting from this, I charge those evils upon the South, not upon the North. But I know what the North are now doing to meet those great growing wants in the South. I had the pleasure while I was in Washington of spending a couple of hours with that noble man—and I shall ever rejoice that I did so—I mean General Howard, the head of the Freed-man's Bureau. You could not be in the company of that man without feeling that he was a gentleman of the highest Christian character. They used to call him the "Hedley Vicars" of the Northern army. I rejoice that the North has put that man in the position he occupies. He has lost one arm in the battle of Gettysburgh, but none of his intellect, and none of his heart. When I was there he was busily reorganising the relations between masters and servants, in reference to labour, and the principle on which he was re-organising them was this: the master chose one representative and the coloured people chose another, and then those two chose an umpire. These three men were to settle all questions of dispute

between labour and capital, and I am not quite sure that we might not organise something of that sort with advantage in this country. At any rate it is meeting the difficulty, and it is intended to say that the coloured man shall not be purchased, therefore I venture to stand here in your presence and to say that I believe that the Americans are not going to commit the same blunder as we did in Jamaica. They are not going to leave the carrying out of the emancipation policy to men who want to defeat it. You have put the carrying out of that anti-slavery policy into the hands of men who have been every day of their lives trying to defeat that policy. Now the Americans are not going to do that, they have put at the head of this Department men like General Howard—men who are as true as steel in the interest of the coloured man and the interest of the slave, and I believe that they are resolved to see justice done between white and black, and I should not much wonder if the coloured man in America does not get votes before some of you working people in England. You talk about the prejudice in America against colour; do not forget this, that one in five of the new votes prove that the coloured men vote on equal terms with the white, and now they have votes to defend. In the district of Columbia, in Richmond, among the planters, and all over the South, I find a very growing feeling in favour of giving coloured men votes. Many of the planters with whom I dined said, now that slavery is abolished we must carry the thing to its legitimate sequence; and they told me that they saw clearly enough they could not exclude a man on account of his colour. Now the North are trying to meet the difficulty; they are sending school teachers and clergymen by thousands into the South—they are sending all the appliances to meet their wants, and I rejoice that England, who has been a partner in the guilt, resolves now to be a partner in helping. I had an opportunity whilst I was there of conversing with the President of the United States in a very long and confidential conversation on this question, and whoever tells you in England (as the *Times* told you some time ago) that he is "a drunken sot,"

tells you what is not true. I stand here to-night to say he has one of the finest intellects of any man I have ever met with, though, perhaps, his views on this slavery question are not quite so advanced as those of that honoured man who occupied the Chair before him, of that man who for four years the *Times* tried to slander, and who, when he died—when he fell by the hand of the assassin—could say “that there had fallen one of the greatest men that the world had ever seen;” and they shall say yet that Johnson, too, shall be one of the greatest men who has ever been thrown into that position in America. I have conversed with Mr. Seward for some time on this question—a man who seems to look all over the world with one vision and at one glance. And I had a long conversation with Mr. Sumner, that man who fell under the slave-holder’s whip in his place in the Senate House, and who—to the eternal disgrace of the ladies of the South be it spoken—when his stick broke, received from them another, with the remark, “Hit him again.” “I very much more value a gold-headed cane the ladies of the North sent me the other day.” (Laughter) I spoke for two or three hours with him on this question, and I feel as confident as I feel that I am standing here to-night that not only slavery, but all that slavery has led to in that country is gone; the curse of this has gone for ever, and the future of America shall be a future of union, shall be a future of liberty; the stars and stripes shall only cover the free and equal. I met and had the honour of speaking with General Grant and General Sherman, and all I can say is that when a country can throw such men on the surface of political life, and can throw such generals in the front as they have thrown there, who are glad to go back to civil life, there is not much to fear—General Grant told me that there was 1,300,000 men in arms not six months before I landed in the country, a million of them had already gone back into civil life. When the newspapers of this country were telling us that America was going to become a great military despotism, I put that fact before you, and I ask you whether there is any chance of a country becoming a great military despotism that can absorb a

million of soldiers in the course of six months. I had a long letter from General Grant only last week, and another from General Sherman, and both of them spoke in the highest terms, and with the greatest confidence of the future of their country in reference to this very question. And what pleased me still more is this, my countrymen: they spoke with the greatest earnestness of a desire for union between England and America. (Hear, hear). That man deserves to be held up to the execration of the whole human race—that man’s name shall go down with infamy, that man’s name shall be blotted out from all that is noble, who tries to set these two countries at variance. Gentlemen, there shall not only be union and freedom in America, but there shall be union between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. We must have, in this country, what I saw constantly occurring in that, the old union jack of our country and the stars and the stripes of theirs waving in unison—waving in harmony—and with England and America united and free, the whole world will be blessed by their influence. There is another thing that I rejoice over. We were told all through that war the moment the North could see their way to union slavery would grow again; do you see any symptoms of that? What means the keeping of these Southern men out of the House of Congress? It means this, that the North will have guarantees for the protection of the coloured race before those gentlemen come back. I was being entertained at Richmond at the house of old Jeff. Davis, by General Terry. I sat at his table just six months from the time he left that table, and I believe I occupied his chair more worthily than he had done, when he was there. I believe when I was there an honest man was in it. (Great Laughter.) I was being entertained by General Terry, and I will tell you what happened while I was there. There came information to the General that a coloured woman had been shot by a planter without reason. General Terry said nobody but coloured people had seen the act, and he signed an order while I was in the house to have that planter taken up and tried by that coloured testimony, and he said if

that coloured testimony convicted him "I will hang him as sure as he is a living man, to show the Virginians that in the future coloured testimony shall be received on equal terms with that of the white man." For be it remembered, my countrymen, that one of the blessings of the abolition of slavery has been this, that if, before, twenty coloured men saw a crime committed that did not convict the man who committed it, but in the future the coloured testimony shall be taken in the South as white testimony is taken; thus we shall have the abolition of slavery not in name only but in reality. Now, then, from all these considerations I ask for your sympathy, and ask for your cordial greeting of this great movement to-night. I ask that you shall send across the Atlantic to-night no uncertain sound that you rejoice with your brethren that that great curse has been removed. When I was there, there were two States still under the curse of slavery. I went into one of them—Kentucky; those two States had not seceded, therefore the war measure of Mr. Lincoln had not reached them, but the Constitutional Amendment has reached them, and now there is not a State in America where there is a single slave; and they can sing as truly in America to-night as we can sing in England, the man that breathes American air are like the men who breathe British air—they are for ever free. Do you ever try to think what it is to be free? While I was in America I heard this glorious fact: there was a gentleman there who told me he had seen almost every great sight in the world—he had seen Mont Blanc, he had looked down over the finest and grandest sights in Europe. He had come down the Rhine, and seen all that is grand there—he had stood on the foaming heights of Niagara, and seen all that is grand there—but what was it? He was once crossing the Lakes from the United States to Canada, and he said as the vessel was going across he saw a man looking out at the prow of the ship, evidently gazing out at the land that was in front of him, and he saw there was a little tinge of coloured blood in his veins, and he thought he was a slave trying to escape. This poor fellow had probably gone through the

swamps in search of freedom; he had followed the North star, and he had got at last into that ship, but ere the keel of the ship had touched the shore the man had bounded over, and with one grand swim had got to the shore, and was kissing the ground upon which he lay. I do not wonder that my friend said that it was one of the grandest sights he ever looked upon. And now I ask you if that was grand—the sight of one—what is it when 4,000,000 are thus able to kiss the ground. Now let me tell you in conclusion, that with slavery abolished, there is a great future for that country. In twenty years time there will be sixty millions of people there. I have the means of knowing that there will be nearly a million of persons emigrating to that country this year, and I rejoice, my countrymen, that there is a country where, if a man cannot succeed in Europe he can go to and succeed; there is a country where labour is respected; that there is a country where the soil is open to every man. And if you ask me to-night, what I saw there which showed me the source of American greatness, and American power—speaking of the physical cause—I say it is the interest every man has in its soil. I found hundreds of thousands of men there who had gone from our country, and they said to me "there we were labourers; now here we are farmers with our 160 acres of land." One man I shall never forget, who went from my neighbourhood, who said, "I had four sons; I have sent three of them to the war—one has come back with his leg off. I have an interest in this country, and I will not allow my country to be dismembered; that is why I can rejoice. When these men have done their work, they can go back to civil life, and gain an interest in the soil. I rejoice there is a country where our language is spoken, where our bible is read—where there is freedom—where every man is educated—for, mark, I passed through nearly the whole of that country, and I did not meet with one who could not read or write—not one. I went from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi, and never found a man who asked me for alms. There was one coloured man whom Mr. Seward put me under the care of one day, who took me a little journey. I of-

ferred the man a dollar, and he drew back and said, "No, sir, I cannot take that from you." I said, why not? I had been talking to him about the elevation of his race—he drew back and said "No, sir, I cannot take money from you, but there is one thing I should like to do; I should like you to allow me to kiss your hand." He held my hand between his brawny black hands, and I never felt so much electricity pass to that hand in my life. I would far rather have that than the aristocratic shake of two fingers. Do not tell me that men are not fit for freedom who can feel like that; they are more fit for freedom than the men who want to enslave them. And I tell you, with this abolished, I rejoice that there is a country sixty times as large as the island on which we live; six times as large as France and England put together; with coal fields thirty miles square; mountains of iron-stone that would last the world for five hundred years, if they never had any more; with rivers two and three thousand miles in length; and I rejoice that every inch of that soil is free—free to the world. I call on my countrymen one and all to rejoice to-night that the stars and stripes cover that country, and give freedom and liberty, and justice, and equal rights, to every man of it, whatever his colour.

THE CHAIRMAN:—We have received several letters from gentlemen who have been prevented from attending; I will not trouble you by reading them, I merely give you the names. The Hon. Lyulph Stanley is confined to his house by illness. Professor Rogers of Oxford is prevented from leaving Oxford to-day. The President of the Wesleyan Conference presents his deep sympathy with this movement, but cannot be present. The Rev. William Arthur, the same, and Peter Taylor, Esq., M.P., is laid up at home with a very severe cold. Professor Hannay is obliged to go to Ireland. The Rev. Thomas Binney is in the north of England, and the Rev. Dr. Raleigh is in Birmingham to-night advocating the same cause. I may mention also that although we have no slaves in England, yet the whip is wielded here; the Government whip has been exercised to-night so that we are deprived of the services of many members of parliament who are bound to re-

spond to that whip. I will now call upon the Rev. Newman Hall to address the Meeting.

REV. NEWMAN HALL, LL.B.:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, the Society which convenes this Meeting is the Freed-men's Aid Association—Freed-men's Aid, mind, not the Freed-things' Aid, nor the Freed-monkeys' Aid. There are, Sir, you are aware, some self-styled philosophers and others among us, who would represent that the Negroes who constitute the greater proportion of Freed-men are scarcely human; two or three degrees of development from the ape. A gentleman of some position and in other respects of considerable intelligence, gravely told me the other day that the Negro had no soul, and when I reminded him that we had heard of Negroes who were converted, his reply was "Well, if ever Negroes are converted, I suppose God Almighty gives them a soul for the occasion." Now, if these gentlemen mean to imply that universally the human race proceeds by development from the baboon, that of course includes themselves, and so far I should certainly be tempted to accept this exposition of their opinion. But, Sir, we repudiate the theory for ourselves; we repudiate it for the Freed-men; and we are here to-night to reiterate, as you, Sir, most properly have done, a truth which one would have thought at this time of day it was not at all necessary to reiterate that God had made of one blood all nations that dwell on the face of the earth—that all have been endowed with an immortal nature by the same Creator—that all have descended from the same human Ancestor—that all have been redeemed by the same Saviour—that all are travelling towards the same eternity—that all, the poor and the rich, the high and the low, the Greek and the Barbarian, the bond and the free, the black and the white, alike bending before the Throne in the one common act of prayer, acknowledge themselves to be members of one great family, yea, brothers and sisters, when altogether they say "Our Father who art in Heaven;" and therefore, Sir, we are bound to recognise that relationship and not to oppress them because they may be weak, or despise them because they may be ignorant, but to aid them as our neighbours and love them as our brethren, and to bear in mind that the same Bible, which has

been sent to all of us, tells us in the very same verse that bids us honour the king, to "honour all men." Yes, Sir, even the poor, ignorant, degraded, long-enslaved, down-trodden African is worthy of our aid, our honour, and our love: and this Association is formed for the purpose of aiding, and loving, and honouring the Freed-men—aiding them not as things, not as mere animals, but as men, helping them as regards their physical necessities, as regards their social life, the sanctity of their homes, the education of their intellect, the privileges of citizenship and the consolations of religion. Our thoughts very naturally revert as we think of Freed-men to America. But while we are encouraging those in America, who are endeavouring to secure for the freed negroes equal privileges with the white, we must take good care that by no negligence upon our part, we should be open to the retort, "Physician heal thyself;" for, sir, we having Freed-men ourselves, we are bound to look after our own Freed-men, if we are advocating proper care and protection of the Freed-men of other nations. Terrible accounts have reached us—terrible accounts of the treatment of our own Freed-men have gone throughout the whole world. I have read, sir, some of these accounts; they have haunted my sleep, they have disturbed my studies, they have excited in me, as they have excited, I am sure, in you, an indignation, over which it has been necessary to exercise the greatest vigilance, lest it should exceed the limits of a righteous wrath. I rejoice that these matters are to come under judicial investigation. I rejoice that we have a government alive to the fact, that England is on her trial before the world. I rejoice that we have a government determined impartially to investigate and administer justice. We may calmly await the result of that investigation. But, sir, I hope I may be allowed, in perfect harmony with the objects of this meeting, not to utter a word of pre-judgment against other people; but, as friends of the Freed-men, just to say a word or two in reply to the charges that have been brought against ourselves. If I may be permitted so to do, I will then say that it is not true that we love the black man more than the white; but it is true that we demand equal justice for black and white. It is not true that

we wink at riot and at murder, if only these have been committed by our sable friends that we are represented as so fond of petting. We denounce riot, we denounce murder, by whomsoever committed. We say that riot must be quelled. We say that wrong-doers must be punished sternly, whether they be white men or black men. We say, repress lawlessness, but repress it by law. We say, put down violence, if there be necessity for it, by violence; but when violent opposition to the law has ceased, then let there come forth upon the scene, not Vengeance, ruthless and indiscriminating, but Justice, solemn and sad, one hand holding the sword, and, if you please, holding it firmly; but, the other hand holding the scales, and holding them evenly. (Hear, hear.) We have been charged, sir, with undue haste; there was no time to wait, the indictment against us had gone forth throughout the world, and it was necessary that along with the indictment should go forth the plea of Britain—not guilty. Whether those deeds reported were done or not done, were we guilty of pre-judgment? Are we guilty of pre-judging the case, if we take the person's own version of the case, who is supposed to be judged. (Cries of question and cheers.) This is the Freed-men's Aid Association. It has been decided that the objects of this Association extend throughout the world, it embraces our own Freed-men, as well as the Freed-men of America. We are expressing sympathy to-night with the Freed-men of America, and I am rebutting the charge that we are hypocritical in caring for the American Freed-men, while negligent of our own. I am carefully abstaining from saying anything to pre-judge any individual. I am simply rebutting at present, charges that have been brought against us as the friends and advocate of the Freed-men. I mean to say, we are not guilty of pre-judging a case when the case is presented by the persons themselves, whom we are regarded as having judged. If persons take credit for apprehending and punishing in a certain manner, a certain conspicuous Freed-man, are we culpable, in censuring them if we take the version thus given to us, by the persons themselves, and in that case was it unrighteous pre-judgment when even the editor of the *Times* newspaper:

has been obliged to confess, if the official notes be correct, "a foul wrong was done him," and "a case can hardly be weaker." Were we guilty of prejudging a gentleman on the ground of his own statement, his statement being this:—"a statement made with evident satisfaction, with reference to one of his witnesses, "a rope tied to the stirrup, a revolver now and then placed to his head, causes us to understand each other, and he has just been selecting the colonels and captains out of an immense gang of prisoners just brought in, and whom I shall have to shoot to-morrow morning." Are we guilty of wicked prejudgment of the person who sent this account of himself, or of prejudging that of another individual, who tells us that having sentenced a man to fifty lashes on suspicion, when in his agony he writhed and gnashed his teeth, that was taken as an evidence at once of treason, and he was removed from the whipping-post to the nearest tree to be hung? Is it any wicked judgment when we take this version of his own doings. Was this a one-sided judgment of ours, then; sir, the other side now has to be heard, our clients have hitherto been judged unheard, but they shall appear, and widows and orphans shall come from their hiding places in the bush, and tell the story of their supposed wrong. It is not we, sir, who have prejudged the case. They prejudged it who, when the first news of the riot came, at once judged that the negroes were universally resolved upon a general massacre of the whites (never proved); who prejudged the negroes, condemning them, and prejudged the authorities, commending them, and who daily, in the newspapers and elsewhere, prejudge the case, by continuing to applaud those authorities whose acts are under investigation. There are papers and persons who will condemn me to-morrow, even for these neutral remarks and call them prejudging, who themselves will be prejudging the case by wholesale commendation of the Governor and his officers. Those particulars I do not now pronounce judgment upon. They are all to come under a judicial investigation. If what has reached us shall prove to be unfounded, if those gentlemen under some extraordinary hallucination state things of their own doings which were really never done, if these which we call atrocities were never enacted, or if enacted if it can be shown

that there was good reason, the reason of necessity, (and necessity may sometimes be humanity) if such reason as that can be shown to justify them, then we will pay all honour to the men who in difficult circumstances have acted a blameless part, and I for my part will the more honour them in consequence of the temporary suspicion under which they have fallen. But if it shall be proved that these things were done, and that no sufficient justification can be brought forward for them, then I say the law of our country must be vindicated, and I say that the violators of our law must be punished, whether cottagers of Stoney Gut, or whether they be Vice Regal Governors of a great province. In either case, Mr. Chairman, our law will be vindicated, our fellow subjects at home and abroad will not have to tremble for the security of their constitutional rights, and our negro subjects will be led to feel that they were not mistaken in their loyalty so quaintly expressed by the correspondent of the *Daily News*. "Missee Queen lub we, she no lub that buccra man whip us so." They shall be taught that they are right to distinguish between our Queen and our laws, and those who professing to represent them violate the spirit of them both. Our laws shall be seen to be a terror to evil doers, high or low, and a praise to them that do well, and all nations of the world shall know that here at home and in the most distant regions of our empire there is an eye, the eye of the people, the eye of the parliament, and the eyes of our rulers intently watching all that is done in our name and that we shall not only meekly pray, but that we shall do our utmost to promote peace and happiness, truth and virtue, religion and piety, amongst all who dwell beneath the British flag. Now sir, the special object of this meeting is to express our joy and thankfulness at that event, by which nearly four millions of persons have passed out of a state of vassalage to a state of freedom. And who can adequately imagine the benefits connected with that which is expressed in these few words. Who can adequately conceive the evils of that system of slavery? There are many evils connected with the deliverance from it, and we lament them. Suppose that half a million of negroes shall have perished through want and disease.

But then there comes this question. Suppose even half the entire race had prematurely gone away from the power of their tyrants into the presence of their merciful Father, would not that have been better than that race, doubled as it would soon have been, should have gone on in perpetuity suffering the unimaginable horrors of slavery? There are those who think the evils connected with emancipation too costly a price for that emancipation; let me remind them very briefly of some of those laws, I do not say under which, individuals by their own action might occasionally do certain things; but those laws, which a few years ago prevailed in the Southern States and which either enacted or sanctioned the abominations to which I shall briefly refer. Why, sir, it was a law that every coloured person should be held to be presumably a slave unless he was able, to the satisfaction of the magistrates, to prove that he had a right to his freedom. The evidence of no coloured person could be taken in any court of justice as against a white person. To teach a negro to read was punishable in the case of a white man, with six months' imprisonment, and in the case of a black man, with fifty lashes on his bare back, and as the law says, "Well laid on." For a coloured person to strike a white, whatever the provocation, for the first offence he was liable to any amount of punishment which did not involve the loss of life or limb, and on the second offence, he was to be put to death, in any way that might be determined, and this was often by being burnt to death. Legally, wives were sold away for ever from their husbands, and children from their parents. There was no right of marriage, there was no sanctity of home. A woman had no property in her own person, and she might be flogged to death for guarding her virtue. Thank God, sir, these are now but hideous relics of the past. Thank God, that slavery, giving such encouragement to vice and cruelty in the white population, and entailing such frightful evils on the body and souls of the blacks—let us thank God that slavery, with its auction blocks and its cow-hides, and its branding-irons and its blood-hounds, no longer disgraces and retards the progress of that glorious Sister of ours beyond the ocean, who is perpetuating and extending

our language and literature, our laws and liberties, our civilisation and religion. Therefore, sir, though the cost of emancipation may be very great, emancipation is worth the cost. This Society is formed for the very purpose of relieving those sufferings. There are those who would seek an excuse for not sympathising with emancipation because of the sufferings and sorrows connected with it. But, sir, some of these neither rejoice in the emancipation nor aid those sufferers. We do both, sir. That mortality we deplore; with those sufferings we sympathise; but in that emancipation we exult. And would you give back that emancipation for the slavery, with all the evils which it has supplanted? No, a thousand times, no. Can they be Britons who seem as if they would barter freedom for food? Have we not drunk in with our mothers' milk the sentiment "Better not be born at all, than be born to bondage." Did we not when little boys love to sing the song that asks, "Who so base as be a slave?" Have we not always known it to be an axiomatic truth that a crust of bread under God's free Heaven is better fare than the richest banquet within prison walls, that cotton rags covering unfettered limbs are a nobler dress than the velvet robe concealing chains, and that rather than live a long life dishonoured and debased by savery, it were better far at once to lie down in the grave of the free, which the free winds of Heaven sweeping over might not scorn to kiss, nor the free daisies to garland, nor the free birds, Heaven's choristers, to visit daily with their requiem of song. (Hear Hear) In spite then, Sir, of the evils we lament connected with emancipation, we thank God for that emancipation. Thank God that the accursed system of slavery has been trampled out with that wicked rebellion, the sole object of which was to perpetuate and extend it. Thank God for the martyred President's proclamation so derided at the time by many, but so gloriously verified, as we knew it would be, in the result. Thank God for the triumph of law, justice and freedom. Thank God for the triumph of Constitutional Government over an Oligarchical despotism. Thank God for the preservation of the Union. Thank God for the maintenance under difficult circumstances often, of peace between England and America, two

nations that shall henceforth be more firmly united than ever in all that is glorious and good, and whose mutual interest, duty and delight it shall ever be to promote one another's prosperity. Now as the special duty of to-night let us thank God for that Constitutional enactment by which throughout the United States, Slavery is for ever abolished. (Loud cheers.)

THE CHAIRMAN: J. W. Probyn, Esq., will say a few words in support of this resolution. I must call upon our friends to recollect that our time is limited, and to put as much constraint as possible upon themselves in addressing you

J. W. PROBYN, Esq.:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen. I shall certainly act upon the good advice which our Chairman has given us and be very brief in the few remarks which I have to make. Mr. Alexander H. Stevens, the Ex-Vice-President of the Ex-Southern Government, said slavery is the immediate cause of the present rupture and the present revolution. Slavery is the corner stone which has hitherto been rejected but has to-day become the head of the corner. Jefferson was right in his forecast that this was the rock upon which the old Union would split. The good vessel of the United States held on her course, she has come in contact with this rock which was ahead of her, but God be praised it is not the vessel of the United States constitution of its laws and liberties which has gone to the bottom, but the rock of slavery, with the chains of slavery, with all its horrors and with all its crimes, and we are here to-night to commemorate the glorious event, to join together heart with heart, voice with voice, to thank God for this defeat of tyranny, and for this glorious victory gained in the cause of freedom throughout the world. It is indeed a privilege to speak upon such a subject and yet you will perhaps be surprised to hear that I do so with some amount of regret because I occupy another's place. It is not my fault and not his fault, but it is a little bit the fault of the excellent good sense of the people of Lambeth, because it was they, who by their operations in last summer, put under the lash of the whipper-in of the House of Commons, that true friend of freedom, and of the working people's rights, Mr. Thomas Hughes. It is the performance of his duties in the

House which prevents his being here to-night. And therefore I have been asked to address you

It is just three years ago that I had the pleasure of taking part in this very building with Mr. Hughes in a meeting of this kind, and that was called together to commemorate and to rejoice in the Proclamation of President Lincoln for the Abolition of Slavery as a War Measure. Those were dark days, in some respects sad days, and clouds were over the skies and our hearts were somewhat heavy because the prospect was at any rate overcast. But now the storm has gone by, and the victory has been gained. We now see the United States of America no longer half slave and half free, but wholly and entirely free. It is one of the greatest victories which the world has ever seen. We are told sometimes that negroes are only a sort of half-men. I was staying in Manchester with a friend of mine not very long ago, and he had a negro in his house—a negro as black as my hat, and that negro happened to be a Bishop, to the honour of England's Church be it said. And he said to me, Do you know what that black Bishop did the other day when he was with me? he spoke at a large Missionary Meeting in the morning; he preached in the evening; when he came home that night he was correcting his proof sheets of a translation of part of the Scriptures into one of the African languages, and he was going to speak at another meeting on the next day. To which I replied, Very well, if that is the case I should be very sorry to pit my white brains against his black ones. But Sir, it is not only negro slavery that has been got rid of, it has been all slavery, because it was not only negroes who were in bondage in the United States, it was every single man who had the slightest drop of black blood in his veins. But a still greater triumph has been won because a stop has been put to the advancement of a power which desired to spread slavery throughout the whole length and breadth of the new world, and not only did they maintain that they wished for negro slavery, but all kinds of slavery, for I have seen, and have at the present in my possession, extracts from the papers of Richmond and Charleston, maintaining that there is no such thing as negro slavery alone,

that there is nothing but slavery in the generality term, and that if it is true that negro slavery was good, so it was also true that slavery of all persons who were poor, and of what we call the lower classes, was good under certain circumstances. That was the system which some people in this country had a sympathy for; that was the system which some of them desired to triumph. But the working-classes of England were heart and soul, to their eternal honour, with the cause of the North. This abolition of slavery can have but one effect in the United States, and that is to strengthen America's hands and to make her greater and more prosperous than ever before. Some old politicians tremble very much at that prospect; they wanted very much to see a little division, and then there would be perpetual squabbling. But they will probably be deprived of that little game which they had in their hands, and they will have to deal with one great country. And now I ask is there anything so very dreadful in this prospect? America is a republic, and we are a constitutional monarchy, and we do not want to change. But what, after all, is the basis of both but freedom? and freedom being the basis of both, then they are the same things under different forms, and not hostile and contending systems. What lies at the base of American freedom, if it be not our own English laws and our own English liberty? Wherever American laws have sway and wherever her flag flies, there is spoken England's mother tongue, and there is carried, still better, the great, and progressive, and Christian civilization of England. Are we to tremble at such a prospect as this? Are not the people of England rather to thank God and to take courage? Are they not rather to say God speed to their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic? Shall they not rather say to them, People of America, may peace, may prosperity, in all the fullness of their blessings, be completely restored throughout the length and breadth of your mighty dominion; and say, May all your federated States rally again in peace and in happiness around that good old flag which the hand of immortal Washington planted, and which was saved by Abraham Lincoln.

Let each one of the citizens, to whatever state he may belong, whether it be upon the Atlantic or on the Pacific, whether it be washed by the North Lakes or by the waters of the Gulf, repeat from his heart these noble words of Daniel Webster, "I know no North, I know no South, I know only my Country." And why should we wish them this? not because they are great, not because their material wealth increases; still less should we desire it to be accomplished by a crafty policy or by the brutal force of arms, but all this we may wish them from our very hearts, because to-day and henceforth their Institutions rest without reserve, upon the eternal foundations of Justice and of Liberty, because now they recognise those sacred principles as the common heritage of all mankind, without distinction of class or of creed, or of colour; because now the glory of their free constitution is for ever cleansed from the curse and crime of slavery.

THE CHAIRMAN:—Before we put this Resolution to the Meeting, Professor Leone Levi will say a few words.

PROFESSOR LEONE LEVI spoke as follows:—I esteem it a high honour in being permitted to take part in the proceedings of this great meeting for an object so noble and cheering as the abolition of slavery in the United States. Accustomed to look into the economical condition of this and other countries, I own I always felt sincere sorrow in contemplating the character of the population of the United States. There was no mistaking the fact. A large part of the population, 4,000,000 in 31,000,000 and an extensive portion of territory as much as 600,000 square miles were doomed to comparative unfruitfulness in consequence of the degrading institution of slavery. We spoke of the prosperity, the wealth and progress of the United States as a whole, but when we looked into particulars, oh, what difference there was between the various states. In the free all was life and activity. There, morals and intelligence, commerce, manufacture, navigation, and agriculture all grew apace. In the slave states there were undoubted signs of a moral blight under which nothing could flourish. I am sure it was an economical blunder to maintain any great

industry by slave labour. Slave labour is more costly than free labour and far less efficient. And now that, thank God, all the drudgery part of human labour can be performed by machinery, no industry can thrive unless the labourers are free, intelligent and willing workers. Happily there is no discordance between what is absolutely right and what is economically good and profitable. The more we recognise the great fact that man is made in God's own image the more do we endeavour to elevate and ennoble human nature, and to raise man, of whatever colour and race, to the place for which God has designed him, the more real substantial and permanent progress we shall make. The legal position of so large a class was moreover degrading in the extreme. I blushed for my fellow-men when reading the decisions of learned judges as to the incompetency of slaves to contract as to the effect of purchases and sales of human beings. I felt that it was imposing a dire sacrifice on men of such high character as the American judges to make them treat intelligent human souls, as if they were no more than bales of cotton or casks of sugar. In the eye of the law there ought to be no difference of persons, no monopoly of rights, no superiority of claims between man and man. It was degrading the courts of justice by making them the instruments for perpetrating the greatest acts of social oppression. But all this is now ended. A new era of freedom has at last dawned on the American horizon. Henceforth the rights of labour will be recognized in all the States of the Union. A labourer whether black or white will be able to demand fair and lawful wages for his daily work and will be able to seek the best market for his labour, moving about freely from State to State wherever he has the best chance of getting good employment. Henceforth the school will be open to all, and those means of improvement which have put the Northern States of America on a high scale of intelligence and moral elevation will be extended to the Southern States also. And need I say that the Church itself will at last recognise the fact that in the eye of God there is no respect of persons, the same destinies awaiting the human soul to whatever race and colour he

may belong. Thus opened to every economical, social and religious improvement, we shall see those States which have hitherto resisted the tide of progress taking their places in fair competition with their successful rivals, and European settlers will find New Orleans, Virginia and Carolina as attractive as New York, Boston and Ohio. The nineteenth century will ever be marked for its achievements in physical science, for its advance in education and for the consolidation of states under free and progressive institution. Thankful should we be that another great triumph has thus been realized, a triumph second to none in moral greatness, second to none as witnessing to the energy of truth. All honour to the United States of America! Glad indeed should we be that a land supremely blessed with every variety of natural gifts, a land which has long been the refuge of the forlorn and the home of the industrious from all nations has now pre-eminently become the land of freedom.

THE CHAIRMAN:—It has been moved and seconded "That this Meeting reverently and gratefully acknowledges that, in the good providence of God, the crime and withering curse of chattel slavery—first introduced by England into her transatlantic colonies, and then perpetuated by the fundamental constitution of the United States of America—has, by the recent adoption of the Constitutional Amendment, been rendered illegal, and for ever hereafter prohibited throughout those United States. And this Meeting tenders its cordial congratulations to the friends of freedom in America upon the occasion of this gratifying and signal triumph of the cause of righteousness and humanity; recognising in this auspicious assimilation of the fundamental laws of the United States and of Great Britain a new and enduring bond of union between the two nations." Those of you who approve of that Resolution will hold up your hands. If there be any on the other side they will hold up their hands. [The show of hands were then declared to be in favour of the Resolution.] As I was about to put this Resolution to the Meeting, I was requested by an American present, Dr. Holbrook of New York, that he might just have an opportunity of saying two or three words in recognition.

DR. HOLBROOK:—I am aware that this is a meeting specially for Englishmen, and for an expression of English sentiment on the subject of the Resolution, which has now been adopted; but as an American citizen, I rejoice in the opportunity of saying two or three words in response to the sentiments of this Resolution, which has now been so unanimously passed in this Hall. This past year 1865 will ever be memorable, not only in the historic annals of the American Union, but in the annals of the world, for the close of the most gigantic civil war of which we have any account in the records of history. Whether we consider the vast extent of country over which it extended, or the vastness of the questions which were at issue, or the amount of money, and of blood—that was expended in the struggle, not only will it be memorable for the close of that war, but it will also be memorable for the overthrow of that fundamental heresy in all governments, that which will be fatal to any government—to the British government as well as to the American government—that a part of a great nation has a right to withdraw with or without cause at its pleasure from its responsibility to the rest. That heresy has been for ever put down on the other side of the Atlantic, but especially will the year 1865 be memorable for the accomplishment of that object to which the Resolution that has now been adopted, refers. To what? The extinction of slavery over all that broad land. In a moment as it were and unexpectedly to multitudes, the chains have fallen from the limbs of four millions of human beings that have been held hitherto in the most degrading bondage, and well may the friends of Constitutional liberty and of humanity throughout the world, congratulate themselves on this specious event; but especially may the citizens of Great Britain congratulate themselves and their friends across the Atlantic, at the accomplishment of this great event. Great Britain, who years ago led the way in striking the chains from the limbs of 800,000 slaves in her dominions and proclaiming that thenceforth the foot of a slave should not stand on British soil. Well may you rejoice my friends that your brethren across the Atlantic—citizens of that great nation of the same language, the

same literature, the same religion as your own, that they can now take up the same boast and say, that from the great Lakes in the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, from the Atlantic on the east, to the Pacific on the west, there is not a slave. It has long been, since the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, the boast of Britons, and their just and laudable boast that wherever the flag of Britain floats, it floats over free soil. And to-day let us rejoice that we can adopt the language of one of our national popular airs, and say that henceforth “the star spangled banner in triumph shall wave o’er the land of the free and the home of the brave.” And now, Mr. Chairman, what remains but that these two great nations, the foremost nations of the earth in many respects, these two great representatives of constitutional liberty, what remains but that they should henceforth cherish the most kindly feeling towards each other and rejoice in each other’s prosperity and welfare. Why should there be any jealousy? Why should there be any rivalry—except the rivalry to do good, between these two brave nations. It is a false patriotism that teaches us to say “our country, right or wrong.” It is a false patriotism that teaches us that all other nations are naturally antagonists of our own, enemies of our own, and that the prosperity of other nations is not consistent with the prosperity of our own. Under the constitution that God has ordained the highest welfare of the individual is consistent and only consistent with the highest welfare of his fellows around him, we see that the same principle holds good in families and in any great community and the same principle holds good on a still larger scale among nations; the prosperity of one is the prosperity of all. Let us then rejoice in whatever in either country tends to elevate humanity. Let us rejoice in whatever in either country tends to develop the powers of humanity, tends to vindicate human rights and human privileges, assured that sooner or later the beneficial influence will be felt in our own country and all over the world. And now my friends let each of us henceforth do right; let each of these two great nations do right and it is not possible that any collision should occur

between them—let each resolve to pursue the right, and it is not possible for unprincipled politicians or men in any station to involve these two great nations in war—a war that would necessarily be injurious to both—a war that would be a calamity to the world; a war between these two great free, intelligent christian nations would be the shame and disgrace of the age in which we live. The emancipation of the slaves on the other side of the water has devolved upon that nation for which I speak to-night. The solution of the most gigantic problem—the greatest problem that was ever submitted to any nation: these four millions of Freed-men—what shall be done with them? Can they be evangelised? Can they be raised to enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizens of that great Republic? For myself I believe they can. (Hear, hear.) There are great difficulties in the way; some of them you apprehend and some of them you do not—difficulties growing out of the complex nature of our institutions—difficulties growing out of the selfishness and wickedness of men both of the North and of the South, but I believe that all those difficulties can be overcome—I believe they will be overcome, and to the accomplishment of this end all earnest workers, all philanthropists on the other side of the Atlantic, are now addressing themselves with a zeal that is worthy of all praise—and if I had time I would like to tell you something they are doing, but I have not. I only say that we thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the sympathy which you have expressed for us in the circumstances in which we are placed. We thank you, and through you, the people of Great Britain, for all they have done to augment the means at our disposal for elevating, and saving, and enfranchising this race of coloured Freed-men. And now let me say in conclusion—for I could talk by the hour on this subject if there was time—that I believe there is nothing that would so tend to cement the bonds of peace and friendship between these two great nations as such acts of international benevolence as were manifested by the Americans when they sent in the time of your distress, £300,000 to relieve your suffering poor—I mean £300,000 to aid your suffering Lancashire operatives; and the £50,000 or

£60,000 (to be greatly augmented no doubt) which you are now sending across the Atlantic to help us to elevate and save the Freed-men.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is another resolution to be moved and seconded, and I now call on Rev. Dr. Hugh Allen to move that resolution.

REV. DR. HUGH ALLEN:—Sir, I stay not to examine problems, I stay not to argue the question metaphysically, I stay not to argue the question in a knotty point of view. I assert that no man has a right to make a fellow man a slave. There is no law which has the right to do it—no law was a right law that did it. It is contrary to humanity itself. It is given to man by his Creator to defend himself against such subjection, and it is in itself productive of all the miseries that the human race can be cursed with, and therefore argue it I will not; the thing has been settled, and there is no use in arguing about it now. Slavery is wrong in every shape and form. No man, in any part of the world, has the right to call another man a slave. No man had ever a right to buy a slave. No man had ever a right to sell a slave. I deny the right from the beginning to this day—I deny the right *in limine*. It was wrong—it was robbery—it was worse than robbery to do any part of the business. And, therefore, I stay not to tell the selfish man who wants to do nothing, but who wants the black man to do everything—I stay not to tell the lazy person (whoever that person may be), who wants to have everything but to do nothing—I stay not to remonstrate with this person—but I tell Professor Levi he may reason till the day of his death, but there are certain men so cursed with selfishness that you never could persuade them it is not their bounden duty to get all they can, but give nothing. But I assert we have got too old—the world has got too old for slavery to exist any longer. It was well it was settled in America, it must have been settled soon, and then worse than what has occurred might have been entailed. It was a terrible thing—the war was a dreadful thing—no one can think of that without calling it a dreadful war. Yes, the men who fought in it, I believe, felt as our own Wellington did—the man that felt most serious when others were cheering, though none

fought more bravely than he. I believe the men from the same blood as the great Washington, of the Anglo-Saxon race, rose in arms. The generals there, I believe Sherman, when he was desolating the beautiful provinces of the South—Grant when he was knocking down, and destroying the brave men in the neighbourhood of Richmond; I believe they all felt it a dreadful necessity that they should do any such thing, but they believed slavery to be such a dreadful thing, to be so indefensible, to be a sin against God, and against humanity, and against the human race, and against reason, that whatever was to happen, it must for ever be put down. Let not anyone go from this meeting supposing that any speaker on this platform imagines that this meeting is contrary to the real feeling of this country. Let no one leave this room—let no member of the press put it down in any paper that any gentleman on this platform imagines that the business, that the object of this meeting is antagonistic to the real interest of England—yea, to the real opinion of England. For what do I read, sir, when Parliament was opened—the Queen delivered her speech—all know that it was composed by the whole Cabinet—now in that speech—you know that that speech is the speech of the Prime Minister—now in that very speech, when her Majesty refers to the termination of the war in America, she uses words to this effect: “I also thank God that the termination of this war has been the downfall of slavery.” Though, sir, in the heat of debate—and the newspapers are just as liable to debate as other people—and to make mistakes as other people—there may be debate, as there is in different things in England—there is debate in different departments in this country, and therefore, although there may be some wrong view taken in these debates, the heart of England was never with Slavery—the heart of England detests slavery. There was an opinion in the country that the war did not commence to abolish slavery. That was wrong because Abraham Lincoln was elected for the express purpose of confining slavery within certain limits. But still they did not see that, but looked upon the war with a

prejudiced eye. Let not this meeting endorse that sentiment. England, from its nobles to its working-men, detests, detested, and ever will detest slavery. And have we not witnessed what England have done—have they not emancipated the Roman Catholics—have they not passed the Reform Bill—have they not freed their own slaves at the cost of twenty millions of money paid down—have they not abolished the Corn Laws, and will they not soon abolish everything that is oppressive yet. I have faith in my country. I have faith in my countrymen. Let it not go forth from this meeting that we are at all antagonistic to the opinion of this country when rightly expressed. I feel assured of it that England is still great, glorious and free, and the lover of everything that is great, glorious, and free. Sir, there have been expressions used to-night as if England and America could ever be enemies. They cannot be antagonists. Why, look just a little before the war, even when President Buchanan was in office, our Prince of Wales went to America quite a boy, and see the ovation that awaited him; and mark the words that fell from the lips of every lady and gentleman in all the different streets, and they were these: “We love the mother and we honour the son.” Now, sir, I have high faith in my country’s love of liberty, and I have faith in America’s love of England. The press are mistaken again—the press talk of coquetting between France and America. Oh! that is done more for political convenience—that is done from mere diplomatic convenience, that is all—it is diplomatic manoeuvring; they understand one another well, but I tell you that the head and soul of America, is not opposed to this country. I believe it is impossible. Are they not of our blood? Do they not profess our religion? Do they not read our Bible? Do they not pray just as we do. Have they not Bible Societies? Do they not send missionaries in swarms abroad. Are they not like us, sir, side by side, England, America, in parallel lines. To fight with one another is like two brothers going to fight a duel—yes, it would be ten times worse, for it would be one nation of brothers going to fight a duel

with another nation of brothers. It were a deed which, if it were possible, I say, all that is bad would rejoice at, and hell itself would begin to lift up its head. I say that the thing would be the greatest catastrophe the world ever saw and that catastrophe never will take place. I now move this resolution—I will not speak too long:—"That whilst this Meeting offers its warmest congratulations to all who have been faithful to the cause of freedom in the time of conflict and trial, it is deeply impressed with the sense of responsibility arising from success. All past experience has shewn that the effects of the system of slavery remain long after the time of legal emancipation, both in the disabilities of the Freed-men and in the spirit of caste in their former oppressors. And this Meeting would express its strong conviction that the zealous, enlightened and persistent efforts of the true friends of freedom will, if possible, be more than ever needed to inculcate just principles, to redress wrongs, to relieve the necessitous, to protect the defenceless, to care for the orphan, the infirm, and the aged, to instruct the ignorant, to impart industrial training and to exercise the utmost vigilance so that the peace of society may be preserved, and that neither selfishness, prejudice, nor a domineering class of any kind may mar the work of emancipation or prevent its full benefit to mankind. This Meeting therefore cordially approves the objects of the British and Foreign Freed-man's Aid Society, and pledges its energetic support."

THE CHAIRMAN:—The Rev. Dr. Brock will second that.

THE REV. WM. BROCK:—My dear Sir, I shall not pass beyond ten o'clock. (Loud and continued cheering.) See what you are doing;—you are preventing my speaking at all, and you are occupying the time. Sir, I have just two or three words to say. I think that the South does not regard itself, after all, as it ought to regard itself, as beaten, and as dead beaten. It joined issue, as we were told just now by a gentleman, about a chief cornerstone; well, the issue was joined by the North on that point, and upon that point the North has unquestionably triumphed. The South, therefore, has nothing left but to submit, and to deal with it as a party who has been defeated and beaten, and I am very much afraid, and

not at all surprised at it, that with the reverse of slavery in the esteem of almost every Southerner high and low there will be a practical counteraction of all the efforts of that emancipation, and that it will be our business, and the business of all the Freed-men's friends throughout the world to keep an eye on the action of that reverse, otherwise, Sir, we shall not have, and I do not think we shall have quite so soon as some of our friends imagine, the full development and consummation of our hopes. We must have no more unrequited labour we must insist upon that. We must have no more absolute subordination, so that the master shall say to the servant that he shall do this whether he will or not. We must have no more inevitable ignorance. No more refusal of religious worship, no more negro pews, Mr. Chairman (a reflection upon the North as it used to be quite as much if not more than upon the South). We must have no more denial of marriage rights, so that there shall be as far as there is for our own selves, the husband for the wife, and the wife for the husband, until death do them part. And we must keep our eyes open in order to bring that desirable consummation to pass. And we must have no more breaking up of negro families—we must keep our eyes on that also. And we must have no more blood-hounds, and all these things though they are nominally done with are still so thoroughly engrained in all the habits and in all the proclivities—(to use a word of these southern men)—that they will need a good deal of vigilant oversight; and I do not think the North will do their work at all if General Howard and men of that sort are not sent all over the South, and that the Freedmen's Bureau has not done its work yet, or anything like done its work. And, Sir, I warn my countrymen against being discomfited and disheartened by a thousand failures and by reports from the South of a good deal that will look antagonistic to our theories about free labour and free life, and all the rest of it. We shall have disappointments in abundance, and all things fully and fairly considered, I shall not be surprised if those disappointments be multiplied. We cannot get back right from so grievous, inveterate and

wide-spreading a wrong as slavery as soon as we can get back right by an Act of Congress. Now, do not let anyone, when he takes up the paper with alarming representations of the state of the Freed-men be dismayed, let him have patience enough to wait, and let him have confidence enough in his principles and in his God to believe that truth will work out well in the long run, and work out well it will, no doubt. Although I may be a dismal prophet to-night in comparison with some of my friends as to what the upshot will be, I am a little unpopular with them, for something was said with great truth and elegance, and I thought most admirably said in every way, that whatever is right will turn out to have been in consonance with the good all the world through. Sir, I desire to second the resolution which my friend, Dr. Allen has so most effectively moved. I did believe that the barrier would go. I thought it would, but that was a most capital speech, and good advice to the press, as well as good advice to the public, and good advice to us. And now, sir, I will sit down with one word about a gentleman whose name has been mentioned to-night, and that is Mr. Gordon, of Jamaica, and, I say, I have read every line of the blue books, put by Mr. Cardwell, on the table of the House of Commons last week, and I have read them with great care; I think I understand everything, so far as the government is in possession of it—as far as we, the public, can, I think I know all the facts. I have seen private letters, and no small number of them. I say, sir, here in the presence of my countrymen, in the presence of One who knows all hearts—I believe that man to have been innocent, intensely innocent of the charge. I believe, that when all things shall be known about him and his history, if we shall ever get to know all about it. I believe that he will be ranked amongst the men whom we delight to honour, and that he has done nothing that some of the heroes of our own country in past times have not done, and we have immortalized them for their procedure—that he has said nothing that has not in the spirit of it been said on this platform a thousand times, and applauded to the skies, and not

one intimation of sedition, or of disloyalty, even from the press itself; and, sir, so far from being disloyal to his country; so far from his being an enemy of any living man, I think you may mark upon his grave-stone, and I should like to have at Morant Bay, somewhere in full front of the place, where for twenty-four hours they left his dead body swinging and hanging, be that known—they not only hanged him, but they had to proceed to other means in order to take away his life; for so clumsily was the whole thing done, that the hanging did not take away his life, and they left that body hanging there for twenty-four hours—now, in full front of the place where that abomination was perpetrated, I would have put up some gravestone, or some memorial, and I would put upon that, sir, as the inscription due to the man's memory, "He honoured all men, he loved the brotherhood, he feared God, and he honoured the Queen."

THE CHAIRMAN :—As we have a gentleman present to night who has come up all the way from Wales to say a few words to you, I think when I mention his name you will give him a few minutes' hearing—Dr. Sandwith, of Kars.

DR. SANDWITH :—While expressing my full sympathy with the glorious event we are met to-night to celebrate, I cannot resist the opportunity of stating very briefly my own impressions of the much abused negro. Some portion of my life has been passed in a tropical colony; not as a missionary, nor as a planter, but as a member of a Colonial Government, in which position I had ample opportunity of seeing the negro at home. I will not follow the example of certain fanatics who look on that race as born only to be beasts of burthen, and carefully call history to prove that the negro has been from the earliest ages, either a tame but useful savage, or a blood-thirsty and brutal barbarian. I will not, I repeat, be a fanatic, and therefore I will not allow myself to assert that he is as high a specimen of the human race as an Englishman or a Frenchman. I believe the negro to be inferior to the European; at the same time there is little difference observable in conduct and manner, (I speak not of intellect) between the best of the negroes and the best of the whites, or between the worst of the negroes and the occupants of a casual ward in London. But an ad-

mitted inferiority seems to have been taken as an argument in favour of oppression, much as a British ruffian would argue that he had a right to beat his wife because she was the weaker vessel. I fully admit to the truth of a common reproach incessantly thrown out against the negro, viz: that he will not work unless forced to do so; and this reproach he shares with every nation on earth. I admit, too, that at times he may be driven to acts of ferocity, but in this attribute surely every candid mind, even the members of that remarkable scientific body, the Anthropological Society, must admit that he is far outstripped by the British race—surely the simple record of facts in our own time, and within the last five months will prove this. The negro has been accused, too, of licentiousness. This charge was made some time since in St. James' Hall, within a few yards of the Haymarket, crowded by poor creatures of a certain class, not one of whom was black. I admit that the number of mulattoes (most of whom are the natural offspring of their parents) confirms, in a great measure, the truth of this charge, but these had surely two parents, and both could not have been black. The religious orgies of the negro, too, were quoted—his human sacrifices in Africa—by those who had forgotten the Druidical hecatombs of this island. But to come to more modern times, the audience in St. James' Hall, were told by Captain Pym, (if he was reported aright) that Col. Hobbs actually prayed with his victims at the gallows! Could we see at Dahomey a more dismal religious orgie than this? What a sight for a British colony, this pious functionary, clothed in scarlet, turning up his eyes to his Moloch God, while his struggling victims swung from the gibbet in convulsions. But the great difficulty that we Anglo-Saxons have to encounter both here and in America, is to realize the fact that these swarthy human beings are, after all, our fellow subjects, entitled to the same citizen rights as ourselves. Thank God the first great step has been taken—they are no longer slaves. Still the old slave-holding spirit is alive amongst us, in both hemispheres, and would deny these coloured men even the protection of the law. If such injustice be perpetrated, it will inevitably recoil on the perpetrators. For how do matters stand. There are vast tropical posses-

sions that must needs be peopled by black men. We cannot exterminate them and replace them by our own race, as we are doing in Australia. We cannot make a home of the tropics, and therefore we must needs consent to recognize these swarthy millions as free fellow subjects, otherwise we are bound to keep up a large military caste to govern these black races despotically, and these soldiers will be a standing menace to our own liberties. Already there are symptoms of the danger. We heard but lately of a portion of the British army engaged in a campaign against unarmed peasants, where no soldiers were wounded, but where British officers in their despatches wrote in a style to make brave men blush for the honour of England. But the worst feature of all is the fact that these outrages have been approved of by a large class in England, a class dead to every feeling of justice and humanity, whose sympathy with despotic power and lawless authority is such that they are evidently ready to give up the liberties our forefathers won for us. In my opinion this is the danger to be feared by us, and the Americans will, I trust, take warning from the events in Jamaica, and beware how they leave the power in the hands of ex-slaveholders. Otherwise, though slavery may officially be crushed, it will inevitably start up in some new and noxious form.

THE CHAIRMAN:—Before I put this Resolution will you listen for a few moments to a member of the Society of Friends, who have always been the foremost among the best friends of the slave. Mr. John Hodgkin will say a few words.

MR. JOHN HODGKIN:—At this late hour of the evening, the kindest thing which I can do is in a few short words to say that I cordially agree with the purport of the Resolution which has been already moved and supported. With its purport I will cordially concur—whether in one organization or another, I want to endeavour to do my portion in succouring brave men, and Freed-men, whether our own or of other countries, but especially the Freed-men of America, because I consider that that was the original object for which this Society was formed, and I trust that those duties which belong to us as Englishmen, will not be less cared for with

regard to our fellow subjects in Jamaica. I maintain that we should regard that this is not a question of mere philanthropy but of positive justice—it is the payment of a debt which we owe—first, because we took slavery to America. And we owe a debt in the second place, because our example led them to some of those measures of abolition which produced the war. We owe a further debt on account of her large generosity to us for Ireland and Lancashire; and we also owe it to the cause of freedom yet to be wrought out in Cuba and in Brazil; for if the problem which our American brethren are so nobly solving, and which, probably, without our help they will complete, it is our privilege if it is only to put a drop into the bucket. If that be well solved, I think we may consider that slavery will shortly cease, both in Cuba and Brazil.

THE CHAIRMAN:—I will not read the Resolution again. You have heard it read. Those of you who approve of it will hold up your hands. If any are on the other side they will hold up their hands. [Carried unanimously.]

J. ESTCOURT, Esq.:—Ladies and gentlemen, I have now to request a vote of thanks to our Chairman. "That the best thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Scott, for his kindness in taking the Chair." (Cheers.)

THE CHAIRMAN:—Ladies and gentlemen; I am extremely obliged to you for the attention with which you have listened to the speeches to-night, and for the support you have rendered me. I am an Anti-Slavery man to the back-bone, and my grandfather was one of the first friends of the Anti-Slavery Society, and I hope to maintain those principles to my dying day.

In placing before our readers the above verbatim report of this great meeting, we are instructed to inform them, that it is not the intention of the British and Foreign Freed-man's Aid Society for one moment to relax its efforts on behalf of the Freed-men of the United States of America. A strong appeal, however, is now made on behalf of our suffering fellow subjects in the Island of Jamaica. For these distressed and suffering people a separate fund has been opened. It is obvious that the money

contributed for American Freed-men must be regarded as sacred for the object contemplated by the donors. An urgent appeal is therefore made to the friends of humanity on behalf of both these funds. Contributions may be paid into Messrs. Barclay, Bevan & Co.'s, Bankers, Lombard Street, or to Dr. Frederick Tomkins, Library Chambers, 3, Tanfield Court, Inner Temple, E.C.

MACEDONIAN CRY.—The great want of the coloured people in this portion of the State is Schools, SCHOOLS, SCHOOLS. They have a great eagerness to improve their intellectual faculties; and they do not so much desire donations to aid them, as that teachers should come among them who will be protected in the performance of their duties. The blacks will take a laudable pride in paying the teachers, and supporting the schools. Over and over again, they have assured me that they can support themselves by their own labour, and at the same time educate their children, if they can procure the teachers. They have repeatedly said all they want at present is to acquire a sufficiency of knowledge to judge of political matters, and bide their time for the right of suffrage,—a right that is as sure to come in my opinion as that the negro will be an inhabitant of this country. The blacks ask nothing more than that their contracts shall be recognized, and a fair compensation paid them for their labour. They are not dissatisfied with their situation, nor do the mass of them entertain bitter feelings towards their late masters: they are willing to let the past be forgotten, and look to the present for that justice that is due to them. But the almost universal cry is, "Send us teachers, we will pay them." Let them come with proper protection from Government, and the first step is then taken to elevate the black race. I can refer to several localities where schools can be kept up, and the coloured people will take a pride in paying all expenses.

—C. T. C. DRAKE, Jonesborough, Tenn.

ANOTHER cargo of slaves from Africa, it is said, has been landed on the north-western portion of the island of Cuba. Some of them were seized by the authorities, but afterwards given up to the slave-traders.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ALL orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to ARLISS ANDREWS, 7, Duke Street, Bloomsbury.

WE find it impossible to make room for the cash received and reported during the current month; it will be acknowledged (and a copy of the *FREED-MAN* sent) in the April number.

The Freed-Man.

MARCH, 1866.

"I have observed with satisfaction that the United States, after terminating successfully the severe struggle in which they were so long engaged, are wisely repairing the ravages of civil war. The abolition of slavery is an event calling forth the cordial sympathies and congratulations of this country, which has always been foremost in showing its abhorrence of an institution repugnant to every feeling of justice and humanity.—QUEEN VICTORIA.

We invite the special and careful attention of the readers of the *FREED-MAN* to the notice of the great Meeting in Exeter Hall, of which we furnish a verbatim report in our present number. At the Annual Meeting of the Freed-Men's Aid Society held in the afternoon of the same day, after careful and prolonged deliberation, the constituency of the Freed-men's Aid Society by a large majority resolved to add the words "British and Foreign" before the hitherto well-known title of the Society. This was done, not with the view to the formation of a new Society; but in order that there might be no doubt as to the scope and field of its philanthropy. It is felt by the warmest friends of the American coloured people

that our coloured fellow-subjects have even stronger claims upon our sympathy than the freed-people of America. But it is unnecessary to make any such comparison. It is the will of Providence, we believe, at the present moment to favour and redeem the African race. This is becoming an universal conviction. Mr. Gladstone, in his eulogy upon the late great and ever-to-be-honoured Premier, in his speech on the 22nd ultimo, says—"There was another topic of life-long interest to Lord Palmerston, most thoroughly national in its character, most vitally associated with English history, which it would be unpardonable not to mention on this occasion. I mean the deep and unfailing interest which at all times and in every position Lord Palmerston took and exhibited, not by words merely, but by actions, in the fate of that unhappy race, the African, whose history is, for the most part, written only in blood and tears. (Cheers.) It is needless to go back upon details. Happily, as there is nothing more truly brilliant, there is also nothing more conspicuous or better known in his career than that, in every step of negotiation and of policy, the mind, the heart, and the voice of Lord Palmerston were ever enlisted on behalf of that down-trodden, but, we trust, at length rising race."

These are weighty and eloquent words, and it affords the friend of the negro unspeakable pleasure to listen to them as they are pronounced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Would that the old hatred were everywhere eradicated or at least subdued! Would that there had been no such insane and

wicked oppressions as those which the defenders of Southern slaveholders and American slavery endeavour to extenuate! We should have been glad indeed if Jamaica had not needed our sympathy, our advocacy and our help. Far be it from us to condemn the whole of the white population of that Island. But the sighs, the tears and the blood of the fugitive and murdered are to be laid to the account of some one. When the Great Searcher shall make inquisition of blood, upon whom shall the crimson stain of murder rest? With bitter regret we say the guilt is with the white man, who from his position and power, should have been the firm and conscientious protector of a newly enfranchised, comparatively ignorant and an unprotected race.

To the rescue of these poor people we must come. Not only do they claim from us present relief in the midst of their heart rending sorrow and losses; but philanthropy—British philanthropy—and what a glorious phrase is this—must do its part. The coloured race has advanced to a new stage, and new exertions and new appliances are required to meet the present emergency. We therefore present a most urgent appeal on behalf of the freed coloured people of the world. Millions in America still need protection in their rights, and that educational culture that will enable them to defend their new-born freedom and to enjoy the liberty purchased for them and by them at such a terrible cost. Tens of thousands in Jamaica now stand in need of the same aid. The revelations made to the British public, by the Anti-slavery Society, by the correspondents of the

Press, and by individuals of undoubted veracity, leave not a shade of doubt as to the dire necessity that prevails. We appeal then most earnestly on behalf of this new claim, convinced that those who have been and are still the friends of the coloured Freed-men of America, will as promptly come to the aid of this section of the same people who, sitting amid the desolations of their former homes, bereft of husbands and children, in tears and sufferings the most heart-rending, appeal especially to a nation which has never turned a deaf ear to the sigh of the needy or refused to listen to the cry of the oppressed. Assistance may be sent to our Bankers, to the officers of the Society, or to any member of the Council or the Executive Committee.

LADIES' SEWING CIRCLES, for the purpose of making garments for the thousands of Freed slaves (if the name be not a misnomer) in America, have been extensively formed throughout Great Britain, and the result has been most satisfactory. Amongst the first to organize them was the respected Chamberlain of our City. Since February between two and three thousand pounds' worth of made-up clothing has been sent over to our coloured brethren and sisters. The ladies of Paris have also been at work lately, and about three weeks since dispatched to America their first instalment of wearing apparel, numbering no less than 1,300 garments, many of which were made by the very poorest of the Parisian poor. The Swiss have just commenced the same movement, and promise that their contributions shall be correspondingly large as any other country. These efforts cultivate a widespread sympathy for the Freed people, and while clothes are not near as valuable as money the experience is, that many who take garments home to make, return them with a few shillings or a few francs, and thus the good work is helped and progresses.

.. COLOURED MEN AND COMMERCE.

BY THE REV. SELLA MARTIN.

(Address delivered in New York.)

Carlyle says that hatred is inverted love, and certainly a comparison of our past condition with our prospects in the immediate future, would seem to prove it. As the Jew is the most difficult convert to gain to Christianity, so he is one of the best Christians when once converted. He is farthest from the Christian in theology; first, because he is the nearest to him in sacred history, the having-come and the to-come of Christ being the things which divide as nothing else divides, and unite as nothing else unites. So it is with our relation as a race to the Anglo-Americans. We are too near them in all the elements of civilization for them to acknowledge us until the question as to whether humanity can flourish under a black skin or not is settled; and when that is settled we shall choose one another as lovers often choose their mates from contrast, and, having already agreed on nine points, agreement on the tenth unites us for ever. In the blindness of past hate, proof of our adaptation to slavery has been sought in the submission which we made to its odious terms, and our oppressors and their friends sought to justify themselves by comparing us to the Indian who would break before he would bend. But facts are already showing that the same tendencies to civilization which made us bear the burdens of slavery, also made us fit to bear the responsibilities of freedom. The Indian has neither offered nor accepted the fellowship of the white or the black man; and if his wild will was too stubborn for submission, it was because his barbarous heart was too hard to be civilized. The Indians have murdered more people in one year than the negroes have in two centuries, though both races were originally equally uncivilized. It may be granted that the negro makes the meekest of slaves, but it cannot be denied that he is the easiest of converts too—the quickest recipient and the most active disseminator of the principles of the gospel, at least as he understands them.

For two hundred and fifty years these facts have been misunderstood. For thirty years our hand, though not so hairy or hostile as

Easan's, has been stretched out without avail for fellowship. At first the white man—our friends among them at least, held it out for us, under the claims of Christian charity, and then we learned to hold it out ourselves under the pleas of justice, but nobody would touch it, because there was nothing in it; neither power to be feared, nor interest to be conciliated, nor beauty to be courted, nor honours to be conferred. In these last days, however, events have stretched it out for us, and Providence put something in it, and that something was a musket—a musket in all things as obedient to the black as to the white man's hand; obeying the physical courage that held it without a tremor, the will and discipline that directed it to the right quarter and fired it at the right man, the love of freedom and peace which kept it in constant action when needed, and laid it down with joy when it was no longer required. But, my friends, our hands, now joyously empty of the implements of death, must be as joyously filled with the implements of industry; and the proofs of our business enterprise, integrity and perseverance must be as solid as, and a great deal more glittering than our valor. For it remains to be seen whether our achievements on the field of battle were directed by the brute force of an idiot, who destroys though he cannot build up, or by a well-balanced mind, which can be as firm under disappointment, as steady amid discouragements and as progressive through opportunities as they were amid great excitements and new experiences. The first and most valuable thing our hands find to do is to labour. Happily we are not unused to this. The schooling of slavery has given the most of our race a constitution too hard to be overcome by the semi-tropical diseases of the South. Since Gen. Butler's coloured soldiers whipped the yellow fever out of the South, any puny white child can kick and cuff it about. The degradation which confined us to the fields of cotton, also showed us the mysteries of its cultivation, and the secrets of its management, and gave our constitution a mastery over its climate, that must for a long time make us the recipients of its profits. And as to our willingness to labour there is no doubt, except in the minds of those who don't wish to do it, and

their doubts are more affected than real. If it were truth that we will not work, it would be a dreadful thing for those who have never learned how to do it themselves. But though we mean to work, they must let us do it in our own way and in our own time. I heard of a man who had been in prison all his life nearly, and when he got out he ran about hugging trees, kissing cows, and cutting up all sorts of strange capers, but as soon as the poetry of his freedom wore off he went back and asked admission to the prison, and remained there a contented workman all his life. Now, if the negroes had planned an insurrection, as some of the frightened white people whose thieving guilt made "each bush an officer," said they were doing, it would only have been an effort to enjoy and a method of wearing off the poetry of their freedom. And if the negroes do not readily go back to the cultivation of cotton, let white men remember what its culture has meant to them for two hundred years. No pod of it has grown that has not been literally watered with their tears. Its ginning, and packing, and transport to market, have all made a deep and solemn bass to the dismal clanking of chains that held them from wives and husbands, mothers and fathers, and brothers and sisters—a horrible orchestra that drowned the murmurs of hope and silenced the voice of aspiration; that smothered the very cries of manhood and rasped every nerve of despair. But only wait till our frolic is over, and we ourselves will see that the staple which enslaved us is yet to elevate us. We stood in nakedness for two hundred and fifty years to produce it for others to be clothed withal; but hereafter out of its mystic web we shall weave the garments of self-respect, the turban of our manhood and the banner of our progress and equality. But let the masters be wise in time. They have the capital and the land that, united with our labour, can make the South in many important respects the mistress of the world's manufacturing industry. Let them accept us cordially, treat us fairly; let them subordinate their prejudices to their interest, and get rid of the bugbear of our wish for their daughters and sisters for wives. If they are all like those who spat in the faces of our soldiers and laughed at the calamity of dying

men, the Lord knows I for one don't want them. Let them get rid of those foolish notions, and there is wealth in the ground for them and honour in the staple for us.

But let them on the contrary drive us away by oppressive laws, or scatter us to vagrancy by their senseless prejudices and wicked proscriptions; let them make us feel that in this transforming age the Ethiopian may change his habits, but the leopard spots of the slaveholder can not or will not change; and the South will become another Jamaica, with many masters and few labourers, the negroes brooding over their wrongs until, as Phillips says, they "curse themselves to sleep" on the small patches, where at least they will be free to curse, and the whites giving up all hope of and desire for progress, answering back from a more inglorious laziness the curses of those who they alone have made lazy. The negro's gratitude to Mr. Lincoln, their confidence in every man who says he comes from the North—though often he comes to show how easily they can lie and how dexterously they can steal where he comes from—the deep and abiding gratitude which they cherish for the government ought to teach the North the value of the material they have in the negro as a labourer. If these things will not move them then we must say Ephraim is joined to his idols, let him alone; and go and settle on the public lands which Uncle Sam, who has adopted us in his homestead law, offers to us.

The next thing our hands find to do is to trade. Here, too, our experience will help us. We have been the objects of trade so long as a people, and some of us so often as individuals, that we ought to be up to all the ins and outs of it by this time. At least we have seen men so often governed by the exterior, regardless of the intrinsic value, that we ought to know the value of a thing when we see it. Now, I was sold ten times while I was in slavery, and the last man who owned me was so unappreciative of my value as to send me with a pass, stating the fact that he wished to sell me, to find a new master. Well, I think I am a better tradesman than he was, for I knew my own value, and being satisfied with it, I took myself; and that I made a good bargain is proved by the fact that I have not

changed hands since. This is about the only important bargain I ever made, and being a successful enterprise it has given me a relish for trade, and I desire to go at it again as far as any profession will allow.

This Joint Stock Company has been got up to meet this want among us, and to open up the great avenues by which all peoples have become great and made progress. Allow me a word on the value of trade to us just at this time and in our circumstances.

What we need most at this time are habits of self reliance and feelings of self respect. The very religion of the slaveholders robbed us of these. It was not enough for us to be robbed of all personality at the bar of judicial proceeding, we were robbed of all accountability at the bar of conscience. We were told that we were to lie, steal and commit other sins with impunity, because if there was any sin, the master being our God, he was accountable. Now none but a coloured man can understand the deep seated immorality, the dark and terrible passions, the horrible degradation, which this doctrine begets and fosters; none can know the moral weakness it entails, the wild drifting course it suggests, and the reckless turbulence, instability and heartlessness which are bred from it.

The corrective which, next to the Gospel of Christ, is the most influential, is self help. Let the day come when a black man is seen with a pack on his back and I don't care if he sells wooden nutmegs or paper clocks, or any other Yankee notion, and the day of self reliance begins to dawn; these may be hailed as its morning stars and the crying of their goods may be regarded as their singing together for joy. We have been turning over and looking at our disabilities, let us now begin to turn over our own privileges. We know the value of our blood, let us begin to learn the value of gold. Let us begin, brethren, however small be our capital, to educate ourselves in another way. Slavery has discouraged our confidence in one another quite as much as it has repressed self-respect. Heretofore if we had any money to spend we would pass by a black man's door with goods as good and as cheap, to buy from a white man. I know we were under a mistake; we thought the white man

would be more likely to help us because he had more power to do so; but you did not know that the white man did not want you, because your presence drove away more white customers than yours was worth. You did not know that your very distrust of your own people was breeding more distrust against you as an individual, and helping to keep your race in that low estimate formed of it. You did not know that the white man was getting rich so as to pay his law expenses when he should be tried for hanging you on a lamp-post, setting you a-fire and running away by the light of you. Well you know it now. Turn to your own people with trust and confidence, and don't ask the white people to trust you until you set the example of trusting your own colour. Already this company has begun trade with the South, and that trade is constantly increasing, and an increase of capital will allow it to do more for our elevation in a few years than orations have ever accomplished. A place will be made by it for coloured men of business talent, and channels will be opened up for the employment of the capital of coloured men, and while we are getting rich we may also be getting respect, importance, and influence. We have sent Douglass to Washington—very good. Now let us send a ship to Charleston; and its wings will bear to our brethren there, and back to us, a better message than any ships of war, though it should have Butler for Admiral and Sumner as Ambassador. The white people have a *May Flower* in their history; let us have one in ours. We have not the lofty religious faith to found a church like the Puritans, or the training to launch a Government like theirs which gave such a blow in its collision with the old world, that because it has been trembling ever since it has tried to console itself with the thought that at least the Republic is sinking. But we have a pliable Constitution, we have favouring winds in the disposition of those who are sensitive to past injustice against us. We have a strong, sturdy Congress, and as I believe, an honest President, and if we cannot swim now, we ought to sink."

This address was listened to with interest, and received with many marks of approbation.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE FREED-MAN'S AID SOCIETY.

IN presenting to their constituents a report of their proceedings, the Committee of the FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY will begin by the expression of their hearty joy and deep thankfulness that the need for help has been increased, and its ultimate benefit to the negro race has been secured, by what they do not hesitate to call the greatest event of modern days—the ratification in December last of the Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, by which slavery is abolished, and for ever prohibited. Most warmly do they congratulate the American people on this result of the late terrible conflict, in recognition of which they have deemed it right to call a Public Meeting, to be held this evening, to give popular expression to what Englishmen feel.

Your Committee have never made the vain attempt to dissever the duty of providing for the wants of Freed-men from Anti-slavery principles; or to affect to place it upon the ordinary grounds of succouring the needy. Without saying that such a reason would not be sufficient, they feel that there are other grounds of a far stronger character on which to rest.

Slavery is abolished in our own colonies, throughout the Russian Empire, and now, at length, in the United States of America. It is abolished in almost every civilized and Christian land;—but it is not abolished out of the hearts of large numbers even of our own fellow countrymen, and of still larger numbers of citizens of the great republic. It is useless to disguise the fact that the last few years have disclosed an almost incredible disposition to think kindly of the accursed system, that public writers have tried to bring it into favour, and that men of science have been found anxious to disprove the declaration of Scripture that God hath made of one blood all nations of men. Such being the case, it is essential that no pretext should be given to such men to say that Emancipation is a failure. Those who have denounced Slavery must watch over the Freed-men during the transition period, and not allow the want of liberal aid to result in anything which may endanger the stability of freedom.

It needs no facts to show, though facts are to be had in abundance, that the emancipated negroes, in a country desolated by war, with landowners unused to deal with free labourers and without sufficient capital for working their farms and plantations, must be in great distress, and many of them in imminent danger of starvation. The clemency of the American Government towards its rebellious subjects prevents that alienation of the soil of the South, which some of the friends of the negroes desire, and renders it doubly necessary to provide means, both for sustaining the Freed-men during the temporary pressure, and also for educating them in such a manner as to form an honest, industrious, God-fearing, working-class. To one who has been a bondman it is

difficult to distinguish between slavery and service, or to see that idleness is disgraceful, and labour honourable. Starvation may compel a man to work, but will not make him ashamed of doing nothing. The better the physical, moral, intellectual, and religious wants of the negro are cared for, the more industrious will he become. When he is not so it is owing to the debasing influence of slavery. Nor is the black man as a matter of fact more indisposed to work than the whites around him. The blight of slavery falls on the whole community, and if it is not,—which it certainly is not—its worst evil, it is perhaps its most lasting evil, that even after a generation has passed away it is found to have dignified sloth and degraded industry.

The Freed-men's Aid Societies of America—the New York, the Western, the American Missionary Society, all working in harmony with that admirable institution the Freed-men's Bureau, of which General Howard is the chief, are labouring diligently to help the negroes to help themselves, and it is through these bodies that your Committee transmit what is entrusted to them. The accounts which are sent over to this country, of the schools, the allotments, and various other agencies for assisting the negroes to make good use of their freedom, are highly interesting, and from time to time appear in the pages of the "Freed-man."

American gentlemen have arrived in the course of the year as deputations from these societies. Levi Coffin, whose labours, in the days of slavery, in rescuing slaves earned for him the honourable title of "the underground railway," or of its director; the Rev. Sella Martin, himself once a slave, and now the Minister of a Presbyterian Church in New York; the Hon. O. C. Leigh, a member of the Legislature, and others, have been received by your Society, and under their auspices been enabled to collect funds in various parts of England, Ireland, and Scotland. The interest in this matter is rising, and your Committee fully believe that they have only reaped the first ears of an abundant harvest.

The late events in Jamaica give a most unexpected and most painful proof of the necessity for this work.

We are not a political association, but your Committee cannot divest themselves of those feelings which fill men's breasts; and it would be impossible for them, if they wished it, to disguise the burning indignation with which they regard the facts already proved. That a member of the legislature should be carried away from a city in profound peace into a district under martial law, tried without a jury by three subaltern officers, and hung;—that women should be flogged by order of courts martial, or without any such formality;—that savages should be employed under the authority of a colonial government to hunt down her Majesty's subjects;—and a real massacre, in the name of law, be perpetrated in October to prevent an imaginary insurrection in December; all this is so monstrous a violation of every right of an Englishman, that we do not wait to know whether the victims are to be counted by hundreds or by

thousands, or whether the language used by the opposition in the Jamaica Assembly was evenly balanced and guardedly discreet, or what were the reports which threw the government into a panic; to denounce a series of acts, which no violence of words could justify, and precautionary bloodshed which no reports and no information could excuse.

For reasons such as these, your Committee formed a part of the deputation to Mr. Cardwell, organized by the Anti-Slavery Society, which urged upon her Majesty's government the necessity for taking immediate steps to wipe off the reproach which had fallen on the English name.

These events in Jamaica show plainly the existence of some chronic evil in the condition of that island. Almost alone among our colonies it has been sinking in prosperity instead of rising. Most of the other West Indian Islands are flourishing, whereas Jamaica contains a population which could be addressed with truth as "naked" and "starving." We believe that it will be found that in Jamaica most inadequate pains had been taken to train the negro population, to educate them, or to provide them with employment. The planters have preferred importing Chinese labourers, and leaving the negroes to squat or starve. A prejudice against their former slaves, and a resolution to bring down the price of labour, even by the expensive process of immigration, and so to reduce the independence of the labourer, has made that island what it is. The same spirit animates too many in the Southern States of America, and it is of essential importance to prevent it from resulting in the same disasters. Hence the events in Jamaica call loudly for help to the Freed-men in America.

But with this conviction another has equally forced itself on your Committee. It seems to them a kind of inconsistency to help the Freed-men in a foreign country and leave the Freed-men in our English colony "starving" and "naked," exposed to the temptation to riot, which always besets a population under such circumstances, and to the unfriendly scrutiny of those who grudge them their Freedom. They therefore ask you so to enlarge the basis of the Society as to enable them to do for Freed-men in our own colonies, or else where, what we are doing for Freed-men in the United States. They have not arrived at this result without long and anxious deliberation, and now submit the question for your decision. The Anti-Slavery Society and the Jamaica Committee watch over the political and civil status of the Freed-men in our colonies. But there is every reason to believe that, in Jamaica at all events, other aid is needed, which your Committee are unwilling to refuse. They greatly doubt the wisdom of leaving it as work for some new organisation. It would not, as it seems to them, be desirable and scarcely becoming for two Societies to be seeking public support, the one for American Freed-men, the other for our own, though the same organization would be equally suitable for both. When the **FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY** was founded the condition of Jamaica was not suspected by those engaged in that work, or they would not have failed to include it in their plan. The members of the Society must now decide whether for

the future the Freed-men of our own colonies are to be excluded from the benefit of their aid. There is a difference of opinion among the friends of the American Freed-men on this subject. It is useless to disguise the fact that whichever decision is arrived at by the FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY it will alienate some. Your Committee have expressed their opinion, and trust that this General Meeting will be guided to a right judgment.

Your Committee have received through their Bankers the sum of £5,831 5s. 8d., and have sent contributions in money to the New York National Freed-men's Relief Association, to the amount of £675; to the Western Freed-men's Aid Commission, £3,250; to the American Missionary Society, £250; the New England Freed-men's Aid Society, Boston, £100. They have also made grants to sewing circles, amounting to £45; expended upon Public Meetings last year, £98 18s. 7d.; Printing, Advertising, Publishing, and Editing, £293 7s.; Postage, Travelling Expenses, Deputations, and other Incidentals, £280 5s. 8d.; Balance in Bank, £520 5s. 2d.; nearly the whole of which has been voted to various Societies in the United States, leaving only a nominal available balance. They have also sent to the United States, 2,800 blankets, 266 packages and barrels of clothing, implements, etc., estimated at a value of £2000.

The whole of these goods were warehoused, packed, and forwarded, free of charge, by Johnson, Johnson, & Co., and shipped to America, freight free, by Messrs. Guion & Co., Inman & Co., C. Grimshaw & Co., W. R. Arnott, Esq., The Cunard & National Steam Packet Company from Liverpool, Rathbone Brothers, & Co., and others; to these gentlemen your Committee are under the deepest obligation, and tender their sincere thanks.

The following also has been reported to your Committee:—

Remitted by Mr. Levi Coffin, direct to Cincinnati, £1,950; Shoes and Clothes purchased by Mr. Coffin, £203; Remitted direct by Hon. C. C. Leigh, to New York through Baring, Brothers, £1,798 2s. 7d.

In addition to the above your Committee have been in friendly co-operation with various Societies and auxiliaries in the United Kingdom and Ireland, who have remitted the amounts collected by them directly to the United States of America.

Finally, your Committee urgently recommend this meeting to endorse and adopt their well matured decision as expressed in the following resolutions:—

“Resolved—1st, That the name of the Society shall be ‘The British and Foreign Freed-men’s Aid Society.’ 2nd, That its object shall be to relieve the necessities and ameliorate the condition of the Freed coloured people in the British colonies, America, and throughout the world.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Allen, per Rev. J.	0	11	0	Banson, Mr. J.	1	1	0
A. B.	0	10	0	Brindley, Mr. B.	1	1	0
Anonymous Sums	312	0	0	Bookey, G., Esq.	10	0	0
Allen, Mr. Wm., Winchmore Hill	16	0	0	Browning, Mr. T. T.	1	13	1
Allen, Mr. W. C., collected by	4	16	0				
Ashton, Rev. R.	1	1	0	Canterbury, Archbishop of.....	10	0	0
Ayr, collection per Mr. Jack.....	50	0	0	Curwen, Rev. J., Collection to			
Alexander, R. D., Esq.	50	0	0	June, 1864	384	0	10
Allen, Mr., Stafford	26	0	0	Christy, Henry, Esq.	50	0	0
Adeney, Miss, collected by	26	17	7	Camps, Mr. T., Executors of.....	50	0	0
Allen, Mr. Samuel, Hitchin	10	0	0	Canterbury, Collection per Mr.			
Aberdeen, collection per Mr. Alexr.				Elgar	28	16	0
Brand	130	0	0	Carlisle, Collection per Mr. Doeg...	10	0	0
Ashford, collection per Mr. B. Cud-				Gummington, Mr.	5	0	0
worth	10	14	0	Curwen, Rev. J., and Mrs. O.	3	8	0
				Cunnington, Jno., Esq.	5	0	0
Bulman, Mr. B.	1	1	0	Croydon, Collection per L. C.	180	0	0
Bradford, collection per L. C.	50	0	0	Cooper, Mr. Josh.	5	0	0
Braithwaite, Mr. J. B.	5	0	0	Clarke, E. C., per "Star"	1	11	6.
Betteridge, D., Esq.	2	0	0	Calder, G. A.	5	0	0
Butterworth, Mr., Surbiton	1	0	0	Casson, Mr. William, Ware	5	0	0
Blake, Mr. J., Harrow	1	0	0	Collecting Cards	0	5	6
Barclay, Mrs. E., Darlington	20	0	0	Cheltenham, Collection per Mr. J.			
Bright, John, M.P.	10	0	0	Downing	326	0	0
Brook, Rev. Dr.	3	8	0	Christian World, per Mr. Clark ...	83	1	3
Buxton, Sir T. Fowell, M.P.	450	0	0	Churchill, Lord Alfred	5	0	0
Buxton, Dowager Lady	300	0	0	Croll, A. A., Esq., per Lord A.			
Buxton, Dowager Lady, for				Churchill	10	0	0
Blankets	40	0	0				
Buxton, Thomas Fowell, Esq., Ley-				Dykes, Mrs.	5	0	0
tonstone	100	0	0	Dixon, Robt., Esq.	5	5	0
Buxton, Edward North, Esq.	50	0	0	Dunn, Mr. W.	1	1	0
Buxton, Mr.	10	0	0	Davison, Mr. O. H.	2	0	0
Buxton, Mrs.	5	0	0	Dundee Association, per Mr. P.			
Bekeney, J.	0	7	6	Watson	545	9	9
Briggs, Mr. B. W.	2	0	0				
Bacon, Mr. J. P.	5	0	0	Engall, Dr., Euston Square	1	0	0
Brougham, Mr. T., Tenbury.....	1	0	0	Ellis & Son, Messrs.	2	2	2
Baily, Mrs., Tenbury	0	5	0	Epps, Dr.	0	10	0
Browning, Mr. Jas.	2	2	0	Englishman, An	0	10	0
Barclay, Miss J. M., Woodford ...	5	0	0	Exeter Hall Meeting, Collection ...	21	1	6
Butler, Mr. T.	0	10	0	Edinburgh, Collection per L. C. ...	20	0	0
Bastin, Mr. R.	1	0	0				
Barclay, J. G., Esq.	25	0	0	Friend, A, per Sir T. F. Buxton ...	2	0	0
Barnes, Mr. J.	0	10	0	Friend, A, per Mr. Pillans	5	0	0
Backhouse, E., Esq., Darlington ...	50	0	0	"Freedman,"	3	9	8
Betts, Mr. Jno., Strand	2	0	0	Forest Gate Chapel, Collection ...	11	13	0
Bristol Meeting, Collection at	1	17	1	Francis, Miss	0	5	0
Bailey, Mrs., Tenbury	0	5	0	Feltham, Mr. J., Winchmore Hill..	2	0	0
Bangham, Mr. T., Tenbury	2	0	0	Frost, Rev. J. D., Winchmore Hill	0	10	0
Barnet Collection, Mrs. W. Joslin..	1	13	0	F. L.	0	10	0
Birkbeck, Henry, Esq., Norwich ...	100	0	0	Friend, A, per Mr. S. Harrison,.....	2	2	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Forster, W.E., Esq., M.P.	5	0	0	Highbury Chapel, Collection per			
Forster, Mr. J.	5	0	0	Mr. Fitch.....	43	10	0
Foster, Mrs. M. T., Truro.....	5	0	0	Haddon, Mr. J. D., Wellington			
Fox, F. E., Esq.	1	0	0	Street	1	0	0
Friends, Sundry	3	17	0	Heighway, Mrs. M., Somersham ...	1	0	0
Friends at Portadown, Ireland	11	17	6	Iota Kappa	0	4	0
Fowler, Mrs. L., Tottenham	25	0	0	Ingram, Mr. P.	0	5	0
Ferguson, Mr., Carlisle	5	0	0	Irish Friend, per Rev. Newman Hall	10	0	0
French, Mr. J., Yalding.....	1	0	0	Johnson, Mr. Robt.	5	0	0
Farquhar, Mr. W. P.	0	10	0	Joslin, Mr. W., Barnet	0	10	0
Ford, Mrs. E., Enfield	0	10	0	Johnson, W., Esq., Cambridge	3	0	0
Feltham, Misses, Winchmore Hill..	1	0	0	J. H., Rye	0	4	0
Greenock, Collection per Mr. J.				J. O., Torquay	0	5	0
Lang.....	15	0	0	Johnstone, Miss.....	10	0	0
Gurney, Samuel, Esq., M.P.	105	0	0	Kitching, Geo., M.D.....	15	0	0
Gates, Miss	0	10	0	Knapping, Mr.	1	0	0
Gripper, Mr. E., Layer Breton.....	10	0	0	Kaye, Mr. Jno.	1	0	0
Gibson, G. S., Esq., Saffron Walden	20	0	0	Kitching, Mr. A. G.	1	0	0
Galloway, Rev. J. C., M.A.	1	1	0	Kitching's Dr., Cook at.....	0	2	6
Good, Rev. Alexr.	1	0	0	Kingsland Congregational Church,			
Garrett, Rev. Samuel, M.A. and				per Rev. T. Aveling, and Mr. T.			
Per Se	38	2	9	Jackson	14	6	6
Gower, Hon., F. L. M.P.....	5	0	0	Kinnaird, A. Esq., M.P.....	25	0	0
Gurney, Edmund, Esq., Nutfield..	105	0	0	Lean, J., Esq.	10	0	0
Goad, Mrs. H.	10	0	0	L. W., Hull	0	5	0
Gealand, Miss.....	0	5	0	Leeds Association, per Mr. Armis-			
Giles, Mrs. Jno., Stepney	1	0	0	tead	100	0	0
G. G. N.	0	2	6	Leatham, Mrs. Margaret	20	0	0
Green, Mr. W., Ampthill	7	0	0	Leicester Association, per Mr. God-			
Gent, A., per Dr. Tomkins.....	5	0	0	dard	100	0	0
Green, Mrs., Tenbury	0	5	0	Lingford, Mr. J., Bishop Auckland	5	0	0
Gaskell, Robt., Esq.	5	0	0	Lister, J. J., Esq.	15	0	0
Goddard, Mr., Leicester.....	1	0	0	Lucas, Mr. S., London	2	0	0
Hargraves, Mr. and Mrs. Wm.....	15	0	0	Ladies	0	2	6
Hill, Mr. S. J.	1	1	0	Lord, Mr. J. H.	0	5	0
Head, Mrs., G. H.	10	0	0	Mitchell, Mr. T., Collected by	0	8	11
Hall, Thos., Esq., Hyde Park	10	0	0	Mays, H., Esq.	5	0	0
Hoare, J. G., Esq.	10	0	0	Mounsey, Mrs. Lucy E.....	100	0	0
Hutchinson, Mr. B.	3	1	0	Margate, Collection per Mr. Evans	1	7	9
Hanbury, Mr. C.	1	1	0	Manchester Auxiliary, by J. H. Est-			
Horsnail, Mr. B.	0	10	0	court	10	0	0
Howard, Hon. C., M.P.....	5	0	0	M. S.	1	0	0
Hands, Mr. W.	0	10	0	Morris, Mrs. W., Clapham	1	1	0
Hancock, R., Esq.	1	1	0	Mounsey, Mrs. L. E., Collected by	36	7	8
Hopkins, Mr. J., Spalding	11	0	0	Matthews, Mr., Boston	0	12	6
Hawthorne, Mr. W.	1	1	0	Marshall, Mr. W.	0	10	0
Harcourt, Hon. Miss A. V.	3	0	0	Massie, Mrs. J., Collected by	12	5	6
Harris, Mrs. I., Stoke Newington..	20	0	0	Maidstone, Collection per Mr. Jacobs	6	17	8
Hilton, Mr. Abraham, Barnard				Men at a Coal Shed, each 1s.	0	5	0
Castle	2	0	0	Men at Cook, Abbott, & Co.'s	0	7	6
Hawkins, Mr.	0	10	0	Morley, Samuel, Esq., M.P.	200	0	0
Halifax Association, per Mr.				"Morning Star," Donations through	2	13	6
Webster	270	0	0	Martin, Mr. William, per "Morning			
H. W. H.	0	10	6	Star"	1	1	0
Hoskins, Mr.	1	0	0	Montrose, Collection per Mrs. Sa-			
Hackney, Old Gravel Lane Meeting,				vage	40	4	0
Collection	20	0	0				
Haverstock School, Collection per							
S. Pellovre, Esq.....	2	5	0				

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Newcastle, Collection per Mr. Rob-johns	8	5	0	Solly, Rev. H.	1	1	0
Nichalls, Mr. T. Reigate	10	0	0	Smith, Mr. E. Pye	2	2	0
Norton, Mr. Thos., Peckham	25	0	0	Sturge, George, Esq.	20	0	0
Northampton Association, Mr. Blunsom	60	0	0	Smith, Mr. John	1	0	0
Palmer, George	50	0	0	Sturge, Mrs. Danl.	1	0	0
Perth, Collection per Mr. Alex. Greig	150	0	0	Smith, Mr. R., Clapham	5	0	0
Postage Stamps	0	10	0	Sundry Persons (through S. Gurney, Esq.) names unknown	47	4	0
Pope, Mrs. Margaret, Staines	10	0	0	Stars and Stripes	0	10	0
Palmer, Miss	0	10	0	Stroud, Mr. J. B.	0	12	6
Peto, Sir S. Morton, M.P.	10	0	0	Seager, Mr. Thos., Dorking	0	10	0
Peckham, Collection per L. O.	60	0	0	Secretan, Miss E., Dorking	0	5	0
Preston Association, per Miss Clamisha	40	0	0	Sturge, Miss E. S., Bath	1	10	0
Palmer, Miss Emily	0	3	0	Thomason, Mr. J. P., Bolton	5	0	0
Plaistow, Collection per Rev. J. Curwen	14	11	4	Tucket, F., Esq.	20	0	0
Petty, Mrs., Nottingham	1	0	0	Teuland, Mrs.	0	5	0
Provost, Mr. A.	0	2	6	Tebbs, Miss, Wichmore Hill	0	10	0
Probyn, J. Esq.	5	0	0	Townley, Jas., Esq.	5	0	0
Pettitt, Mr. J., Dorking	0	2	6	Thomas, Rev. J., Tredegar	1	0	0
Portall, Miss Sophia, Russell Square	50	0	0	Turner, Mr., Norwood	0	2	6
Do., per Rev. S. Parrott	53	9	0	Taylor, Mrs. Peter, for Blankets ...	40	0	0
R. G. B., through Barclay's	1	1	0	Taylor, Misses A. & J., Tottenham	0	10	0
Ransome, Mr. R., Ipswich	2	0	0	Taylor, Mrs. Peter, per Miss Remond	40	0	0
Ransom, Mr. W., Hitchin	2	2	0	Workmen at Mr. Roberts's	1	2	0
Rochester, Collection per Mr. F. Wheeler	26	7	8	Wells, Mr. A., Nottingham	1	0	0
Rogers, J., Esq.	5	0	0	Willans, J. W., Esq.	2	2	0
Ronsome, Mr. Allen, Ipswich	25	0	0	Wilson, James, Esq.	5	0	0
Reading Association, per Mr. G. Palmer	215	12	11	Working Men	0	6	0
Shaen, W., Esq., M.A.	1	1	0	Working Men, Guildford	1	18	9
Smallie, R., Esq., Bolton	5	0	0	Working Man, A, Brighton	0	1	0
S. G.	1	0	0	Working Men, Croydon	0	5	0
Sittingbourne, Collection per Mr. G. Reynolds	4	0	0	White, T. O., per "Star"	1	2	0
Sturge, Mrs. Lucy	1	0	0	Wells, Mr. William	5	5	0
Spong, Rev. J.	1	1	0	Wilson, B. K., Esq.	1	0	0
Sandford, Mr.	0	2	6	Wise, Miss H., Executors of	20	0	0
				Walker, Mr. Richd.	1	0	0
				Whittle, Mr.	0	6	0
				Worsley, Mr.	0	5	0
				Westminster Chapel, Collection per Mr. T. Binge	7	17	2
				Westminster Palace Hotel Meeting	14	11	1
				Wallis, Mrs. A., Basingstoke	10	0	0

Account of Goods received and forwarded on behalf of the Freed-men's Aid Association of London, by Johnson, Johnson, and Co., Wholesale Tea Dealers, 17, Blomfield Street, City, London.

ESTIMATED VALUE, £2,000.

NOTE.—The whole of these goods were warehoused, packed, and forwarded free of all charge, by Johnson, Johnson, and Co., and shipped to America, Freight free, by Messrs. Guion and Co., Inman and Co., C. Grimshaw and Co., W. R. Arnott, Esq., The Cunard, and National Steam Packet Company, from Liverpool, Rathbone Brothers and Co., and others.

No.	Contributor.	Address.	Package.	Contents.
1	A. B. C., per George Bottomley	No address	... Parcel	Clothes
2	Name unknown, per Levi Coffin	"	... Box	"
3	Secretary of B. and F. Anti-Slavery Society	New Broad Street, E.C.	... Parcel	"
4	S. A. B.	No address	... "	"
5	Anonymous	"	... "	"
6	Children, Croydon School, per M. Merryweather	Croydon	... "	"
7	G. Robinson	Hartford	... Bale	"
8	Friends' Meeting House, per H. Robinson	Deptford	... Chest	"
9	— Long	Reading	... "	"
10	Anonymous	Peckham	... Bale	"
11	A. Gibson	Saffron Walden	... Box	"
12	Stafford Allen, and Friends	Stoke Newington	... Cask	"
13	" "	"	... Box	"
14	" "	"	... "	"
15	" "	"	... "	"
16	Betts and Co.	Strand, London	... "	"
17	H. Theobald	Henley-on-Thames	... "	"
18	Name unknown	Sudbury, Suffolk	... Bale	"
19	Friends, per L. Evans	Margate	... Barrel	"
20	Per Stafford Allen	Stoke Newington	... Box	"
21	M. A. Evans	Elmes, Hereford	... "	"
22	P. Green	Saffron Walden	... "	"
23	R. Hubbard	Braintree	... Bale	"
24	C. and J. Clark	Street, Somerset	... "	"
25	Name unknown	No address	... Parcel	"
26	Messrs. Mummery	423, Oxford Street	... "	"
27	Name unknown	No address	... "	"
28	E. Webster	Halifax	... Bale	"
29	F. Smith	Stratford	... Parcel	"

No.	Contributor.	Address.	Package.	Contents.
80	H. Hubbard	... Braintree	... Bale	Clothes
81	Levi Coffin	... London	... Box	Boots & Shoes
82	"	... "	... "	"
83	"	... "	... "	"
84	"	... "	... "	"
85	"	... "	... "	"
86	"	... "	... "	"
87	"	... "	... "	"
88	G. Robinson	... Hartford	... Bale	Clothing
89	Friends	... Chelmsford	... Cask	"
40	"	... "	... "	"
41	Stafford Allen	... Stoke Newington	... Parcel	Boots
42	E. A. Briggs	... Daventry	... "	Clothing
43	J. Lee	... Westminster	... "	"
44	J. Messer	... Ware	... "	"
45	M. Armistead	... Reigate	... Barrel	"
46	R. Marsh	... Guildford	... Box	"
47	S. A. and E. Tyler	... Stoke Newington	... Parcel	"
48	G. Sturge	... Northfleet	... "	"
49	J. E. Dix	... Tivetsahall	... Bale	"
50	Name unknown	... Hornsey	... Parcel	"
51	Miss Payle, etc.	... Tenterden, Kent	... Box	"
52	Grimshaw	... Goswell Road	... Parcel	"
53	H. Theobald	... Henley-on-Thames	... Box	"
54	Dr. Massie	... London	... Parcel	"
55	"	... "	... "	"
56	Per J. Messer	... Ware	... "	"
57	Mrs. J. Knight	... Hackney	... "	"
58	Name unknown	... Bristol	... "	"
59	Backhouse	... London	... Package	"
60	Ladies' Committee, per C. Morland	... Croydon	... Box	"
61	"	... "	... "	"
62	Gow and Butler	... Friday Street, London	... Parcel	"
63	F. Wheeler	... Rochester	... "	"
64	Name unknown	... Bletchley	... Bale	"
65	Miss Dimond	... "Morning Star" Office	... Parcel	"
66	Miss Fearon	... Croydon	... "	"
67	C. Morland	... "	... Box	"
68	Becketts and Son	... London	... "	"
69	M. Braithwaite	... "	... "	"
70	R. Pearman	... Wallingford	... "	"
71	Marriage	... Chelmsford	... "	"
72	W. Peckovers	... Wisbeach	... "	"
73	F. M. A. Committee	... Peterboro	... Bale	"

No.	Contributor.	Address.	Package.	Contents.
74	Ladies' Association, per M. Braithwaite	Camden Road	Bale	Clothing
75	"	"	"	"
76	Dr. Kitching	Winchmore Hill	"	"
77	M. D. Conway	Notting Hill	Parcel	"
78	F. Wheeler	Rochester	"	"
79	Name unknown	London	"	"
80	Society for the Improvement of the Labouring Classes	Bloomsbury	Bale	"
81	M. Armistead	Reigate	Barrel	"
82	Congregational Church, per Rev. M. Collet	Byde	Chest	"
83	"	"	"	"
84	Friends' Committee, per M. Coventry	Wandsworth	"	"
85	Per E. Alsop	Stoke Newington	Parcel	"
86	"	"	"	"
87	Rowley and Davis	London	"	"
88	Rachel Maw	Needham Market	"	"
89	Rachel and Catherine Burlington	"	"	"
90	T. Smith and J. Doubleday	Coggeshall	Bale	"
91	Name unknown	No address	"	"
92	Knight	Colchester	Box	"
93	Congregational Church, per Dr. Massie, and the Rev. M. Collet	Byde	"	"
94	"	"	Cask	"
95	S. Farrand	Southampton	Box	"
96	J. Doubleday and Friends	Halstead	Case	"
97	Thomas Hall	Brighton	Parcel	"
98	Books for Levi Coffin	...	Box	Books
99	Tweedie	Strand	Parcel	"
100	Piper	Highgate	"	Clothes
101	Doyle	Downham Market	"	"
102	Piper	Highgate	"	"
103	J. Alexander	Ipswich	"	Books
104	Gow and Butler	Friday Street, London	"	Clothing
105	Friends, per L. J. Evans	Margate	Barrel	"
106	"	"	Parcel	"
107	Ladies' Association, per M. Braithwaite	Camden Road	Bag	"
108	"	"	Box	"
109	"	"	Barrel	"
110	Ladies' Committee	Harecourt Chapel	Bale	"
111	E. Clements	Keppell Street, London	Package	"
112	M. Armistead	Reigate	Barrel	"

No.	Contributor.	Address.	Package.	Contents.
114	Working Meeting, per L. Ransom	Hitchin	Box	Clothing
115	Ladies' Working Party, per A. Gardiner	Clapton	Case	"
116	John Clutton	Swansea	Parcel	"
117	Working Party	Trinity Church, Little Queen Street	Package	"
118	Name unknown	No address	"	"
119	"	"	"	"
120	C. Alsop	Stoke Newington	Barrel	"
121	"	"	"	"
122	Adelphi Chapel, per Rev. A. Ramsey	Hackney Road	Chest	"
123	Mrs. Guest	Taunton	"	"
124	Ladies of Highbury Wesleyan Chapel, per Mrs. Webster...	Highbury	Parcel	"
125	"	"	"	"
126	"	"	"	"
127	M. Armistead	Reigate	Barrel	"
128	Name unknown	No address	Parcel	"
129	Rev. H. Smith	Penge	"	"
130	Ladies of Free St. John's Congregational Church, per Rev. A. David	Dundee	Case	"
131	Panmure Street Congregational Church, per Rev. R. Lang	"	Box	"
132	"	"	"	"
133	"	"	"	"
134	Ladies of United Presbyterian Church	Tay Square, Dundee	"	"
135	Ladies of Congregational Church, per Rev. — Rogers	Broughty Ferry, Dundee	Truss	"
136	Free St. Paul's Congregational Church, per Mrs. Keiller...	Dundee	Case	"
137	"	"	"	"
138	"	"	Truss	"
139	Rev. M. Spence's Congregation	"	"	"
140	Free West Congregational Church, per Rev. — Lyon	Broughty Ferry, Dundee	Barrel	"
141	"	"	Box	"
142	Constitution Street Baptist Chapel	Dundee	Bale	"
143	R. Dale	Rochester	Parcel	Books
144	Congregational Church, per Rev. M. Collet	Ryde	Box	Clothing
145	H. M. Reynolds	Folkestone	Bale	"
146	Castle Street Congregational Church, per J. Robertson...	Dundee	Box	"

No.	Contributor.	Address.	Package.	Contents.
147	Name unknown	... Dundee	... Case	Clothing
148	St. Andrew's Free Congrega- tional Church, per J. Ewing	..	... "	"
149	Evangelical Union Church, per Rev. M. Millar	... "	... Box	"
150	"	... "	... "	"

For National Freedmen's Association of New York, forwarded by
Johnson, Johnson, & Co.

151	B. Scott, Esq.	... City Chamberlain	... Bale	Clothing
152	Harding	... Sudbury, Suffolk	... Sack	Seed
153	Ditto	... "	... "	"
154	No Name	... Ashwell	... Parcel	Clothing
155	Ditto	... London	... "	"
156	F. Tuckett	... No Address	... "	"
157	Rev. J. Hinton's Church	... "	... Package	"
158	Meeting House	... Stepney	... Bale	"
159	Ditto	... "	... "	"
160	E. Belcher	... Tiffeld	... "	"
161	Working Men's Club	... 150, Strand	... Parcel	"
162	M. Porter	... North Street, Derby	... Box	"
163	Rev. J. C. Gallaway, M.A.	... Grenville Place Church	... Bale	"
164	Ditto	... "	... "	"
165	F. M. Aid Association	... Brighton, per W. Hack	... Hogshead	"
166	Ditto	... "	... "	"
167	Miss Poulter	... Dover	... Bale	"
168	Miss Fagg	... Folkestone	... "	"
169	Mrs. Reid, per Miss Remond	... London	... Parcel	"
170	W. Mallinson	... "	... "	"
171	Mrs. P. A. Taylor	... "	... "	"
172	Albion Chapel	... Southampton	... Case	"
172	Above Bar Congregational Chapel	... "	... Bale	"
173	Mrs. P. A. Taylor, per Miss Remond	... Aubrey House, Notting Hill, London	... Parcel	"
174	"	... "	... "	"
175	"	... "	... "	"
176	"	... "	... "	"
177	"	... "	... "	"
178	"	... "	... "	"
179	"	... "	... "	"
180	"	... "	... "	"
181	"	... "	... "	"

No.	Contributor.	Address.	Package.	Contents.
182	Dr. Sadler	... Hampstead	... Parcel	Clothing
183	Peckham Rye Chapel, per Miss Syrett	... Peckham Rye	... " "	"
184	James Downing	... Cheltenham	... [Bale]	"
185	"	... "	... "	"
186	No Name	... 144, Cheapside	... Parcel	"
187	J. Knight	... Band of Hope, Colchester	... Box	"
188	"	... "	... Parcel	"
189	M. Foot	... " Bermondsey..	... "	"
190	Rev. — Woodman	... " Stoneham	... "	"
191	Mrs. P. A. Taylor, per Miss Remond	... London	... "	"
192	Mrs. Brown	... "	... "	"
193	"	... "	... "	"
194	"	... "	... "	"
195	"	... "	... "	"
196	G. Watson	... Hatton Garden	... "	"
197	Godfrey & Roberts	... Kensington	... "	"
198	James Landells	... Alnwick	... Box	"
199	Mrs. P. A. Taylor, per Miss Remond	... London	... Parcel	"
200	"	... "	... "	"
201	"	... "	... "	"
202	Per Editor of "Band of Hope"	No address	... Bale	"
203	Mrs. P. A. Taylor, per Miss Remond	... London	... Parcel	"
204	"	... "	... "	"
205	"	... "	... "	"
206	Mr. R. Wilson	... "	... "	"
207	Mr. Briscoe, for Band of Hope	Chertsey	... Bale	"
208	Rev. D. Edmonds	Park Church, Highbury	... Parcel	"
209	"	... "	... "	"
210	No Name	No address	... "	"
211	Mrs. P. A. Taylor, per Miss Remond	... London	... "	"
212	J. Slatter	... Battle	... Bale	"
213	J. M. Owen	... Queen Square	... Box	"
214	Rev. J. Spong	... Southgate Road Chapel	... Barrel	"
215	"	... "	... Box	"
216	J. Allen	... Kensington	... "	"
217	Miss Remond	... Mornington Road	... Parcel	"
218	"	... "	... "	"
219	Editor of "Band of HopeReview"	No address	... "	"

Account of "London Freed-men's Aid Association."—Continued.

No.	Contributor.	Address.	Package.	Contents.
220	Rev. D. Macgregor, per Peter's Church, Dundee	St. Dundee	Box	Clothing
221	"	"	"	"
222	Mary Curwen	Forest Gate	Box	"
223	,	"	Barrel	"
224	Wesleyan Congregation, per Rev. J. Holmes	Dundee	"	"
225	O. Gilpin, Esq., M.P.	London	Parcel	"
226	No Name	Red Hill	"	"
227	E. F. Frankland	9, Marquess Road, Canon-bury	Box	"
228	F. Thompson	19, Mincing Lane	Parcel	"
229	Congregational Chapel, per, Rev. Mark Wallis	Holloway, London	Case	"
230	"	"	"	"
231	A. Dell and M. Wright	Pimlico	Tea Chest	"
232	"	"	Box	"
233	Per Editor "Band of Hope Review"	No Address	Parcel	"
234	Anonymous	"	"	"
235	H. Milner	New Wandsworth	Bale	"
236	Anonymous	No Address	Parcel	"
237	Margaret Pope	Staines	Parcel	"
238	Miss Greenwood, per Robt. Alsop	Stoke Newington	Case	"
239	O. Gilpin, M.P., Dell, and others	Pimlico	Chest	"
240	Rev. B. Ashton	New Wandsworth	Case	"
241	Camden Road Ladies' Association, per M. Braithwaite	Camden Road	"	"
242	Westminster Friends, per R. Fryor	17, Bedford Square	Bale	"
243	W. Mallison, per Miss Remond	59, Mornington Road	Parcel	"
244	Mrs. T. Ashby	Staines	Barrel	"
245	Mrs. Hanbury	Clapton	Parcel	"
246	T. A. Burr, Esq.	11, Queen Square	"	"
247	H. Brown, per Miss Remond	No Address	"	"
248	Trinity Church Working Party, per Helen Williams	Woburn Square	Box	"
249	Robert Alsop and Friends	Stoke Newington	Case	"
250	"	"	"	"
251	"	"	"	"
252	Burns	Croydon	Parcel	"
253	Miss Bergendahl	Amsterdam	Case	"
254	"	"	"	"

No.	Contributor.	Address.	Package.	Contents.
255	Mrs. P. A. Taylor, per Miss Remond	No Address	... Parcel	Clothing
256	Mrs. F. Hill	"	... "	"
257	Miss Forster, per Hubbert & Co.	Tottenham	... "	Blankets & Rug.
258	Mrs. May	"	... "	Clothing
259	Hornail and Son	Strood	... Barrel	"
260	Miss Sharp	Winchmore Hall	... Bale	"
261	C. A. M.	London	... Parcel	"
262	Camden Road Ladies' Association, per M. Braithwaite	Camden Road	... Bale	"
263	H. Milner, Esq.	New Wandsworth	... "	"
264	No Name	Beigate	... Parcel	"
265	No Name	Chichester	... "	"
266	Southampton Freedmen's Aid Association	Southampton	... "	"

BALANCE-SHEET.

	Dr.	Cr.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Subscriptions as per Bank.....	5,831 5 8	
" Ditto, as per Rev. John Curwen and others	573 2 11	
" Ditto reported by C. C. Leigh, New York	1,793 2 7	
" Ditto, as reported by Levi Coffin.....	2,153 0 0	
" Donations in Goods, estimated at.....	2,000 0 0	
By Remittances to Western Freed-men's Aid Com- mission.....		3,250 0 0
" Ditto, per Mr. Levi Coffin		2,153 0 0
" Ditto, per Hon. C. C. Leigh		1,793 2 7
" Ditto, to New York National Relief Association ..		675 0 0
" Goods, estimated at		2,000 0 0
" American Missionary Society		250 0 0
" Sundry Remittances per Rev. J. Curwen and others, as reported in List.....		567 7 1
" Boston Society		100 8 0
" Blankets		324 5 0
" Sewing Circles		45 0 0
" Public Meetings.....		98 18 7
" Printing, Advertising, Publishing, and Editorial Expenses		293 7 1
" Postages in circulation of Literature, Letters, Tre- velling Expenses of Deputations, and other inci- dental Expenditure		250 5 8
" Balance in Bank		520 5 2
		<u>£12,350 11 2</u>

THE FREED-MAN.

THE JAMAICA EVIDENCE.

We propose to give a monthly digest of the facts that may come to light in relation to the "Freed-men." Our aim will be simply to furnish data for the guidance of practical philanthropists. We invite from all parties communications that may aid us in preparing, from time to time, a correct and lucid representation of the case.

1. The position of Governor Eyre is not changed in any respect by the evidence he has given before the Jamaica commission. He has supplied no proofs of a wide-spread rebellion. Baron Ketelholdt wrote to the Governor on the 11th of October last, to tell him that a serious outbreak among certain of the labouring population in the neighbourhood of Morant Bay was threatened, and in fact had commenced.

For the first time we now learn that Paul Bogle also wrote to Governor Eyre. This letter was not produced to the commission, but we are informed that it was signed by twelve associates of Paul Bogle, and that the purport of it was to inform the Governor of the disturbances which had taken place on the Saturday previous, throwing the blame upon the police, assuring the Governor that those who signed the letter were good and loyal subjects of the Queen, and entreating him to send down some one to protect them; otherwise, as they had been suffering under great grievances and oppressions for the last twenty-seven years, they must put their own shoulders to the wheel. Governor Eyre said it was too late to make the enquiry requested by these thirteen men, but he kept their names and ultimately caught them all. On the strength of this letter of admonition they were pronounced to be rebels and put to death. We have lost for ever therefore the testimony any of them might have given, if respited only for a few months, as to the grievances and oppressions of which they complained. The boy who brought the letter ran away, but was eventually found and then flogged for bringing it. "So I returned," says the preacher, "and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and, behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power: but they had no comforter."

Governor Eyre delegated the supreme power to the military authorities. "I gave no directions," he says, "to any one as to how they were to act during martial law, as I understood that the supreme power was invested in the military."

2. GENERAL JACKSON appeared before the commission as the chief representative of British authority in Jamaica, in the proclaimed districts. The terms in which this military commander describes himself, are not such as to warrant the belief that a despised race would receive from him impartial justice: "If Colonel Hobbs, an officer, a sergeant, and a private of the 6th regiment were called butchers, then I General Jackson, am a double butcher." On some account the General lost self-command in court, and was called to order by the commissioners; "I don't want you to teach me," he replied, "I am a Major General of her Majesty's army." The offended commander left the court, and in consequence we are deprived of the benefit of the evidence he might have given, if he could have ruled his own spirit.

3. MR. ARTHUR WARMINGTON, a magistrate of St. Thomas-in-the-East, and President of the court martial was examined. He acted for some time as a guide to a detachment of the 6th regiment, under the command of Captain Hole. In his first examination he stated that while acting in that capacity, between the 15th October and the 3rd of November, he saw some thirty or forty men flogged without being tried by court martial, some of whom received five, some a hundred and ten, and a few one hundred and fifty lashes, but he then denied that he had seen any one shot without trial; afterwards he remembered that, in making the statement, he had committed an error. Mr. Warmington was recalled at his own request, and said "I found eight or ten bodies on the main road between Long Bay to Manchioneal, shot by the 1st West Indian regiment; a body of ten who galloped away from the rest killed them; I heard two or three more were found; they were killed without court martial, one man was shot by Captain Hole without court martial, I recognized him, he broke into my house." It is remarkable that Mr. Warmington should have forgotten in his first examination, circumstances connected with such particular associations. MR. W. P. KIRKLAND, a magistrate said: "I sentenced the women from ten to twenty-five and the men to not more than fifty lashes. I employed an old soldier of the 2nd West India Regiment to make the cats. They were made with twine at first, but afterwards with thin pieces of wire. After the women were flogged, they were worked on the road and fed with ground provisions and fish." "Mr. Ramsay flogged several of the prisoners himself—about fifteen." Joseph Marsh said the regimental cats were used for women.

MR. BICKNELL a police magistrate of Kingston, who was present at many of the trials said: "I was struck with the summary manner in which the business was disposed of. I don't remember that the prisoners were allowed to send for witnesses, the charges were read to them. I don't remember that they were asked to plead guilty or not guilty."

4. The evidence given respecting Provost Marshal Ramsay seems to indicate that no person had greater authority than himself; during the military rules his sway for a time was uncontrolled. Mr. Espent, who was on the court martial, said, that on one occasion, a woman was tried and sentenced to death, with a recommendation that her life might be spared, but she was hung notwithstanding. Mr. Ramsay was unwilling to lose a single victim.

For the present it may be judicious to reserve the story of the people who have to recite their wrongs; it may be supposed that those who have seen their nearest kindred slain before their own eyes, with no power to offer resistance, may exaggerate to some extent. Besides this, some of them may have been implicated in the fearful tragedy at Morant Bay. Though the evidence given before the commissioners has fully disproved the statements at first given as to the worst atrocities imputed to the rioters, yet the guilt of the outbreak remains, and we shall be safer in giving attention to the witnesses on the side of the authorities, before we listen even to the cries of the oppressed. We take therefore next in the order of sequence the evidence of Peter Bruce, the officer selected by Mr. Ramsay to execute his orders. Mr. Bruce describes vividly the commencement of their proceedings in the name of her Majesty: "The maroons came and brought prisoners. Ramsay came and said, 'Martial law is proclaimed. God save the Queen.' I was appointed acting provost marshal, I went to the police station at Bath, where persons were charged with having stolen goods. Ramsay ordered them to be flogged. Whilst they were being flogged, Ramsay was beating them with supple jack. Every one with plunder received fifty lashes, imputed murderers a hundred lashes and to be sent to Morant Bay (for trial). I was ordered to make a cat, and showed it to Mr. Kirkland the magistrate; it was too light; I was ordered to make another with wire in it. From six in the morning to six at night we were flogging; the smallest number given was thirty lashes; women also were flogged." With more consideration than might have been expected from such men some of the women in a state of expectant maternity were spared after examination of the case. "Women," continues the acting provost marshal "got a dozen each: I was left to see if they deserved punishment, and it was left to me to see who deserved to be flogged, but I always referred to Kirkland. He gave me liberty to give them what they deserved, but I did not take it upon myself. There was no doctor. The women were also flogged with a regimental cat. Every man was flogged with a wire cat. When they objected to the cat they gave me piano wire to put it into the cat; more than nine pieces of wire were put into it. Constables were employed to make the cats while we were flogging, four knots in each thong being wire mixed with cord. The constable flogged. I said to my friends 'this is more than I ever see;' the cats were in my room, and after martial law, the maroon said Colonel Fyfe sent for them and had them burnt." We are sorry for this, but we honour the sense of burning shame that prompted the act. We should like to have shown them to the women of Great Britain, for we must remember

that this revolting work was done in the name of her Majesty the Queen, and at a time when all disturbances had ceased.

GOVERNOR EYRE has given warm expression to his sense of obligation for the valuable service rendered by Mr. Ramsay, the provost marshal. He would no doubt recommend him for the Victoria Medal.

We are now prepared after this description given of themselves by the ministers of justice in Jamaica at this critical time, to believe that the people so treated might have wrongs of which to complain—indeed it is rather difficult to imagine how in the hands of such administrators of law, right could prevail. We will therefore listen to a negro witness.

5. GEORGE CLARK, the husband of Paul Bogle's daughter, told the commissioners, that he was taken to Morant Bay in custody, and that while he was asking questions of some men who had made charges against him, he was several times struck with a cat. Ramsay was there at the time and snatched the shirt studs from his bosom and pocketed them, saying that they "could not belong to a nigger." He saw James Marshall flogged; at the forty-eighth lash Marshall called out, "Lord a' mercy!" and Ramsay ordered him to be hung; all the prisoners were taken out to see him hung and Ramsay shouted to them "look at him, ye brutes, you thieves, the whole of you will be hung like him." He himself (Clark) was tried by a court martial consisting of Mr. Espent, Mr. Hutchins and Mr. Lewis; while he was under a shed waiting for his trial, Ramsay took hold of him, and asked, "will anybody give evidence against these brutes?" Two men gave evidence against him, and the court asked Ramsay whether that was all the testimony that he had. Ramsay said that some persons had promised to come, but had not done so; witness was told by the court that if he had any evidence to produce he was to ask Ramsay to send for any one who would speak in his favour; he accordingly asked Ramsay to send for some persons whom he named. Ramsay said "if you open your mouth to me, you brute, I'll shoot you; how dare you?" He afterwards attempted to speak to a constable named Williams, who would have given evidence as to his character, when Ramsay said "who is allowing this man to talk? give him a dozen," and he accordingly received a dozen lashes. He saw George William Gordon in custody; he spoke to an old man, when Ramsay said to the men who were guarding them "if you see him speaking to anybody, blow out his brains." Ramsay afterwards showed Gordon, who had not then been tried, the gallows upon which a man was hanging, and said, "there is one of your friends, you will be hung like him." Ramsay called out to the prisoners that anyone who gave evidence against Gordon, would save his life and be rewarded.

6. In the case of Marshall, the testimony of the negro witnesses is confirmed by Mr. Marshall, a magistrate at Morant Bay, and others. Marshall was removed from the gun to which he had been fastened while being flogged, and his hands and feet being both tied, he was shoved towards the court house; he was too weak to walk, and fell down once if not more; a rope was then

attached to his neck, and Mr. Marshallech described the occurrence: "he was dragged to the steps of the court house as a barrel is worked up the side of a ship;" or as another witness said: "a rope was rove round his neck, they ran it round the court house steps and got it round the railings, and he was hoisted right up." Mr. Marshallech, although a justice of the peace, neither interfered at the moment, nor gave any information to the Government what had been done. The explanation which he gave to the commissioners of his conduct in this respect, was, that the magistrates were treated with the greatest disrespect by the provost marshal, and were afraid to say a word.

We leave these painful facts, from such witnesses, to make their own impression. From the most reliable testimony, we know that for twelve or fifteen years subsequent to emancipation, the progress of the negro in Jamaica was remarkable. Lord Stanley in 1842, said, "since emancipation the negroes have been thriving and contented: they have raised their manner of living and multiplied their comforts and enjoyments; their morals have improved, marriage has substituted for concubinage, and they are eager for education." Lord Howard de Walden, an extensive Jamaica proprietor, in his evidence before a committee of enquiry in 1848, said, "I believe they have amazingly improved in every respect since emancipation; everybody agrees that the change has been very remarkable." Sir Henry Barkly in 1854, speaking of the mountain villages in Jamaica, says, "there is a decided air of pregressive civilization about them."

Now all this is completely reversed. A writer in one of our periodicals, citing Dr. Bowerbank (the Custos who assisted in dragging Mr. Gordon to his untimely and undeserved doom) in his support, insists there is no remedy but that of compulsion, compulsory labour, compulsory education, compulsory religion.

Before we accept this proposed remedy we must look at the disproportion between the negro population and that of the white people—14,000 white people amongst 450,000 coloured people—and we must bear in mind that the symbols of British power in that beautiful and productive island, are the "cat with piano wire," and the "gallows;" the representative men of British authority are Jackson, Ramsay, Bruce, Bowerbank, Warmingtton and Kirkland. We have great misgivings as to the continuance of the compulsory system by government officials; the people must have had quite enough of brute force; the power to raise Jamaica must be one that will inspire confidence and awaken hope—that which is exerted by such men as John Eliot, John Howard and Robert Moffat. If we could find no missionaries but those who yield to the influence of the government house, and who cannot conceal their hatred and contempt for the race they are sent to evangelize, there would be no hope for Jamaica; but we have no such opinion. At this time Bishop Crowther, as "black as ebony" with coadjutors of the same race, are planting missions on the banks of the Niger. Providence has in store the right agency for the restoration of the Freed-men of Jamaica. It is time surely to give them a gleam of hope from British kindness, prompt yet well directed.

We will not conceal from our friends, that we are warmly blamed for "touching the Jamaica business." They tell us "it will ruin our Society." This does not alter our conviction of duty; we know where it is written "if thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works?" Can any person of reflection be ignorant at this time, of the heart-rending calamities that must of necessity be endured by starving and homeless thousands in Jamaica? How long in the judgment of those who blame us, will it be prudent to wait, before we lend a helping hand to these downcast and miserable people? The golden hour of opportunity is now. The "business of Jamaica" ought to touch the conscience, the heart, and the pocket of every lover of his country and of every friend of the human race.—W.

AMERICAN FREED-MEN.

SIGNS OF ENCOURAGEMENT.—There are gleams of light in the South to assure us that with patient perseverance, the well-directed labour of christian philanthropists will not be in vain.

MR. HENRY S. FOOTE, ex-Governor of Mississippi, who, in the Senate at Washington, threatened to hang Mr. Hale, senator for New Hampshire, has published a book on the war, in which he says: African slavery is indeed gone for ever; and I am confident that there is not one thousand intelligent persons in that region, of all the slave-holding class, who would now resuscitate this defunct system, even if they had the power to do so. The result should not now, and I am well assured it will not hereafter, be a source of permanent regret to the white population of the South; they will, indeed, be far better off in time to come without slavery than with it. The whole Southern people will be far more prosperous hereafter than they have been heretofore; labour in the South will be more diversified, and be likely to yield more solid benefit of every kind. Manufacturing and mineral industry will now be seen to flourish for the first time in that great and prolific region; and even southern commerce may hereafter attain a more healthful and self-supporting existence."

In respect to the treatment of the newly made freed-men, he says: "It is really astonishing to hear that men in this enlightened age, should for a moment hesitate in regard to the propriety of allowing persons of African descent to testify in courts of justice, especially in cases where their own life, liberty or property are involved; it is heartlessly unjust to the black man to assert that he is not a respecter of truth, and less inclined to the exercise of justice than the white man; I have lived amongst this race all my life, and what I now say on this subject is the fruit of more than half a century's experience and observation."

GENERAL GREGORY, assistant commissioner, in reply to a petition from the citizens of of Panola county, Texas, for the appointment of a provost marshal for that county to preserve order, said, "In general, the Freed-men of Texas

present a record which, for service and order is most commendable. Turned headlong into freedom, without preparation, without pre-monition, by men at war with their masters, and told that they have been wronged and have an heritage of vengeance, they exhibit in their industry, docility and patience, an example beyond the expectation of man. No people have ever been so tried, none have ever so stood trial.

"While this bureau has jurisdiction over all matters that concern the Freed-men, its uniform policy has been to avoid class legislature. It cordially invites the court authorities to take cognizance of all offences committed by or against the negro, and it interferes only when the State has neglected to act, or when, manifest injustice has been done.

"Special legislation is uncalled for and unwise when every occurrence of disorder, violence or crime among the coloured people can be met by the simple preventive of the civil code.

"If in your locality the labourer refuses to work, it may be because, though slavery be extinct, its collateral influences and ideas still survive, and new inducements have not taken the place of the lash and the chain; it may be that the planter, as well as the negro, has not yet learned what free labour means.

"Many of the Freedmen were last year defrauded of their earnings, where the crop was gathered by their toil; they were turned loose upon the state, without money, means, or clothing.

"This unchivalric and bitter injustice has not been forgotten by the sufferers. They now hesitate to labour because they are not sure that the day's work will bring the day's wages. Better treatment and prompt pay will correct this distrust sooner than a brigade of provost marshals."

The AMERICAN FREED-MEN'S AID COMMISSION states that in South Carolina, where the work was first begun, and where the subjects were among the least promising, the results have been such as to convince the most sceptical. Herds of human chattels, impelled by force, have been converted into communities of human beings regulated by law. Ten thousand ignorant blacks degraded to the lowest point within the power of slavery, have been lifted up to a condition of comparative intelligence. These now constitute a self-supporting law-abiding, wealth-producing community; and one more orderly or better behaved may not easily be found.

What has been said of the Freed-men's enterprise in South Carolina, may be asserted with equal truth of every other similar undertaking in the Southern States. The REV. HORACE JAMES, in a letter dated New Bern, N.C., Feb. 11th, 1866, says:—"We have had our hundred and fifteen hands at work in the month of January; by March, the number will be increased to one hundred and fifty. They work cheerfully and well, and were never so happy before; an accomplished female teacher from the North resides upon each plantation; and their day and

evening schools are thronged, and intensely interesting ; these ladies are Miss Harriet S. Billings and Miss Kate A. Means ; not less than two hundred coloured people reside on the two plantations, and Sabbath worship is regularly maintained for their benefit, with careful instruction in the Sabbath school.

"Several other plantations in the vicinity have been rented by Northern men, and upon them all the ploughs are running merrily. It will soon be proved beyond a doubt that, while negroes will not work for their old masters or under the overseers who used to drive them to their tasks with the lash, they will cheerfully work for men who treat them like human beings, and pay them reasonable wages. They do not work like skilled labourers at the north, for they have never learned how ; but they do as well as they can at present ; whether they are susceptible of elevation and of high culture in industry, art, learning, science, is yet to be tested ; a nation may be born in a day, but years are necessary for its growth."

The importance of education can hardly be over-estimated.—"It underlies every hope of success for the Freed-men ; everything depends on the youth and the children being thoroughly instructed in every industrial pursuit. Through education, embracing moral and religious training, the fearful prejudice against the blacks can be overcome." The friends of the Freed-men in America are fully alive to the necessity of providing the means of instruction for the Freed-people of all ages. There is no lack of suitable agents ; all that is wanted is more money. Christian women, generous and painstaking, form themselves into associations to adopt a school in the South, send out their own teacher, provide the books and keep up with their devoted representative in the field of labour a constant and most interesting correspondence. Their great aim however is to call out the energies of the Freed-men themselves. The superintendent of the schools for refugees and Freed-men in New Orleans says, Jan. 27th, 1866, "There are eight schools in the city, with from two to eight hundred pupils each, which with those in the suburbs, amount to sixteen schools, with nearly six thousand pupils and one hundred teachers, all of which are under my supervision.

"But difficulties have settled down upon us ; our schools have been held in confiscated or abandoned houses, and the owners are now returning penitent and pardoned, and demanding their property ; we have given up several houses, and expect soon to surrender all ; the Government is about to give up the schools financially and the burden of sustaining them is soon to rest upon the Freed-men. The payment of teachers and the erecting of school houses will be more than they can accomplish unaided.

"In all missionary efforts the first point to be gained is to secure the assistance of the natives themselves, so here our first aim should be to employ the coloured people as missionaries to their own race.

"We have here the *élite* of the coloured people of the whole South, French and creoles, who have always been free and well educated ; we have, too, growing

up in our grammar schools, an array of intelligence and talent which is admirably adapted to teaching. Could this material be mustered, equipped, drilled, and properly generalised, we should have an army equal to the educational contest on which we are now entering."

THE TEACHERS REPORT THAT GREAT DISTRESS EXISTS IN MANY DISTRICTS.

Miss P. A. ALCOTT, of Charleston, a teacher, in a private note states that girls' and women's clothing is specially needed.—"Dear friends," she says, "How I wish you could have been in my school-room this afternoon, to see for yourselves what I can tell you so inadequately, the wants and the sufferings of these people. I have given away my barrel full that you so kindly sent. I have stripped my own wardrobe of every article I could possibly spare; we have disposed of the clothing sent by the officers of our association; and still the needy ones come saying 'Please can you give me a frock?' 'Is there a pair of shoes for me?' 'Could you give me one skirt?' They imagine clothes may be obtained in some magic way, if they can only have tickets. "I have no tickets," I have answered forty times this day; and they turn away so disappointed and so shivering, that what can I do but pity them from the depths of my heart and write to you? I have heard that you are working for us already; it comforts me to know it; but if you saw my children, you would work twice, no ten times faster. Friday, I brought seven little girls home with me, bare-headed, bare-footed, bare-armed, one had an old skirt wrapped over her head and shoulders; just now an old woman came in shivering with the cold; and a mother came with her daughter; These are—since I began this sentence, eleven children have been in my room asking for clothes, it is so hard to send them away unprovided for, and yet I do it every day. The city is full of coloured people, many of them just come in from the country, they have literally nothing, no food, no clothes, no money; some kind-hearted man or woman takes in one here, another finds an empty shed; another, a cabin in the yard of some runaway Charlestonian; some way they live, but there must be great suffering, and many no doubt die from the exposure."

[May we not promise Miss Alcott that on reading this private note, a thousand ladies in our own country will imitate her example?]

THE BLANKETS WE HAVE SENT OUT ARE RECEIVED WITH THE WARMEST GRATITUDE.

MR. BEALES writes: "Beaufort, North Carolina, Jan. 25, 1866. Dear Brother, With nine packages of clothing I received that splendid lot of English blankets. God bless the donors of this rich gift, which will very soon warm the bodies of two or three hundred shivering Freed-men. It will do more than this—these gifts, in many instances, inspire the most grateful devotion to God, as well as love to man. Last evening I hurried away to a distant portion of the city, with three of these blankets under my arm: one old man, crippled in the cotton field,

two aged women, and three children lived in the shed to which I directed my steps: the little girl was reading the Testament by the firelight to the rest of the family; I knew how they shivered and huddled together these cold nights, for I had often been there. 'Dese yere blankets,' said the choking voice of the old man, 'will warm soul and body.'

"Twenty-three of the Freed-men were come to the pest house with the small pox within the last few days; these blankets will cover all that survive of them, when their few rags they now possess are committed to the flames.

"Every one of these blankets will go into cheerless cabins, where slavery has robbed and war desolated.

"Let me repeat the oft-repeated expression of the Freed-men, 'God bress dese yere men dat come to open our prison doors and cover our nakedness.'"

If any of our friends would like to see the blankets we send to the negroes, we shall have much pleasure in shewing them at our office No. 102, Fleet Street, second floor, on condition that they will give us the means of sending out one in their name. The fabric is of peculiar complexion, and rather a curiosity in its way.—W.

OUR CHILDREN.

Every intelligent child in the British dominions who has a home, friends, and all the comforts of life, should feel an interest in the eight hundred thousand poor children in America who need clothing, food, shelter, and instruction. We believe every British child would do something to help if we could in some way make the case known in every family. Mr Handel Cossham, at the great meeting at Exeter Hall, said that when the Emancipation Act passed in England, his father taught him the meaning of it.—"I was a boy then, and I remember my father making me sit up all night to watch the sun rise on our country free from the curse of slavery." The lesson was of great value, and has never been forgotten. Her Grace the Duchess of Argyll has explained to her children the condition of the Freed-men, and with their own hands they prepared a packet of clothing that has been sent out to America. The secretary of the Peckham Association writes, "the children too have not been backward in helping, several having worked diligently at these meetings, and many have made and sent as gifts to the coloured children work-bags fitted up with pretty and useful implements, and each containing a little book. Eighty-two of these bags have been

sent in the casks, and we can fancy how the hearts of the young workers would often glow at the thought of the surprise and pleasure which would brighten the eyes of the little ones for whom these gifts were designed when the bags should be distributed among them." Mr F. Ridley, late corresponding secretary of the Newcastle Union, has made a beginning to move the children of the Sunday schools. He began with giving himself £50 to the object, and some schools have raised subscriptions, but he wants the idea to spread. What is to be done? We ask our friends to think the matter over, and pour in upon us their kind suggestions. Will any kind and earnest lady help us with means to print an occasional illustrated paper, like that of the Band of Hope, for the use of children? We have some interesting photographs of the children of Freed-men. Who would not be interested to see a striking sketch of the little negro child reading the New Testament by the light of the fire, to the poor destitute family when they were surprised by the English blankets? Our invention is rather dull—but we expect by an early post a hundred letters or more full of bright ideas. We can find plenty of material that our children would like, if we can only bring it before them. Here is a letter from a negro boy just beginning to learn:

"Clumfort's Creeke,

"Pine-grove settlement.

"Miss Stevenson Dear Madam I hereby write you a few lines let you know about our school affairs. Our meeting house has bin burnt and our school has bin broke up. But we are thankfull to say that we are going to school again, but when our school Got burnt I went to school to Newberne two months an then Miss Carrie came back again, an now I am going to school regular. We ar vearry thankfull to you for your good kindness to us. I think our school is prospering. I am studying Geography an Arithmetic, an reading in a third Reader, an spelling in a common school speller. I wish you would give me an answer. I wrote to you before and I never received any answer from you atall. Our school is increasing I think vearry much indeed. I Am one of Miss Carrie's schollars an I Expect to be her schollar as long as she stay's here I think if she continue here She will have a large school this winter and spring We are vearry thankful that you sent us a Teacher I hope that the Lord will bless you and take care of you.

"Yours, &c., JOHN W. GASKELL."

John's ideas are better than his spelling.

We have a letter from the son of a Freeman who liberated himself as well written as any that could be written by the son of a nobleman. The purport of it is to request Dr. Tomkins to correct an impression that his father had not provided for his education. "Father particularly wishes us," says the little fellow, "to make this very explicit, and in a courteous manner to yourself, and at the same time to assure you that it is not from any false or foolish pride on his part, but it is a particular wish of his, and that also of my mother, to be able to do for their children until they are able to help themselves; indeed father is always talking of the wickedness of parents being so careless and unconcerned about their children, and depending on friends doing for them, instead of putting their shoulder to the wheel themselves. With renewed thanks for your kind and good intentions towards us," &c.

There now: who says that ebony may not take a polish as well as alabaster?—W.

THE report of Major-General Howard, Chief Commissioner of the Freed-men's Bureau, was on the 8th inst. laid before the House of Representatives, in response to a resolution of that body asking for information in regard to the abandoned and confiscated estates at the south. The report states that in South Carolina and Georgia the Freed-men were assigned a few plantations as homesteads, under orders of General Sherman, and that they have not since been dispossessed of them; but that many other plantations, temporarily occupied and cultivated by Freed-men under contingent orders, have been restored to their former owners under recent orders from the Government; that the Bureau has been deprived of the greater part of such property it formerly held, and is, by the consequent reduction of its revenue, no longer a self-sustaining branch of the Government. Previous orders for the settlement of Freed-men on abandoned estates have been countermanded. It is understood that the national authorities are about to adopt some important changes in the administration of Freed-men's affairs, it being found that the present system does not work advantageously. It is reported that the negroes in the interior of Louisiana refuse to renew their contracts or to leave the plantations.

IN Willmington, Major Wyckersham, Superintendent of the Freed-men's Bureau, has ordered the chairman of the county court to revoke the sentence in the case of McCoy and Walker, the negroes ordered to be sold into servitude for larceny, in default of which all the members of the court are to be put under arrest. Major Gen. Crooke, commanding this district, overrules the sentence on the ground that no law can be enforced which makes a distinction between blacks and whites.

WHITENING.—The attention of the mistress of a family was lately called to the fact that a little coloured girl was constantly seen lying on the grassplat, with her face turned up to the sun. Upon being questioned why she assumed that posture, she answered, "Why, Missis always lay de things on de grass what she wants to make white. I want to get white too."

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ALL orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to **ARLIS ANDREWS, 7, Duke Street, Bloomsbury.**

WE are again compelled to defer the announcement of many subscriptions and donations until next month.

The Freed-Man.

APRIL, 1866.

"I have observed with satisfaction that the United States, after terminating successfully the severe struggle in which they were so long engaged, are wisely repairing the ravages of civil war. The abolition of slavery is an event calling forth the cordial sympathies and congratulations of this country, which has always been foremost in showing its abhorrence of an institution repugnant to every feeling of justice and humanity.—QUEEN VICTORIA.

JAMAICA—PROMPT AND JUDICIOUS ACTION NEEDED.

FROM the recent reference made to Jamaica in the House of Lords, and from the facts and opinions then disclosed, there can be no doubt but that Jamaica has been neglected—sadly neglected, in its social and moral interests. Earl Russell and Earl Grey admit that there is no question but that the disturbance or revolt at Morant Bay has been caused by great neglect. Efforts have been made for the spiritual culture of the colored people, especially by American and Baptist missionaries, worthy of all commendation; but even these efforts have not met with all the support they required and deserved; and the agents, if not absolutely ostracised, have not been sustained and

helped by the insular authorities. The treatment of Mr. Gordon, the political friend and advocate of the coloured man, is a clue by which we may ascertain the respect and confidence that would be confided in their religious instructors.

Such a state of things has brought about this result, that even on the part of the friends of the Negro, attention has been too exclusively given to the emotions, and to the forms of religion, whilst the educational and social culture of the people have been too much neglected. The problem the friends of humanity have now to solve is, how is a true reformation of the condition of the Negroes to be secured.

There is, it is to be feared, little to be hoped from the majority of the white population. The dominant whites are indignant at the judicious and prompt action of our Government. They have been unused to control and cannot even brook inquiry. The following extracts from a letter written by "Reginald Kingston, Coadjutor Bishop in Jamaica" and addressed to the "Times," will show the spirit that prevails. It must be observed that it is not the utterance of a man like General Jackson, the so-called "Bengal tiger," who goes into the presence of the representatives of British justice with a loaded revolver and beards, in tones of boisterous defiance, the Queen's Commissioner; but it is that of a man whose office and training would accustom him to smoulder the fires of anger and passion. Hear the Bishop: "I think it is not presumptuous for any of the residents in this island to profess that for himself personally he cares but little whether

the British public pass a favourable or an unfavourable judgment on our late Government and our late Legislature." One cannot but be astonished at the cool insolence in the extract we have given. We expect a bishop to be calm and judicious, but here is one who writes to the "Times," and says he does not care one iota for the united voices of the millions of his countrymen, who have not yet learned to look on with approval when No. 18 piano wire is intertwined with the cat, and when poor wretches whose backs have been macerated with flogging until their flesh looked like liver, are pelted with stones, pushed at with sticks, or thrust at playfully with bayonets, as they stagger and reel from their tormentors. We do not wonder that the Reverend Reginald Kingston follows up the above unworthy remarks upon British public sentiment by speaking of the mischief already apparent by the appointment of the Royal Commission and the suspension of the Governor. This, he says, "he deliberately declares to be great and indeed irreparable."

The fact is the men who talk like the Reverend Reginald Kingston, and who act like the Governor of Jamaica indicate that their organon of government is radically false, and in the midst of a population the easiest in the world to rule by kindness and firmness, has signally failed. Compulsion will not meet the case of Jamaica. You may call in Force and Strength, and bind the Prometheus to the rock, allowing the eagle to peck and prey upon its vitals, but you will not by this means get rid of the miserable spectacle of cruelty and violence.

A population of 450,000 souls is not thus to be governed. It is fortunate for us that we have a Government that whilst it will not forsake its own servants until they are proved guilty, it will not lend its power to trample on the feeble and the oppressed.

You must secure the concurrence of the negro for his own improvement. This may seem a difficult task but it can be done. All rude methods with a view to the social and moral elevation of any people must in their very nature fail. This has been proved in every epoch of our world's history. We may point to the success of schools and other elevating organizations in the Southern States of America. This success is due to the fact that Northern and British philanthropists have secured the implicit confidence of the coloured population. It is not the negro but men like the Reverend Mr. Kingston who stand in the way of the elevation of our countrymen, and of the general prosperity of the island of Jamaica. These men, because they are impotent, say "It can't be done;" and while they are allowed to dominate after their own violent fashion it won't be done.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN SELF-POURTRAYED. By J. M. LUDLOW. Bennet, Bishopsgate Street. —We beg to call the special attention of our readers to this admirably written volume. It will richly pay perusal. In our next number we shall give an analysis of its deeply interesting contents. The Author has generously given the work for the benefit of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society.

A MEETING of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society has been held in the New School-room, Waterloo St., Limehouse. Rev. Edward Price presided. The Meeting was addressed by Dr. Fred. Tomkins and Mr. W. Lindsey, a coloured man, and recently a slave.

Correspondence.

To the Editors of the "Freed-Man."

Dear Sirs,

I regret that men so well versed as you are in American history should have admitted into the *FREED-MAN* the passage in Mr. Sella Martin's speech reported in your last issue p. 196, which repeats the old fable about the Puritans "founding a church" and "launching a state" in America. You know well enough that they did neither the one nor the other, and well it is for America that they did not.

If it had been necessary to insert the speech intact, then a foot note should have been added. If those who know better act thus incautiously, the fable that the Pilgrim Fathers were Puritans, will with other falsehoods "float about the world for ever."—I think, as your publication circulates in America, that you should notice this oversight in your next number.

Believe me, Dear Sirs, yours truly,
London March 1, 1866. BENJAMIN SCOTT.

[We accept the rebuke of our excellent Vice-President with the most respectful deference. The Editorship of the *FREED-MAN* and its responsibility remains single and undivided—but the present writer avails himself freely of its pages for the grand object of the society. Mr. Scott is perfectly correct in his allusions to the Pilgrim Fathers and having just published the most accurate and exhaustive lecture on the subject, given by himself at the Institute of the Society of Friends, convincing all present, he is fairly entitled to call us to account. The truth is we were so intent upon bringing the good ship *The British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society* out of harbour, that we over-looked what Mr. Sella Martin said about the *Mayflower*. We had to land with all care and courtesy, a few distinguished passengers, who felt rather unequal to our intended voyage, and other matters pre-occupied our attention. We are now fairly afloat, with a favouring breeze, and shall be freighted with blessings we trust to millions "ready to perish." We shall exercise more care.]

MRS. P. TAYLOR, honorary Secretary to the London Negro Aid Society, writes in the name of the committee of that Society to intimate that they deem it best to dissolve the society as such, and to recommend their subscribers to co-operate with the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society. The Subscriptions reported in the last number of the *FREED-MAN* in the name of Mrs. P. Taylor ought to have been announced as from the London Negro Aid Society. We cordially welcome the adhesion of the subscribers, and it will give us much pleasure to communicate with them.

At the close of a committee meeting held a month or two ago, wearied by discussions, we trust never to be renewed, Dr. Burlingham briefly stated the claims of the coloured orphan asylum at Washington, the design of which is to train the poor disowned fugitive children to be of service to their own race. A grant of £100 was voted. The following note of acknowledgement has been received from Mrs. Crandell, the Treasurer.

"New York, Feb. 26, 1866.

"Messrs.....

"It is with very great pleasure I acknowledge the receipt of your communication of Jan. 20, through Mr. A. L. Nicholson, former secretary of the National Coloured Orphan Asylum of the district of Columbia. Our gratitude for the amount so generously voted for the benefit of the orphans in charge can best be expressed by a brief statement of our financial condition at the commencement of the present year. Our best endeavours found us with sixty-nine children, an empty treasury and some four hundred dollars in debt. This might seem very discouraging to those having no experience of dark hours and days in which there seemed few rays of light—a lack of helping hands and sympathizing hearts. But our path has been unwavering—we have rested on him who giveth liberally, and in the justness of our cause. We could work and trust and in our direst need came help.

"With yours came other donations; we can now clear every debt, have present support for the children (now numbering seventy) and have something we hope to assist in erecting a school-house, which is very much needed.

"To the Rev. A. G. Burlingham, D.D., our warmest thanks are due. His reward is with Him he serveth.

"In behalf of the ladies of our association, with their thanks for the cordial assistance tendered, and with their best wishes for the future success of your society, we hope that the acquaintance thus formed may become more intimate and confidential, and result in benefitting all interested.

"With the highest esteem, I remain, yours truly,
YERMOND CRANDELL, Treasurer.

"To Fredk. Tomkins, Esq.,
"London, England."

Mr. SHAW writes: "New York National Freed-man's Relief Association, No. 76, John Street, New York, 27 Feb., 1866.

"Fred. Tomkins, Esq., London.

"Dear Sir—I have the pleasure to inform you that the blankets have been received and forwarded to Alexandria, Richmond, and Savannah. They were much needed and very welcome, the appearance of small pox in several of the Freed-men's camps having required the destruction of much bedding, while the supply from the army hospitals was long since distributed."

American Freed-men's Aid Commission, Western Department, Corresponding Secretary's Office, No. 25 Lombard Block, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 10, 1866.

Dr. Fred. Tomkins, London, England.

My Dear Sir—After a delay which under ordinary circumstances were inexcusable, I beg to acknowledge my obligation to you for the copy of the very excellent speech of the Duke of Argyll you did me the favor to send me, and also for two numbers of the FREED-MAN which you publish to promote the cause of the emancipated of this country. I read the speech of the noble Duke with very great pleasure. It is in my heart to thank him for the strong words in behalf of the right and of humanity, which he uttered. It is very gratifying to an American to know that one who stands so high among the honoured and public men of Great Britain, has such clear, comprehensive and truthful views of the events of the past four years, and that he frankly and

publicly avows them. The war in this land is closed, but the friends of humanity have before them a long and arduous task to secure to the four millions of people, who have been emancipated in its progress, their rights, to sustain them against that prejudice which embarrasses and discourages them on every hand. In our efforts in their behalf, we will be often encouraged by the voice that thus comes to us from the true and the good far across the ocean. I read the FREED-MAN with a similar pleasure. The very existence of this journal is a cheering fact. To England it is the advocate of the Freed-men's cause—but to America it is a token of England's interest in, and sympathy for our nation's "poorest poor." As it is day by day being developed that the work of benevolence in behalf of the Freed-men must continue longer than those most familiar with this work had anticipated—as we come to realize that we are only on the threshold of the grandest charity of the age—the willing spirit of Englishmen to assist us—the spirit that speaks through the columns of the FREED-MAN is recognized with gratitude.

The close of the war has given us access to nearly all of the South—hence the number of the destitute to whom relief can be administered is far greater than at any previous period, and a greater number of children and youths are brought under the agencies of a moral and intellectual education. It is found to be entirely beyond the ability of all the Societies in the country to respond to all the appeals for relief and all the entreaties for teachers and books. I estimate that one-fourth of all the schools among the Freed-men during the past year, have been supported by contributions from England.

I take pleasure in mailing to you proof sheets of the Annual Report I recently prepared for the Western Freed-men's Aid Commission, at Cincinnati, Ohio, which I think will give you a general idea of our work as it now exists, as well as furnish you with the facts relating to the Society named. I have taken some care to collate an exhibit of all the cash contributions received from Great Britain, and I also prepared an acknowledgement of the stores received by the general agent, Friend

Levi Coffin—he furnishing me with the data. It is very desirable that the American people should know what our friends in England are doing for the cause of humanity in our midst—should know how persons on two continents join hands in this great work of benevolence.

I am, yours truly,
J. M. WALDEN.

Extracts of Letters from Freed-men's School Teachers in the Southern States, addressed to members of the Freed-Men's Aid Society, Leicester, Mass.

From Miss S. E. Chase, Worcester, Mass. to friends in Leicester.

Columbus, Georgia, Feb. 5th, 1866.

When I last wrote we had just opened a school in Savannah. There were already several schools opened there (i.e. for children of Freed-men), and Col. Sickles was administering the affairs of the Freed-Men's Bureau in an admirable manner. So it did not seem right to tarry in that charming city; though we could have found important work enough to fill every moment. Wishing to work where there was the most need, (there being so many places where nothing has been done for the Freed-men, and where they are sorely persecuted,) we came here, where a school-house, built by soldiers, had just been destroyed by the citizens, and the feeling is intensely bitter against *anything* Northern. The people chafe at the presence of the Bureau, and of the few "prim and enthusiastic school ma'ams." "Both must be cleared out of the place," says the daily press. We (two sisters) have never seen any discourtesy in any of the citizens; but we know many plans are proposed for "getting rid of us." We have glorious schools in full operation; and I am so well satisfied with the work here, that I have not the slightest wish to leave, or to be doing anything else. In my day school, and evening school, I have one hundred and forty pupils, who have made truly wonderful progress in the five weeks I have been teaching them. A more earnest, fine looking set of scholars could not be found, than I can show. I find the freed-people here more tidy and thrifty than in any other place I have seen; though many are utterly poor, and nothing has reached

them yet from the North. We are too far off to make it much worth while to send us boxes of clothing, &c. But I need the means of providing an occasional article of clothing, a drug, a splint for a broken limb, or perhaps (as recently) a piece of bedding for a good old soul, who, she said, had "*raired* (reared) eight children for Missus as if they were my own, and *nussed* Master so well, the doctoor said I saved his life, and now I'm old, I's turned out to die like a dog." There are a number of coloured people in the place who are very well off, and they cheerfully bear their share of the burden of the new dispensation; but in a population of about eight thousand they can do little. We are about organising mutual relief societies in the two (coloured) churches, Baptist and Methodist. Large numbers are working for their food alone; and white people tell them they are not free yet. We hear of many cases of violence upon the negroes, and even murder, simply because they claim to be *free*! In all the neighbouring counties, Union white families are suffering great persecution, and the people openly say those who favour the North shall not live among them. For myself my work suffices for me. I give no thought to the hatred of the whites, knowing how useful it is my good fortune to be to the blacks, and how truly they love me.

From Miss E. E. Plummer,

Murfreesborough, Tennessee.

You have told me to apply to you in case of pecuniary need. I do it now, believing that when I explain for what the money is wanted, you will cheerfully supply me with a small sum. I think I have told you of my normal class, (a number of coloured girls endeavouring to fit themselves to be school teachers). I have only about a dozen pupils this term, and so I can easily make myself acquainted with the circumstances of each one. Some are making very great efforts to earn their own living and to go to school. I wish to be able to aid such, and could spend a dollar or two, here and there, and thus encourage fainting hearts, and stimulate them to still more exertion. If your Aid Society, or your neighbours, would contribute to this, it would keep

up their own interest in the work. I don't dare to leave any means untried to make successful this, the most important part of the work in the South. It is very discouraging to have a promising pupil leave school, when only half prepared to teach, just for want of a little money to procure a few necessities. I shall keep this fund strictly private, so that none will come to feel dependent on it. In the opposition manifested all about us to our work, we more than ever need assurance of sympathy and interest from our friends of the North. No further demonstrations have been made against us since the breaking of our windows, (of which, with other acts of assault, mention was made in a previous letter)."

ON Thursday the 15th of March a Meeting was held at Chelmsford to consider the condition and prospects of the Freed-men. Rev. G. Wilkinson in the chair. The attendance was large and influential. Dr. Holbrook gave a lengthened and powerful address. Isaac Perry, Esq., and other gentlemen, took part in the Meeting. The remarks of Mr. Wilkinson, formerly resident in Jamaica, are worthy of special attention.—"He rose," he said, "to bear his testimony to the truth of the lecturer's statement that the coloured race was not a lazy and indolent people, but, on the contrary, worked hard and with cheerfulness when properly and fairly paid for their labour. He could give facts in proof of this. He was in Jamaica when the railway was opened at Kingston, and a gentleman connected with the works told him that 500 free negroes had been employed in the construction of the line, yet he never found any of them deficient in their capacities as workmen, or lazy and indolent. The same gentleman also gave his testimony that these 500 free negroes had done the work of 1,500 slaves. (Applause.) Another thing he said—and his words were a remarkable corroboration of what they had heard to-night—if the freed negroes were treated fairly and honourably, there was no body of men to be found more peaceful in their disposition, or more industrious in their labour. But, perhaps, after these statements, it would be asked by some—"Then how do you account for the ruin of the sugar plantations if the negroes

can be relied on?" The answer to that question was plainly this—"Because the labourers have not been properly paid." (Much applause.) Why did masters only wish to pay the freed negroes sixpence per day? When "apprentices" were let out for labour in the plantations, masters paid 1s. 6d. per day for each man; but when they became free the planters said to them, "Well, what wages shall we give you? We shall give you sixpence per day." "No," said the free black, "if I was worth 1s. 6d. to you when I was in bondage, I am worth the same now for my free labour." (Great applause.) He (the chairman) could tell them that when an English proprietor went over to Jamaica to see his estate, he was astonished to find the labourers clamouring round him for their wages. He turned round to his attorney, to whom he had given instructions for the payment of the negroes, and found they had not been paid anything for three months. On inquiring the reason of this, the attorney replied that the money had been applied to other purposes. It was a fact that planters had left Jamaica owing large sums of money for wages, and such circumstances as these were sufficient to give rise to discontent amongst labourers. As for the honesty and peaceable disposition of the freed negroes, he (the chairman) could say that he had travelled over the island in the depth of night, and had never been molested. Indeed, he could say that he would rather travel alone over the island of Jamaica in the night time, than over England; and so far from property being injured, he knew that it was a common practice to have such confidence in the honesty of the population that Europeans retired to rest without bolting their doors. (Hear, hear.) He was, therefore, much ashamed at the statements made by some of his own countrymen, and would say that the recent disturbance in Jamaica was due to unfair treatment by the European planters—by English rulers there—by British officers there who exercised undue authority—all of whom ought to be held up to universal shame. (Applause.) As long as he lived, and God gave him strength and grace, he would speak words of burning indignation against the unfair treatment and unfair brutality such

persons had long manifested to the Jamaica negroes. A more kind and loving people he had never met than the freed negroes of Jamaica; and, he would repeat, so long as God gave him strength he would stand up and speak for them." (Loud applause.) A collection of £64 15s. for the American Missionary Society was made at the doors. [We rejoice to hear the voice of Mr. Wilkinson. It is quite time that some who are competent to speak should stand up for the Freed-men of Jamaica. The destitute might be immediately employed in works of improvement. The following extract from the report of the Sanitary Committee of the Royal Society of Arts, "on the condition of Kingston," shews that the labourer is certainly wanted: "The suburbs and roads leading out of the city, in different directions, are overgrown with bush and jungle, and that many of the thoroughfares are much out of repair, and some of them positively dangerous to passengers at night. That in many instances they are made the depositories for stable manure. That the gullies or watercourses which carry off the flow of water from above and around the city are often, from the same cause, partially blocked up, thus on the occasion of heavy rains endangering the bridge, and often overflowing the banks."

An influential meeting was held at Masborough, Yorkshire on March 1st, under the patronage of the local magistracy, the clergy, and the ministers of the neighbourhood. Addresses were delivered by the Chairman, Dr. Fred. Tomkins, and Dr. Holbrook, who attended as a deputation from the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, and by the Rev. Fred. Falding, D.D. An influential Committee was formed to act as an auxiliary to the above Society. The Rev. Dr. Falding has kindly consented to act as Secretary.

A MEETING was held on March 12th, at Wellington Road, Baptist Chapel, Shacklewell. William Willis, Esq., LL.D., of the Inner Temple, presided. The meeting was addressed by the Chairman, also by the Rev. W. Miall, Dr. Fred. Tomkins, Dr. Holbrook, the Rev. J. S. Stanson, Rev. Dr. Waddington and other speakers. A Committee was formed to act in furtherance of the objects of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society.

RECEIPTS FOR FEB. & MARCH.

	£	s.	d.
The Hon. Lyulph Stanley	5	0	0
Miss E. Tebb	0	4	0
Mrs. R. Watts	0	2	6
J. Hodgkin, Esq.	1	1	0
A. Albright, Esq.	1	1	0
Rev. J. Williams, New Haven, Sussex, Congregational Chapel..	2	0	8
Rev. E. Price, collection, Coverdale chapel, Limehouse	5	0	0
Martin Morant Munro, Esq.	5	0	0
Proceeds of Box at Mrs. Childs', Winchmore Hill	0	1	2
William Tuok, Esq., Bath	0	10	0
Per "Morning Star," Mr. Walter Ludbrook's collection, made by working people at Milton Hall, Camden Town	1	14	0
Rev. J. S. Nightingale, Iburndale, near Whitby	0	10	0
Dr. J. Epps, per F. W. Chesson, Esq. Collection at Exeter Hall, per T. A. Burr, Esq.	0	5	0
Mr. T. B. Bell, Barrow Isle, Barrow in Furness, Lancashire	15	0	0
R. Peek, Esq., Hazlewood	0	5	0
Jno. Alsop, Esq., collections made at Salem Congregational Chapel, (Rev. W. Currie, Pastor)	1	1	0
Sale of "Freed-man" per Mr. Partridge	3	15	6
Rev S. Garratt, M.A.	4	13	7
Mr. Jno. F. Linden, Alfred Place, Bedford Square	1	1	0
G. Joseland, Esq., Worcester.	0	2	6
Rev. E. W. Shalders, B.A., Rochester	0	10	0
Benjamin Scott, Esq., Chamberlain of London (for Jamaica.)	12	0	0
Rev. W. Cooke, D.D.	10	0	0
Congregational Church, Weybridge	0	10	0
Joseph R. Lower, Esq., Tonbridge	2	2	0
Edward Smith, Esq.	0	10	0
Handel Cosham, Bristol	0	10	0
J. P. Bacon, Esq.	3	3	0
Dr. Epps, per F. W. Chesson, Esq. ..	5	0	0
Wm. Shaen, Esq., M.A.	0	5	0
Mrs. P. Taylor, Hon Sec. of the "London Negro Aid Society" per Miss Remond, to be forwarded to Mr. S. May, Junr., Boston, U.S.	2	0	0
G. Thomas, Tredegar	22	0	0
	1	0	0

Per Clogher Anti-slavery Association:

Anketell Moutray, Esq.	2	0	0
Mrs. Thomas Moutray	1	0	0
Mrs. R. Waring Maxwell	1	0	0
J. J. O'F. Carmichael Ferrall, Esq.	0	10	0
Miss Hornidge	0	5	0
Whitney Moutray, Esq.	0	5	0
Mrs. Ellison Macartney	0	5	0

DUNDEE SUBSCRIPTIONS, per P. WATSON and J. HENDERSON, ESQRS.

£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
John Leng, Esq...	1 1 0	W.R. Morison, Esq	5 0 0	Mr. Farquharson	0 5 0
Rev G. Gilfillan...	0 10 0	Alex Low, Esq ...	5 0 0	Mr H Jack... ..	0 5 0
Wm. Scott, Esq...	2 0 0	E. Caird, Esq ...	5 0 0	Mr W Taylor.....	0 5 0
P. Anderson, Esq	1 1 0	A. Brown, Esq ...	5 0 0	A young Friend,	
J. Mills, Esq	1 1 0	J. Guthrie, Esq ..	5 0 0	Blairgowrie ...	0 5 0
Ed. Caird, Esq ...	1 0 0	A. Guthrie, Esq ...	5 0 0	Collected at Meet-	
Thos. Bell, Esq ...	1 1 0	A. Adie, Esq.....	5 0 0	ing at Ward	
A. Henderson, Esq	1 1 0	J. Adie, Esq.....	5 0 0	Chapel	0 9 9
Alex. Low, Esq...	1 0 0	T. Brongh, Esq...	5 0 0	Two Friends,	
Thos. Couper, Esq	1 1 0	J. Grimond, Esq...	5 0 0	Bro'ty Ferry	0 5 0
Alex. Berrie, Esq	1 1 0	Wybrants, Bros...	5 0 0	Mr. R. Swinton...	0 5 0
J. H. Bell, Esq ...	1 1 0	J. Ramsay, Esq...	5 0 0	Mrs. Mathers.....	0 5 0
R. M. Gavin, Esq	1 1 0	J. Ewan, Esq.....	5 0 0	Mr. Gourlay ...	0 5 0
W.R. Morison, Esq	1 1 0	D. Martin, Esq ..	5 0 0	C.	0 2 6
G. Armitstead, Esq	1 1 0	G. Rough, Esq ...	4 0 0	X X Mechanic ...	0 2 6
R. M.	0 10 0	P. Scott, Esq.....	3 0 0	A Friend.....	0 2 6
Mrs. Gardner.....	3 0 0	A. J. Buist, Esq.	2 0 0	A Friend.....	0 1 6
D. Ogilvie, Esq...	1 0 0	J. Moir & Son ...	2 0 0	Balance from.....	0 5 0
J. Cunningham, Esq	1 0 0	F. Henderson, Esq	1 1 0	Alex Eason.....	2 0 0
H. G. Dou, Esq...	1 0 0	J. Henderson, Esq	1 1 0	W Martin, jr. Esq	3 0 0
H. Walker, Esq...	1 1 0	H. Henderson, Esq	1 1 0	Workers at Tay-	
Geo. C. Keiller...	0 10 6	B. A. Mudie, Esq	1 1 0	bank works per	
Cox, Brothers ...	1 0 0	J. H. C.	1 1 0	A. Crichton ...	0 14 8
A Friend	5 0 0	G. C. Keiller	1 0 0	Constitution road	
Wm. Lowson, Esq	2 0 0	Alex. Gibb.....	1 0 0	Baptist Chapel,	
G. Rough, Esq ...	1 0 0	John Adam	1 0 0	per I. Lamb ...	15 5 1
Thos. Smith	1 0 0	Wm. Gellatly ...	1 0 0	Mr. D. Bruce jr.,	0 10 0
Mr. R. Powell ...	0 2 6	R. Anderson	1 0 0	A Friend.....	3 3 0
A Friend	0 1 0	Mrs. R. Anderson	0 10 0	Mr. H. Smith, sen.	2 0 0
W. E. Baxter, Esq.,		Bap. Ch. Tayport,		J. Carmichael, Esq	10 0 0
M.P.	1 1 0	Mr. Stewart	1 0 0	Thos Dick.....	0 5 0
E. Baxter, Esq ...	3 3 0	Power Loom work-		Tay square, U.P.	
F. Henderson, Esq	1 0 0	ers at Messrs.		Church, per Rev	
P. Watson, Esq...	5 5 0	Gilroy's, & Mr.		M. Gavin	4 0 1
H.B. Fergusson, Esq	1 1 0	Kiddie	6 17 9	A. M. Walter, Esq	2 2 0
Mr. Mackie	1 1 0	Workers at Wallace		W.W. Cooper, Esq	2 2 0
A.D. Grimond, Esq	5 5 0	Works Calender	2 5 6	J. Spence, Esq ...	2 2 0
E. Baxter, Esq ..	40 0 0	Workers at Ramsay		J. Durham, Esq...	2 2 0
A.D. Grimond, Esq	20 0 0	Works, & R.		James Low, Esq	0 10 0
A. Henderson, Esq	20 0 0	Fergusson, Esq	1 17 0	J. Henderson, Esq	0 10 0
Cox, Brothers.....	20 0 0	Weavers & Spin-		D. Farquharson, Esq	0 5 0
John Sharp, Esq	20 0 0	ners at Bank Mill	1 2 1	H. Henderson, Esq	0 10 0
P. Watson, Esq...	15 0 0	Alex. Berrie, Esq	10 0 0	Mr. J. Robertson	0 5 0
D. Ogilvie, Esq ...	15 0 0	James Mills, Esq	7 0 0	L. A.	1 0 0
Alex. Moncur & Son	15 0 0	Alex. Keiller, Esq	5 0 0	Balance from ...	0 8 4
W. E. Baxter, Esq		Wm. Keiller, Esq	2 0 0	Spinners at Messrs	
M.P.	10 0 0	T. Shepherd, Esq	2 2 0	Gilroy's per Mr.	
P. Anderson, Esq	10 0 0	J. Henderson, Esq	1 1 0	I. Dron	6 17 4
H.B. Fergusson, Esq	10 0 0	A Friend	1 0 0	Ward Chapel, per	
J. Cunningham, Esq	10 0 0	J. Christie, Esq.,		the Rev Robt.	
H. Smith & Co....	10 0 0	M.D.	1 0 0	Spence	1 7 3
H. P. Ree & Co ...	10 0 0	Workers at Wal-		Mr. J. Johnston...	0 5 0
J. Henderson & Sons	10 0 0	lace Works, &		J. V. Shaw, Esq...	2 0 0
Kinmond, Luke		J M Bruce.....	6 0 6	Workers at Bow-	
& Co.	10 0 0	Workers at Ver-		bridge works,	
John Gordon & Co	10 0 0	dant Works &		per J. McKenzie	7 5 0
A Friend	10 0 0	J E Webster...	3 10 0	Friends, per Rev	
Mrs. Capt. Scott...	10 0 0	A Friend	0 3 0	R. H. Irvine...	0 8

DUNDEE SUBSCRIPTIONS (Continued.)

Balance of Subscriptions from workers at Bow-bridge, per J. McKenzie ... 0 13 0	Alex. St. Clair ... 1 1 0	Bank Interest ... 0 2 0
Workers at Seafield works, per Mr. D. Fairweather 13 12 0	Wm. Lawson 8 0 0	Total..... £578 14 10
	J. Mc Donald ... 2 0 0	Expenses..... 16 11 2
	Shiell and Small 10 10 0	
	J. W. Miln..... 2 0 0	Amount remitted to London... £562 3 8
	G. B. Brand, Kiermuir 1 0 0	

List of Contents of Box sent by the Rev. R. ASHTON for Freed-men's Aid Society.

NEW ARTICLES.	SECOND HAND GARMENTS	
8 Flannel Petticoats	6 Coats. 7 Waistcoats,	3 Skirts. 4 Shirts
8 Chemises	5 Pair Trowsers	11 Pair Stockings
1 Alpaca Gown	10 „ Drawers	1 Nightshirt
4 Warm Frocks	4 Vests	2 Gowns. 12 Collars
5 Petticoats	1 Holland Coat	2 Shawls. 2 Cravats
1 Cape	10 Children's Frocks	1 Counterpane
1 Pinafore	2 „ Petticoats	8 Pairs Boots and Shoes
		Some Dimity Bed-furniture

Per Rev. J. CUEWEN. (Value £22 18s. 3d.)

5 Women's Linsey Dresses	2 Women's Linsey Petticoats	11 Children's Scarlet Petticoats
10 Children's do	24 do Scarlet & Flannel do	42 Womens' Chemises
9 Flan. Jackets for Hospitals	7 do White do	12 Children's do
8 Calico do.	8 Children's do	7 Pairs Men's Boots

Inventory of Clothes sent from the Freed-Men's Circle, Mile End New Town Congregational Church, London, the Rev. W. TYLER, Pastor.

7 Flannel Shirts	3 Shirts, 3rd size	1 Pair Stockings
25 „ Petticoats	6 do 4th do	4 Neckties. 1 Pair Stays
14 do 2nd size	29 Chemises, various	6 Pinafores. 4 Comforters
9 do 3rd do	3 Print Jackets	2 Chemises
8 do 4th do	2 Children's do. 1 Coat	2 Small Shirts
1 Pair Flannel Drawers	1 Pair Trowsers	3 Skirts. 1 Frock
6 Shirts	4 Waistcoats	1 Handkerchief
12 do 2nd size	1 Coloured Shirt	3 Rugs

From Stoke Newington. (Value £20 18s. 7d.)

6 Skirts, union linsey	2 Small Frocks, print	2 Babies' Hoods.
12 Jackets do	2 Skirts	13 Neckties
4 Shirts do	2 Jackets do	9 Women's Chemises
20 Skirts, grey flannel	1 Small Frock do	12 Girls' do
11 Jackets do	7 Pinafores do	15 Babies Shirts
4 do Foolard	12 Frocks and Pinafores	4 Pair Shoes
2 Skirts do	11 Jackets and Skirts	8 Children's Chemises
6 Large Frocks, gingham	24 Aprons. 2 Skirts	2 Skirts print
4 Small do do	8 Jackets. 2 Scotch Caps	4 Jackets do

Miss UMBER's Grant. (Value £10.)

9 Men's Shirts, Calico	9 Children's Petticoats do	14 Petticoats, linsey
40 Red Flannel Vests	11 Women's Chemises calico	18 Jackets do
3 Baracotes, do	1 Girls do do	2 Small Petticoats striped

From MARGARET BARCLAY, 96 Work Bags fitted up. (Value £5 12s.)

From ANN FOWLER, (Value £6 11s. 4d.)

9 Pair Trowsers	1 Small Frock.	6 Flannel Frocks
4 Chemises. 3 Skirts	1 Pinafore	1 Cloth Jacket.
3 Jackets. 4 do print	23 Skirts	1 do old

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THE FREED-MAN.

JAMAICA IN 1831-2, AND JAMAICA IN 1865-6.

BY J. HODGKIN, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

HISTORY, it has been justly said, is Philosophy teaching by examples. Shall it teach us in vain? Different in many respects as was the Jamaica Insurrection of 1831 from the Jamaica Outbreak of 1865, there are some points of resemblance in their antecedents and in the attendant circumstances: may there be also similarity in some at least of their consequences! In each case there was a sense of wrong which exasperated the Negroes. In 1831, it was the refusal of their usual Christmas holidays and the idea, a mistaken idea it is true, that the order for Emancipation had actually come out from England but had been withheld. (See Parliamentary Papers for 16th March, 1832, No. 285, quoted in Anti-slavery Reporter and in Sir T. F. Buxton's life, page 279.) In each case the outbreak was visited with summary punishment by military authority, and in the latter case especially it would not be going too far to say that the atrocities of the whites greatly exceeded those of the blacks.

Now as to the consequences. The Rebellion of 1831 was followed by the Act of 1833 for the entire abolition of slavery, not in Jamaica only, but throughout the whole of the British colonies. May the recent outbreak be followed by the inauguration of an improved system of government, legislation and finance, in reference to all our colonies in which there is a negro population.

It is true that we have not now to get rid of actual slavery anywhere—but we have still to get rid of some of its bitter fruits. And in order to attain this result, we have need not only of some fresh legislative provisions but, which is of still more importance, of a better government administration and also of better feeling and more christian conduct on the part of the whites towards the blacks. And herein we have much to learn from past failure and much to encourage us from partial success in our own colonies and also from the remarkable results which have in many places in the Southern States of North America attended the efforts of both private and national philanthropy, for substituting well-paid free labour and its appliances or self-supporting enterprise, in the room of slave labour. I may acknowledge that when I hear the United States

arraigned for not doing more to raise the condition and *status* of the four millions of blacks who have been emancipated by the war to the level of their white fellow-citizens, I am ashamed to think how little has been done or even attempted by us in the same direction during the thirty-three years which have elapsed since the passing of the Abolition Act. I fear it must be confessed that whilst our work has been much easier than that of the Americans, our results have as yet been inferior. Have not we as a nation been sleeping as if there was nothing for us to do but to "rest and be thankful" and as if, slavery being abolished, all would go right of itself; as if having paid our twenty millions to the whites we had no debt to discharge to the blacks, and as if the respective claims and interests of the two different races would take care of themselves and all spontaneously grow together into a harmonious whole?

I am well aware that, for a few years, our government appointed stipendiary magistrates, who assisted in settling some of the disputes between planters and labourers, and were no doubt of considerable service in aiding the transition from one system to another. But this protective provision has long since been abandoned. I also know that Missionary Societies, School Societies and the Bible Society have done much to enlarge the intellect and to raise the social and religious condition of thousands and tens of thousands of the Negro population of our different colonies; and I am further aware that the Anti-slavery Society has from time to time interfered as a vigilant advocate of the Negro race, and when any special case of hardship has occurred has pleaded the cause of the oppressed at the Colonial Office: but herein the labour has often far exceeded the result, and the simple answer, "Your case is on *ex parte* evidence," has been often the only reply which these persevering applicants for redress have received to their earnest appeals. I remember being very much struck with the statement made to me by a distinguished friend of mine who filled the office of Under-Secretary of the Colonies some thirty years ago, that about an hour a week was as much as it was possible for the Chief Secretary to devote to each colony over which he was exercising imperial sway at the distance of thousands of leagues in the East or the West. What wonder if, under such circumstances, much of oppression and wrong, even if brought to the ears of the Government, should pass wholly unredressed! Have the British Government and Legislature and the British nation ever been fully alive to the vastness of the work to be accomplished in our colonies since the abolition of slavery; have they considered how difficult it was eight centuries ago even in our own favoured England to bring two races, the Norman and the Saxon, to work cordially together as one nation of free men? How much patience, how much patriotism, how much statesmanship was needed before they were in harmonious action as a united people! And the far greater natural and inherent difficulties of such a fusion as that between blacks and whites have, in Jamaica and in some of our other colonies, been further increased by the excessive desire on the part of the planters to obtain additional labourers and to have a class of work-people over whom

they might exercise a control as nearly as possible resembling that of the owner over his slave. Add to this, the taxation of the island has been enormous and the negro population have borne a large proportion of that very taxation which has been imposed for the purpose of paying the expenses of introducing Coolies and Chinese, whose immigration has unnaturally kept down the wages of the Negro to a point which has prevented his acquiring property and rising in the scale of society. Thus has he been oppressed at both ends.

In all these respects and in providing allotments or in fact small farms, the purchase of which on easy terms is placed within the reach of the emancipated, the Americans have set us an example worthy of imitation.

The outbreak in Jamaica ought then to awaken us from our lethargy; and if we do our part it may yet be seen that out of the terrible wickedness and miseries which have marked the close of the past year in that beautiful island, God may bring forth blessings for her population, both white and coloured, of which we and our rulers are unworthy. Thus did the dread of civil war in Ireland lead to the abolition of Roman Catholic disabilities. Thus again did the potato famine in that land lead not only to the passing of the Encumbered Estates Act there, but to the introduction of free trade throughout the United Kingdom.

I have been one of those who doubted whether it was well that the [British and Foreign] Freed-Men's Aid Society should undertake the cause of the Freed-men in our colonies, in addition to the arduous work which it originally chalked out for itself in reference to the emancipated millions of the United States. But as it has done so, I cordially wish it success in its efforts; and I desire in conclusion to sketch a few of the principal features of the work which, as it appears to me, all who take an interest in the freed-men of our own colonial empire should set before themselves—a work in which Missionary Societies, the Anti-slavery Society, and the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society may all contribute their aid, and towards the accomplishment of which our Government and Legislature need the ceaseless stimulus of the healthy opinion and vigorous efforts of the British nation—an opinion and efforts which are never uttered or exerted altogether in vain.

As soon, then, as justice shall have been fearlessly, yet temperately exercised in punishing the authors of the atrocities inflicted on the coloured population of Jamaica, and in compensating as far as possible those who have suffered from them, and when a firm and mild administration shall have been established there, the attention of our Government should be called to the following practical measures of improvement:—

1st. The abolition of the fictitious stimulus given to the introduction of Coolie and Chinese labourers.

2nd. The abolition of the fiscal arrangements by which the revenue raised to supply funds to encourage this immigration is thrown to so large an extent on the very class whom the immigration injures by unnaturally lowering the price of labour.

3rd. The removal of the unjust and injurious operation of an exclusive State Church, which has discouraged and impaired the missionary efforts of the various bodies of Christian Dissenters, who are practically the main civilizers and evangelizers of the coloured race. Such a system is sufficiently oppressive in our own long-settled, wealthy, and aristocratic country, but it is wholly out of place in a comparatively new country, and a country moreover in which the bulk of the population, if it become Christian at all, must become so by the operation of kindness, justice, and religious impartiality.*

4th. The general establishment of free trade, and, as far as possible, of free ports.

5th. The raising of the standard of education for all classes, the labouring class more especially, as is effected in degree at least through the operations of the Committee of Council of Education in this country, and still more completely by the Government system of education in Canada.

6th. The making of grants of land of moderate extent to the coloured inhabitants on reasonable terms, as is now being done with such manifest advantage in several of the Southern States of North America.

Lastly, in addition to all these reforms, and as promoting and assisting them all, vigorous endeavours must be used to awaken and keep alive in the Government and in the nation at large a just sense of what is due from the mother country to her colonies, and especially to the ignorant and degraded coloured inhabitants whom the iniquitous system of the slave trade and slavery introduced into those colonies.

How much might a spirited and able press accomplish herein. May the **FREED-MAN** have its full share of the labour, the success, and the praise of this great work.

THE REV. WILLIAM BROCK.

The Rev. William Brock, D.D., of Bloomsbury Chapel, London, left England per the "Scotia," which sailed April 21st, for the United States of America. Dr. Brock has been an unwavering, earnest and eloquent advocate of the freed-men of America, and a staunch friend of the Union during the terrible civil war. He is warmly and affectionately commended to the friends of humanity and liberty on the other side of the Atlantic. Dr. Brock has been from the first a member of the Council of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society, and was also a member of the Committee of Correspondence on American Affairs, in connexion with which and the Emancipation Society, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher addressed the British public in the metropolis of our country.

* We are anxious to keep clear of political and ecclesiastical questions on which our countrymen are conscientiously divided, and to stir up all parties to the work of christian philanthropy. We have, however not felt at liberty to suppress any of Mr. Hodgkin's views.—Ed.

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JAMAICA EVIDENCE.

II.

In all exaggeration there is weakness. The simplest statement is the most convincing. We felt a degree of uneasiness in the perusal of the last number of the *FREED-MAN* that we should have given currency to the story that a British soldier sworn to maintain the honour of his country had ordered his men to hang a company of negroes in a place of christian worship. We felt sure that the report of an act so gratuitously infamous would find no credence with our readers who judge of the conduct of men in civilized life by an ordinary standard. The tale we find however is too true.

COLONEL HOBBS has appeared before the Royal Commissioners to explain the part he took in the recent military expedition. He said he had nine men who had been tried by court martial shot at Fonthill, and three bodies hanged to a beam in Maclaren's chapel. The reason was he had been told that treason had been hatched there, and thought to hang them there would make a great impression. We are not surprised that the Colonel should volunteer the statement that "the only people he did not pity were the religious leaders."

Colonel Hobbs has not entirely lost the sense of shame. Though he expresses no regret for his atrocities, he has virtually tried to extenuate his acts by quoting the following extract from a despatch of Colonel Elkington, dated 11 a.m., 18th October :

"Dear Colonel—I send you an order to push on at once to Stoney Gut, but I trust you are there already. Hole is doing splendid service with his men about Manchioneal, and shooting every black man who cannot give an account of himself. Nelson, at Port Antonio, is hanging like fun, by court-martial. I hope you will not send us any prisoners. Civil law can do nothing. Do punish the blackguards well. "Yours in haste,

"JOHN ELKINGTON, D.A.G."

Colonel Hobbs, stimulated by this despatch from his superior officer, prevented all inconvenience arising from the charge of prisoners, by putting them instantly to death. "Finding their case clear, and being unable to take or leave them, I had them all shot."

The guilt of the negroes was made clear to the Colonel by a kind of intuition, and being so certain in his own mind, he dispensed with the formality of evidence.

On one occasion he spared six men who were taken without arms, but he regretted the circumstance afterwards, and felt that it would have been better to follow his instinct for blood. He says, "After this act of clemency so many persons gave themselves up, and hung about the camp, that he was afraid they would expose his force to danger."

The "splendid service" of Captain Hole, at Manchioneal, mentioned by Colonel Elkington, seems to have consisted to a considerable extent in the flogging of women. The negroes felt too much distrust to accuse themselves, he therefore ordered them to be scourged. "In all cases," he says, "the women were told that if they had hidden stolen property they would not be punished, but only in a very few instances did they avail themselves of this means of escape."

GENERAL NELSON, whose activity as military hangman gave such jubilant satisfaction to Colonel Elkington, explained the principle on which he acted in this indiscriminate slaughter. "Under martial law," he says, he assumed "that the whole population of St. Thomas-in-the-East were rebels till they proved their loyalty." It was under his orders that tried and untried prisoners were led out to witness the executions at Morant Bay.

It will be remembered that Governor Eyre said of General Nelson—"We never had a difference of opinion even upon the propriety or policy of a single act or movement, and the public service was consequently conducted not only satisfactorily, but *pleasantly*. Every movement has been made by Brigadier Nelson under my own personal instruction and approval; the whole responsibility of what has been done, therefore, rests upon me."

LIEUTENANT OXLEY says he took Paul Bogle's daughter for a guide, promising her £100 and the life of her husband if she would betray her father.

These military gentlemen claim to be the saviours of Jamaica, and have received in consequence the tribute of the admiration

and gratitude of the leading people in Kingstown.

It will be remembered that when their services were first brought under notice by the press, some of them made a hasty visit to this country. It was anticipated that they would receive some special mark of the Royal favour. Dr. Bowerbank worked incessantly to exhibit their claims to the consideration of their countrymen. The peril of Jamaica was represented as extreme. We heard of terrible carnage, "Eight miles of dead," and were left under the impression that these heroes of Morant Bay, Manchioneal, Stoney Gut, had displayed courage and fortitude equal to that of Leonidas, or of Williams of Kars. It now appears that the actual fighting was all on one side, and that the rebels made no more resistance than a covey of partridges.

We have no need to dwell on the particular instances of sickening inhumanity that are related by the officers in the burning of houses without regard to age, sickness, destitution, or the maternal sorrows which for a moment might have suspended conflict in the crisis of extreme danger. We look in vain for any trait of the noble or generous feeling that accompanies all true courage.

It is a peculiar feature in this Jamaica struggle that there is a disposition to make all responsible for the dangerous state of the coloured population who plead either for justice or humanity. The censure received originally by Dr. Underhill and Mr. Gordon is now transferred to Her Majesty the Queen and the Commissioners sent out in her name to make an impartial and careful inquiry.

Men who pride themselves on their superior intelligence maintain that Governor Eyre had not "lost his head." All the good he had accomplished by the burning of chapels and houses, the shooting and hanging of men without trial, and the flogging of women, has been lost already by the intervention of Sir H. Storks, Mr. Gurney, and Mr. Maule.

Mr. MILES, a planter and a magistrate of St. Andrew's, said that as soon as the people heard of the appointment of the commission, they refused to work, though previously they had been peaceable and industrious.

"The Rev. W. FOSBERG spoke to the alteration

that he had noticed in the demeanour of the native population since the news arrived that a royal commissioner was to be appointed and that Governor Eyre was to be suspended. Other witnesses stated that they had observed the same thing. Immediately before the news the native population had been remarkably peaceful.

Many of the Jamaica witnesses seem to be afflicted with a strange loss of memory and contradict themselves most flatly. Colonel Hobbs in particular disproved the statements given in his own despatches.

All the witnesses are agreed that the coloured population have been left to sink into a condition that if unchanged may involve all the inhabitants in common ruin. Many of the white people from whom we might have expected help in the work of restoration unconsciously betray a spirit that will rather enhance the difficulty of the task.

We find an undercurrent of lingering regret for the abolition of slavery. Freedom, according to the journalists inspired by Dr. Bowerbank, has done all the mischief. Hence the disposition to creep back stealthily to a state of slavery without the name. Mr. Harvey explains the process of re-enslavement in part. Writing from Kingstown, February 12, 1866, he calls attention to an Act passed by the Jamaica legislature for apprenticing to planters and other employers of labour, young persons of sixteen or thereabouts convicted of theft of ground provisions, canes, fruit (whether growing in enclosed or open land). Mr. Harvey says: "I need not point out to you and your readers the extreme danger of apprenticing young offenders to the very parties who are interested in the procuring their conviction, and who, as a class, including legislators, magistrates, and employers, have borne heavily and hardly on the labouring population of the island.

"Does it not seem perfectly obvious that if a compulsory term of restraint and servitude be inflicted on young offenders, it should be only for serious offences, implying the danger of lapsing into a criminal life, and that the sentence should be to reformatories, such as exist in our own country, and also, I believe, in this island? It will be dangerous,

indeed, to liberty, to ally the self-interest of the planter and the employer—the class which both defines offences, fixes the punishments, and administers the law—to this novel scheme of negro apprenticeship. I trust the danger needs only to be pointed out to be averted.

“I hope to have other opportunities of inquiry into this subject. In company with my friend, Wm. Brewin, I visited the gaol at Spanish Town this morning. We found nine or ten women, the majority of whom were undergoing sentences of three months’ imprisonment for larcenies of the kind above referred to—several of them with children in arms—for taking a sugar cane and eating it, or giving it to the child to suck while in the field at work. The total number of prisoners was about 60, including seven boys. A large proportion of the offences were of the above character, many of the commitments being signed by a few overseers holding the commission of the peace. The change in the law I have described, and its harsh administration in various places, have filled the gaols with 600 or 700 prisoners. The plantation watchmen are often constables, and are entitled to 2s. 6d. for each conviction.”

There will be no moral protection for these people but in the presence and influence of teachers and advisers like those whose self-denying philanthropy has constrained them to occupy the stations in the Southern States of America. They have no party spirit nor inveterate prejudices. Kind, judicious, and disinterested, they disarm the resentment of the dominant class and win the confidence of those who are weak, and inexperienced.

We observe that an evening journalist whilst referring to the susceptibility of the negroes and other inhabitants of Jamaica, to hope and fear, betrays himself an apprehension that really amounts to hallucination. Hundreds are stripped of their all—their houses are burned to the ground—their husbands, sons, or brothers are killed, and it is too evident that locally there are none to befriend them. This writer deprecates the interposition of what he calls “telescopic” philanthropists, from the apprehension that if we send either food or clothing, the 450,000 coloured people

in Jamaica will imagine they will have no more need to work. When a foolish tremor of this kind comes over a London editor, he ought to lay down his pen and go out into the fresh air.

A sound mind goes with a kind heart. The “field is the world.” Christianity makes us debtor even to the barbarian. Those who use the telescope to explore the most distant regions, use the naked eye in seeking out the abodes of wretchedness at home. At any rate, we can assure our editorial censor that the old and worn-out epithets that were used so freely against Clarkson, Wilberforce and Buxton, will not deter us from the attempt to remove in some degree the mass of ignorance, destitution and misery in Jamaica. We shall do something, if it should only be to preserve us from sinking into the callousness which, if it were to become universal, would make our country the scorn of mankind.—W.

MINISTERING CHILDREN.

We want to *educate the heart of every child in the families who read the FREED-MAN*. It will be a blessing to the youngest to take an interest in saving the “children of the needy.” The work is beginning. A young lady, the daughter of a minister, opens the correspondence in the following note:—

“To the Editor of the FREED-MAN.

“Colchester, April 2, 1866.

“Sir—Being very interested in the Freedmen’s cause, I wrote to Dr. Holbrook last week about prompting the children here in England towards helping the children yonder in America. He kindly answered my letter, and said he would forward it to you. He also sent me a copy of the FREED-MAN, in which I read the piece about “Our Children.” As you seem to wish for suggestions to help on this project, I take the liberty to send you some which I trust will shortly be carried out in this my native town.

“Could not a committee be formed of several ladies, with a treasurer to call the different members together at certain times, and to put to the question such suggestions as the following:—

“1. Shall some gentleman, who is well versed in the history of the Freedman, be

asked to address the children of all denominations in this town—telling them pleasing little anecdotes of the poor and suffering little ones over the other side of the water?

"2. Could not small boxes be at hand, so that after the lecture, any child who might wish to have one could come forward and receive one?

"3. Could not working parties be organized for the girls, to make children's clothing?

"4. Could not some boys either collect, buy, or make toys or writing books, pencils, or pens, slates, or such like?

"And, as one needs a small capital to set such things on foot,

"5. Would it not be worth the while of the Freed-men's Aid Society to furnish such committees with a little money to buy materials to work with, just at the beginning, and to buy boxes with?

"Trusting you will excuse my thus writing, and let me know what you think of these suggestions, "I remain,

"Yours truly devoted to this work,

"MARY H. DAVIDS."

Our reply is this :

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND—We think the suggestions are all good and practical. It is natural and kind that an English girl should think that a negro child ought to have toys; but if these are sent they must be put into the box quietly and with no expense to the Society. The rule of the Saviour is that we should do to others as we would they should do unto us. Now, my dear young friend, here is

AN EXTRACT FROM A LETTER

dated *Wilmington N. C., March 8, 1866:*

"You are aware that last spring General Sherman sent into this city and vicinity about 12,000 refuge freed-men. Full one-third of them died before summer was past. Very many of the deceased were parents. Some were the guardians and protectors of children whose parents had perished on the way. Consequently, crowds of orphan children were left to be provided for by charity. Most of these orphans are now in the city. In addition to these orphans & refugees, there are many whose parents

were living on plantations in this vicinity. These parents were either obliged to leave plantations on which they were residing, or the children were too young to be of valuable service to the planters, and were therefore turned adrift or thrown upon the Bureau, after their parents' death.

"The Bureau has no home in which to place them; consequently, they live about as they can. Some have found refuge in freed-men's families; some are staying with parties who cannot feed them: most are knocking about, starving and naked, becoming street children. Some of these orphans are very young, and are perishing through sheer want. Take a single instance, and it is only one of a score. Last sabbath afternoon, as I was returning home from meeting, a coloured man met me, and said he wished to call my attention to a case of suffering. Just across the river there were a father, mother and four children. The children were all small, the oldest not above ten years. The parents sickened and died a few weeks since. The children were left alone and lived alone. They were attacked with small-pox. Two days ago one of them died, and the other is still lying by the side of the corpse, sick with the small-pox; the other two are ailing, and will soon be down. There they are, the dead and the living; the dead unburied, the living starving, naked, sick; and none to care for them.

"Men and women are almost daily enquiring of me as to what they shall do with certain orphan children that have come under their hands. It seems to me that *these children should be gathered up and cared for until suitable homes can be found for them. They should be taken from the streets and placed under instruction.*"

WHAT WOULD YOU DO FOR THESE CHILDREN IF YOU WERE AT WILMINGTON?—What will you do for them here?—Begin to work—we will help you with a little money—and let your native town be made an example to all the towns in Great Britain.

We have a striking photograph of a little refuge negro boy just as he came into the camp in his shreds of clothing—We want to have a wood engraving made from it which would cost three pounds or sixty shillings. A gentleman

called at our office, 103 Fleet-street, and gave me one shilling—but where are the fifty-nine? If they are sent We will prepare an illustrated occasional paper for the use of our MINISTERS CHILDREN.—W.

WHAT CAN NOW BE DONE FOR JAMAICA?

The Committee of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society have recently held a conference with a few gentlemen, best conversant with the state of things both in the past and in the present, to ascertain how far it is practicable to render judicious and efficient help in Jamaica.

1. It is agreed by all that there is a large amount of destitution in the Island, especially in the districts where so many dwellings of the coloured people were burnt to the ground. However rude these tenements might be in structure, the occupiers of them *lost their all*, including clothing furniture and money.

2. There are no local funds available for the relief of the misery that undoubtedly exists. The expenses of the outbreak are more than can be met by the population already overburdened by various causes.

3. The houseless people without attention and a little help will flee to the woods, as far as possible from the civilization that they regard as hostile, and will soon relapse into a state of barbarism that will inevitably prove a source of trouble and danger in the future.

4. A small amount of aid promptly and quietly administered to prevent physical suffering, to inspire hope, and to stimulate to personal effort on the part of the destitute, would effect immense good, in allaying irritation and become the first step to improvement.

5. A fund for immediate relief can be administered by local agency, both discreet and trustworthy, without becoming a premium on indolence or exciting illusory expectations on the part of the destitute people. A committee will be formed in Jamaica to co-operate with the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society.

6. The decline in education has been caused mainly by the deteriorated material condition of all classes in Jamaica. Subscrip-

tions have fallen off in the support of schools. The grade of teachers has been lowered, in consequence, with the worst moral effects. There is moreover a great demand for what are called "pickaninnies" in the field—or for the labour of children. Cultivators have no great desire to educate children who are wanted for work. Parents for the same reason lean on them for support. Hence, to meet the necessities of the hour, the future of Jamaica is sacrificed at a terrible cost to all. Planters can be found to bear testimony that the coloured people have no desire for instruction, but on further enquiry it will be ascertained that education is offered, in some instances at the rate amounting to a third part of their earnings, and it is not to be wondered at that they prefer bread to learning.

7. We learn from impartial witnesses that the Moravian and New England teachers in Jamaica have the art of accomodating themselves to the condition of the people, which more formal instructors seem unable to acquire. They manage to *teach* and to *help* the children of the coloured people in a way that renders them peculiarly acceptable, and, in consequence, eminently successful.

8. The grand hindrance to improvement in the coloured population of Jamaica is the want of confidence in the white people. Their efforts for advancement have been thwarted systematically, variously, and in the most extraordinary manner. Something must be done to restore confidence and to gain the concurrence of the people in plans for the amelioration of their condition. Some contend that England has lost her enthusiasm for "doing good" in the form now required. We are not of this opinion. There are now, as in former times, those who will not be oversensitive either to ridicule or reproach if they can raise any portion of humanity from a condition of festering moral evil. We should like exceedingly to make this experiment, if only on a limited scale. There are districts in Jamaica in which no school can be found within six miles.

What if half a dozen of the tried and proved teachers in the Southern States of America could be sent to Jamaica just to show the way?—W

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ALL orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to ARLISS ANDREWS, 7, Duke Street, Bloomsbury.

MR. RIDLEY's letter received with thanks. It is in type, but must stand over.

WE shall be happy to hear further from Mr. Bourne.

MR. STEINTHAL and Mr. Joseph Waddington's communications are received with thanks.

The Freed-Man.

MAY, 1866.

"I have observed with satisfaction that the United States, after terminating successfully the severe struggle in which they were so long engaged, are wisely repairing the ravages of civil war. The abolition of slavery is an event calling forth the cordial sympathies and congratulations of this country, which has always been foremost in showing its abhorrence of an institution repugnant to every feeling of justice and humanity.—QUEEN VICTORIA.

DR. THOMAS HODGKIN.

It is with deep and heartfelt regret that we refer to the demise of the valued and beloved friend whose name we have placed at the head of this article. Most of our readers have already learned that a telegram dated "Jerusalem, 5th April," has been received in London, announcing the death of Dr. Hodgkin at Jaffa after a severe attack of dysentery.

By the removal of Dr. Hodgkin, the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society has lost one of its earliest and best friends, and the FREED-MAN one of its most willing and able contributors. It is an interesting fact, that the leading and valuable article in the present num-

ber by John Hodgkin, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, and of Lewes, was penned and in type before the melancholy intelligence of his brother's removal reached our shores. We have no doubt that the cause of the Freed-man, as well as those general philanthropic efforts in which Dr. Hodgkin took so large a share, will now have an additional and even a sacred interest for his surviving relative.

Our space will not allow of our recording all the services rendered to the Freed-man's cause by our deceased friend. Upon the arrival of Levi Coffin in this country, in June, 1864, it was at the residence of Dr. Hodgkin that the first large and influential meeting was gathered, which gave renewed and increased impetus to the efforts made on behalf of the American freed people in this country. Upon the return of Dr. Fred. Tomkins from his mission in the United States, on behalf of the Freed-men's Aid Society, the report of what he had witnessed amid the negro camps and schools and the coloured troops located in the Southern States was delivered to a large meeting under the presidency of Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., held at the hospitable residence of Dr. Hodgkin. The time, the wisdom, the influence, the very home of the departed were rendered not only without reluctance, but with a prompt generosity to the claims of humanity and the cause of the Freed-man. As a medical man, he oftentimes expressed his care for the health of those who were devoting themselves as he feared too strenuously to works of benevolence and freedom. His calm judicious mind and admirable temper, never ruffled in debate, won not only the confidence but even the

affection of all who were so happy as to have him for an associate. Upon the perpetration of the cruelties and massacres on the coloured people in Jamaica, although Governor Eyre was his personal friend, he at once espoused their cause. He favoured the writer of this brief and imperfect notice with a consultation extending over more than an hour, and rising superior to all sectarian prejudices declared his entire approval of the course taken by the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society, in relation to Jamaica. Warmly attached, as without doubt he was, to that generous and truly christian body, the Society of Friends, he was ever ready to ally himself with all true workers for human progress and human happiness. A lover of his country and a devoted member of the church to which he belonged, his heart and his sympathies embraced the whole race of man, whilst his piety was of that divine type that made it his happiness and his very joy to co-operate with all good men. In an interview, a few days before he left our shores to die in a foreign land, we were charmed with his calm and kindly manner, and with the brightness and almost youthful appearance of his countenance. It was the blush of a setting sun on a serene and cloudless atmosphere. "In Jesu obdormivit." And—

Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon fire is quenched in smoke,
The trumpet's silvery tongue is still,
The warder silent on the hill.

Dr. Hodgkin had proceeded to the East with Sir Moses Montefiore, on a philanthropic mission. Only a few months ago they visited Morocco together, and succeeded in inducing the

Sultan to make large concessions to his Jewish subjects. Dr. Hodgkin was one of the founders of the Aborigines Protection and the Ethnological Societies, an honorary secretary of the Geographical Society, a member of the Senatus of the University of London, and intimately connected with many other scientific bodies. He died in his sixty-eighth year. None more deeply deplore his loss than the officers and committee of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society. We desire to express our sincere condolence with the bereaved family.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society, held at 102, Fleet Street, on Monday, April 16th, 1866, Lord Alfred Spencer Churchill, F.B.G.S., in the chair, the following resolution, upon the motion of the Rev. John Waddington, D.D., seconded by Frederick Tomkins, M.A., D.C.L., Barrister-at-Law, was unanimously adopted:—"That this Society has received with feelings of the deepest sorrow, tidings of the sudden removal, by death, of its honoured and beloved fellow-labourer in the cause of the coloured man, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin. This Committee desires to place on record its obligations to the departed for the numerous and valuable services rendered to this Society by their late excellent friend and co-worker. Dr. Hodgkin's large-hearted benevolence and hospitality, his valuable counsel and ready pen, his undeviating attachment to the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society, and his courteous and christian temper can never be forgotten by the members of this committee whose happiness it has been to be associated with so gentle and good a man. This Committee would further express its unfeigned and deep sympathy with the bereaved widow and family, and instructs the Secretaries to forward a copy of this resolution to Mrs. Hodgkin with the fullest assurance of its affectionate regard and condolence."

Reviews.

President Lincoln Self-Pourtrayed. By John Malcolm Ludlow. London: Alfred W. Bennett, Alex. Strahan, Hamilton Adams & Co. Foolscap, 239 pp.

A melancholy interest attaches to the volume now before us. It contains in striking delineation the self-portraiture of one of the greatest and best of men that ever lived. Abraham Lincoln self-revealed stands before us in this instructive and charming volume—majestic in his own simplicity.

The book consists of three chapters; the first to the beginning of the war, April 14-15, 1861. The second, from the opening of the Civil War to the Emancipation Proclamation of Jan. 1st 1863. The third, from the Emancipation Proclamation of Jan. 1st, 1863, to Mr. Lincoln's death, April 15th, 1865. To these chapters an Appendix is added, entitled—"The Martyred President."

The substance of the volume consists of extracts from addresses and speeches of Mr. Lincoln, with a concise narrative of the American civil war, combined with the views and reflections of Mr. Ludlow upon the words and events he records. It is by no means an easy task to string together extracts from State documents and political speeches, and to present withal an interesting and attractive whole. Mr. Ludlow has done this. He has done more, he has given us a volume—a precious mosaic—every page of which has the force of truth and the charm of beauty. The author is one of the few educated and honourable minded men in our country who from the very commencement of the transatlantic struggle, rose superior to the drivelling fears of democracy which palsied the moral sense and dulled the intellect of too many from whom we expected better things. There is an incessive bravery about the book, that tells you at once that the writer is in the deepest sympathy with the great soul whom he portrays, and the cause for which the martyred one bled. This volume, as we read from page to page, reminds one of the Danish proverb, that "there is nothing got by lying, nor lost by praying." We wish that those "hounds of the press," whom Mr. Lud-

low severely censures, who were so long on a wrong scent themselves, and who for so long led many of our countrymen astray, could find leisure to read and ponder this volume. It would make, we think, many feel what we know some feel—that it is a bootless task to strive to write up oppression and falsehood and to write down liberty and justice. Some of our readers will remember the charming description which Goethe gives at the commencement of his *Faust* of the regret and indignant refusal of the theatre-poet when called upon by his mercenary employers to write to please the frivolous and debauched characters there described by the poet. True genius spurns the foul mean drudgery of the oppressor. Where are the defamers of President Lincoln now?—the men who spurned him as "rail-splitter, bargee, and village attorney." As though it were a disgrace to split a rail, or to scull a barge, or advise in a village. Is it no disgrace ignorantly to defame and blindly or wilfully to err? Has it become a cardinal virtue to utter that which a writer knows or might easily know to be false? We have been told by some who have knowingly published falsehood or suppressed truth, or who have written this leading comment, that our countrymen would have it so. We emphatically deny this. The corrupt tone of the lie does not yet, thank Heaven, characterize our countrymen. Tens of thousands of Englishmen at this moment feel they have been injuriously misled by a deceitful and a venal press. To those who have thus been required to regard Abraham Lincoln as an ignorant jesting buffoon, and to hear the American people, as a nation, declining into savagery, we heartily commend this volume.

We sometimes hear it stated that the Southern States had a right to secede. Mr. Lincoln in his first inaugural speech in 1861, demonstrated that they had no such right. "I hold," says he, "that in contemplation of universal law, and of the constitution, the union of these states is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination." Speaking upon constitutional controversies, Mr.

Lincoln said—"upon such questions we divide into majorities and minorities. If the minority does not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. . . . If a minority in such a case will secede rather than acquiesce they make a precedent which, in time, will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority."

The great work to which Abraham Lincoln set his hand was achieved before he was taken away. For as who knew him as a friend the words of Mr. Ludlow are like a healing medicament. Speaking of his death he says—"Shall we rebel and say that it was too soon?"

It is written; "When the fruit is brought forth immediately He putteth in the sickle because the harvest is come." Immediately; whether that sickle take the shape of disease or old age, or accident, or the assassin's pistol shot; immediately, for the Lord of the harvest knows without fail when the fruit is brought forth." His successor in his high office of state will do well to ponder the administration and the tragic end of his predecessor. Can it be that Andrew Johnson would hand over the Government of those United States to a Southern oligarchy without any guarantees for the perpetuation of that Freedom purchased at so costly a price? The forbearance of the victorious party in the United States upon the assassination of its great chieftain has only been equalled by its endurance in the hour of conflict and disaster. Our confidence in that party remains unimpaired. It has preserved its national existence; we now know it will be consistent and extend protection, education and the franchise to every male citizen in the South unstained by crime. Then shall the oppressions of a slave oligarchy, now broken and crushed, become impossible in the future. We commend this volume most cordially to our readers, and especially to the perusal of our young men.

The United States Constitution and the Secessionists. By J. W. Probyn. London: Savill and Edwards, Chandos Street, Covent Garden. 1866.

We recommend this able pamphlet to our

readers. Mr. Probyn is well acquainted with the subject upon which he has undertaken to write. He justly observes: "There is no good reason for a wretched display of petty jealousy between the mother country and her stalwart son. Their prosperity and friendship are mighty elements of the world's order, freedom and progress." As we believe this, we can say amen to the author's wish—"May brotherly union, with all its attendant blessings, be completely restored throughout the length and breadth of your vast dominion. May your future be yet greater and more prosperous than your past."

REV. ALFRED BOURNE, from whom we hope to hear further, says, in a note dated April 18, 1866, "There are small villages and settlements (away from the influence and opportunities of the towns) where gross darkness prevails, such as the agencies at present employed can hardly be expected to reach. I can point out spots where at this moment some such agency as that of the American and Moravian Missionaries might be advantageously employed. If you can find the right sort of men and set them wisely to work, you may do glorious things for Jamaica."

PER the "China," from New York, April 18th, we have the important intelligence that the House of Representatives, as well as the Senate, had passed the "Civil Rights Bill" over the President's veto by 122 to 41 votes. Thus, the sterling intelligence of the United States has again vindicated itself against the wavering President and the Southern faction. This vote proclaims and confirms citizenship to the coloured freed-men.

GENERAL HOWARD, in his speech, reported that he had official notice of seventy thousand negro children attending school in the southern states. He mentioned six coloured schools in one town, Tallahassee. Six years ago men were hanged and women imprisoned for teaching coloured children to read. Six years hence a great part of these very coloured people will be in the exercise of the elective franchise with the voluntary consent of the communities in which they live, and as the natural result of their intelligence, enterprise and good conduct.—*New York Evening Post.*

TEACHERS OF THE FREED-MEN IN AMERICA.

Not long ago the war news from America was read with feverish interest. The march of armies, with all that followed of carnage and desolation was tracked by millions of readers with the most absorbing attention. The campaigns of Christian philanthropy, though less exciting, we trust will be followed by many with deeper sympathy. The benevolent and thoughtful will not fail to mark what is passing in stations recently the scene of a conflict more costly and destructive than any we have known.

RICHMOND.—SARAH F. SMILEY says: "It is now (December, 1865) eight weeks since I first broke ground in this new and vast field. On my arrival, every thing looked disheartening: I saw many difficulties, heard rumours of strong opposition to our work, and the Bureau itself could promise little aid while all around was a struggling mass of suffering humanity.

"To secure a house was the first point, and aided by a gracious providence we are now enjoying one which proves entirely satisfactory; in the precise locality to suit our work and at a rent comparatively moderate. The next point was material for our work, as the absence of stores to work in connection with, involved a change of basis, this has been promised me by the Bureau, to make up and return for sale."

The Committee report on this movement: "Our recent visit to Richmond was exceedingly interesting and satisfactory. We found every department of our work under the care of Sarah F. Smiley and her six assistants, conducted with great energy and efficiency, as well as with the strictest economy. That work, which having its centre at Richmond, now extends throughout the State of Virginia into Tennessee. Our intercourse with the coloured people has tended in nowise to lessen our interest in a race whose patience in tribulation and exertions to sustain themselves, prove them worthy of receiving the priceless boon of freedom. Of 20,000 coloured people now congregated at Richmond, only 400, and these mostly superannuated, are now supported by the government: we saw no negroes lounging in the street, but all seemed busy and happy. They are both willing and desirous to labour, and consequently find many avenues of remunerative industry." Sarah F. Smiley continues:—

"While inspecting the Freed-men's Hospital at City Point some weeks since, I walked through the camp where were 1200 blacks. few of whom had work enough, while nearly all needed more clothing. I at once arranged with Captain Clayton, the superintendent there to send two of our number down. As soon as Mary Willets arrived, she and Flora Tilton left for this work, on the 28th ult. Captain Clayton kindly supplied them with all I asked for; a room, good fires and straw for a bed-sack, adding himself a guard to wait on them. If fitting out this expedition with baskets of food and bales of cloth caused some little bustle in our own household, it was nothing to the excitement their arrival produced in the camp. They were literally besieged for work, and could barely eat and sleep. The women sewed day and night. One poor creature whose stitches looked very bad, said 'Well, the men were so thick round the fire she couldn't get a fair chance at it to see.' M. W. and F. T. have been up once for fresh supplies, and will now stay till all are pretty well clothed, probably till the 16th. I have directed them to pack the garments made in barrels, and leave them under Capt. C.'s charge for shipment where you may direct. They also took down the clothing which I found needed in the Hospital there, and distributed it. The great success of this expedition will encourage me to others, and I have plenty of *volunteers* eager to go. This has been conducted without any increased expense.

"In the pressure of so many cares, I have had as yet little intercourse with this people individually, but now and then am cheered by glimpses of their simple faith. '*Zarunt, Madam,*' said an old grey-haired man with a head as fine as Webster's, as I was passing rapidly through a ward. I listened to a touch-

ing story of one who had suffered stripes for preaching Christ. But his closing words affected me much; 'and now I can do nothing but lie here with de rheumatism in my knees and de praises of Jesus in my heart.' Again, I was hurrying through a camp in search of a man to head a barrel, when a clear, rich voice caught my ear. There was a poor aunty scrubbing her empty room most vigorously, while with all the energy of her heart she sang

'There's none like Jesus.'

"I can feebly express the deepening interest I feel in this great work. Surely we have been remarkably cared-for, and prospered. All the southern men with whom I have had dealings have treated me with marked kindness. From our officials also, I have had many favors; Col. Brown has renewed his former kindnesses. Capt. White has rendered my business relations with him really agreeable. Dr. Delamater has obtained for my household a supply of bedding, new and not needed in the Hospital and from the Depot Quartermaster I have been able to obtain, by personal request alone, all the teams I wished for any purpose, which has saved many expensive items.

"Our family of seven will soon be complete, and a great work lies before us. I feel very desirous that our intercourse with this long-oppressed and still-oppressed people should tend to their help in heavenly as well as earthly things for in this respect the field is truly white unto the harvest."

LYNCHBURG.—"Here at last," writes Sarah F. Smiley, January 4th, 1866. "I had a great dread of coming alone, especially if I went further, so I took Mary Mead, and we arrived here safely last evening, just as the weather cleared beautifully in a glorious sunset over the Blue Ridge and peaks of Otter. This morning we found Capt. Lacy, who at once sent us in an ambulance to the Barracks, where our boxes had just preceded us. All were as kind as could be, in opening boxes and saving us steps, and we had everyone there pass before us in the store-room except the quite helpless, to whom we carried clothing. There was indeed great destitution. The first barrel which I sent had not yet been given out, and we felt the importance of a woman's care. The coloured people are doing nobly

here, trying to help themselves; but the women are behind the men. I am to have them called together on my return from the west, to give them some advice and encouragement, such as I gave in Danville, and which seemed to give them a lift. Many old men and women here, last summer have died. We saw one noble old man, not far from 7 ft. high, in mere rags and bare feet. Our No. 12's looked like baby shoes beside them, but I heard of a pair of No. 19's at the Commissary, which they were very glad to exchange. The old man had had a hard master, and been driven off 'without food enough to cover a pin.' But I never saw such a flash of joy as when I said, 'But, uncle, you have such a good, kind master now, and such a beautiful home up in heaven.' It was like lightning on a dark sky. 'Oh, Missus, it's *that*, it's *jes* *that*, that's 'stained me all along.' They all seemed so grateful, and we had a happy day indeed.

"I went down to the Tennessee River Railway depot this evening, and without any difficulty got another pass for Mary Mead and myself to Bristol, the end of that road, equal to 40 dollars. The superintendent said he was very happy to do it. So we shall press on. We can learn very little here, about the state of things there; there are *no* schools and *no* missionaries, is all we can learn. Mary Mead is busy boiling our eggs for to-morrow and getting up a commissary for a few days. It is a great help to have such a woman with me. We are both pretty courageous. I have thought often to-day of those noble words of Mary Lyon:—'There is but *one* thing that I fear, that I shall not *know* and do all my duty.' I feel anxious to reach first the right places."

CHATTANOOGA.—The expedition of Sarah F. Smiley and Mary Mead as described in their letters is full of interest; but our space is limited. At Roxville Sarah F. Smiley says: "Col. Henry is doing a great work, surrounded with great enmity than any agent. I have even known the poor blacks openly assaulted with clubs in the day-time, (one of them we saw with broken arm and bleeding head); he yet succeeds in keeping his ground. Altogether it was the most *hopeful* spot I have seen.

"We left next morning for Chattanooga,

where we heard of great suffering from small-pox. We again obtained tickets; the whole value of passes thus kindly granted to go and return was 126. 60 dollars and I think we might have gone on to New Orleans in the same way. Going down, I stopped at Loudon, and M. M. at Philadelphia. At the former place I found much suffering among about 300 coloured people, mostly "refugees off" from further south, and many of them lone mothers of large families, husbands lost in the army. All these small towns have been neglected by the superintendent of schools. I found about 30 children in a perfectly dark room, taught by a filthy mulatto. *It was bitter cold, but she opened the door a crack and stood the children in a streak of light to read.* I found in one room two women and nine children in a space less than ten feet square, with typhoid fever in their midst, and children crying for food. I never saw such wretched houses. I looked up the "head men" and had a long talk with them. They agreed to build a school-house, and I promised to see that they had a teacher, so that the other 30 children could go. The mulatto clears over 30 dollars a month. I left money with them to buy meal and a little rice, which the stewards of the church were to give in the most suffering cases.

"We found a family of teachers at Chattanooga but they were sorely crippled by the inefficiency of the secretary. In their small-pox hospital there were already 200 cases, and thirty waiting for admission. The clothing asked for long since by the teachers was a great disappointment. In Chattanooga a large college is to be erected for the Blacks on Mission Ridge—another great victory. With all our night travel, and rarely more than one regular meal a day, we both kept perfectly well, finding constant occasion of gratitude for the protection and loving-kindness that seemed to follow all our steps.

"We learned much from conversations with planters in the cars. One thing is certain, that the higher classes have no wish to return to the old system."

SUFFOLK, VA.—OLIVE ROBERTS says: "Jan. 17, 1866. I am well and in good spirits, and very deeply interested in my school, which now numbers seventy-six. Only think of that!

and if my school room was large enough I could have 100. By dispensing with the use of desks I can accommodate the present number, and perhaps a few more, tolerably well. The house is quite comfortable during pleasant weather, and we are hoping to have it made better soon.

"The coloured people are intensely interested, and are laying plans I believe to build a church."

SAVANNAH.—HARRIET JACOBS says, "Ten thousand four hundred coloured people are in the city. On the plantations on either side thousands more may be counted. These are the plantations given them by Gen. Sherman, to work for themselves three years, paying a certain percentage to the Government. By the order of the President, papers to that effect were given them by Gen. Howard, after the Bureau was organized. Now these people are found fault with for believing the government would help them. All the men that planted rice have done well; I am afraid they will not be allowed to plant again; next week will settle the point on many of the plantations. I hoped before this to have a place for the old people; the work is stopped for the want of shingles.

"You spoke of the people dying for want of food; I am sure many have died at the small-pox hospital for the want of attention and nourishment. They are carried five miles in the country, put in tents, without stores, scarce any bedding. More have died from exposure and starvation than from the disease. I have made soup and sent it, but you are not always sure they get it. To-day they are making new arrangements, I hope for the better. The people here don't seem to think coloured people should have any rights or wants. One great trouble; it is hard to find shelter for the people. They are not able to put up little shanties, rents are enormous, and there is no confiscated property.

"Jan. 9th, 1866. They are turning most of the people from the plantations. It is a pitiful sight to go down to the Bluff where the poor creatures are landed. You will see crowds of them huddled around a few burning sticks, so ragged and filthy they scarce look like human beings. Some of these people are from

Florida, some from Alabama, some from the upper country in South Carolina. They were carried to these places that they might be out of the Union army. Some of the river plantations that I visit are sending off all that will not make yearly contracts. The old men and women are not considered. Some of the conditions of these are very unjust. They are not allowed to have a boat or musket. They are not allowed to own a horse, cow, or pig. Many of them already own them, but must sell them if they remain on the plantations. I was on one plantation where the master owns three hundred acres of rice land. He wants to employ thirty hands; make the contract by the year, at ten dollars per month; gives them rations and four dollars a month out of their wages. When the crop is laid by, the master has two-thirds, the labourer has one-third, deducting the pay for the rations. Many of the freed people are leaving this place. There was an interesting school here, but it has been broken up."

GEORGIA.—"SAVANNAH, Feb. 9th, 1866. I must tell you about my island poor: they have increased in numbers, mostly women and children. They are not allowed to plant, and are expecting every day to be driven off. These are the poor creatures from the interior of South Carolina; they did not know they were free last month. When I asked some of them why they left the country and came to the city where it is so hard to get work, they said 'Massa neber tell us freedom come till New Year day, then he say you may stay and work as you hab done; I want to hab no hired free nigger around me; den we lefgo to de Yankee quarters to ax bout our free time; he tell us dat we had Linkum freedom long afore dis time; dey send us to Hilton Head, and say we must go to Georgia and work for de Buckras, and dey see us paid.'

"One old woman making a low curtesy said 'We hear miss ob de kind tings you hab sent to de poor; we come to beg for any ting you can spare.' The sight of warm under-clothing such as she had never owned, and a new dress, made the old woman so happy; after repeated thanks, she said, 'If you'll pray for yourself, I will ax de Massa to bless you here and sabe you to glory.'"

FORTRESS MONROE.—Nellie L Benson writes, "Jan. 20, 1866. This month I began my labors as missionary in earnest, visiting the suffering, and giving them tickets for bedding and clothing. Our supply was soon exhausted, and I hardly know how to tell you of the distress I am daily obliged to witness, with no power to relieve it. I go into a cabin and find a woman with four or five little ones, who have been crying all night with the cold. They have no wood for a fire, and very little clothing. There are many such instances. The people do all the work they can find to do, but at present prices can hardly feed themselves. In one cabin I found a woman with an infant of four weeks. The child had never been dressed, for the mother had no clothes for it. She wrapped it in an old tattered shawl, and when I entered, was cowering with it over the few brands that were burning on the hearth. These were the last of her supply. In cabin after cabin I find the children out of school, because they have neither shoes nor clothing. In one room I found a little girl sick with dropsy, a poor patient little sufferer; she was feverish, and needed something tart, or a little fruit; another little girl, covered with scrofulous sores, wanted some white bread and a loose gown.

"We are much in need of sewing materials, for the Industrial school—thread, needles, buttons, tapes, hooks and eyes, scissors, and thimbles. I consider this work an important one, as these people know nothing of cutting or making, or even mending; when we give them a garment a little too loose or too long, it is worn just as it is.

"The people have improved since I came, and if they had a fair chance would do well. The abandoned lands are fast passing back into the hands of their former owners, who are not disposed to help their former slaves to take care of themselves. It is a mystery to me how they live at all. Every day makes their prospects worse. Here and there one makes a little money, but a large majority suffer, and must suffer. I go about empty-handed, with only words of counsel and sympathy, till I am sick at heart, and each night I return weary from my five or six miles walk feeling that I have accomplished nothing.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY.

A meeting in furtherance of the objects of this invaluable society was held on Thursday evening, April 12, at the Lecture Hall, Ipswich, the President of the society—Lord Alfred S. Churchill—occupying the chair. There were also present—F. Tomkins, Esq. M.A., D.C.L., (one of the secretaries), the Rev. John Gay, the Rev. E. Jones, W. D. Sims, Esq., F. Alexander, Esq., the Rev. J. Cox, &c.

The Chairman briefly expressed his pleasure in being called upon to attend that meeting. He said there was no subject which created more interest in this country than the question of the freed negroes. He commenced by referring to the civil war in America, which lasted four years, and was occasioned by disputes as to the slave question, the result of which, he was glad to say, was the triumph of the northern over the southern cause. There are, he said, some four millions of freed negroes who have been suffering slavery, in order to cultivate the grounds of the southern states, and the people of England might be considered, to a certain extent, to have promoted the system, through the extraordinary demands for their produce, which evidently tended to stimulate the development of slavery. Therefore they must consider that they had a great duty to perform in making some return to this unfortunate people. There had been a Freed-Men's Aid Society formed in the northern states by some philanthropic individuals, and the assistance this country could afford might be either pecuniary or by forwarding clothing for those who needed them. He reminded the meeting of the liberality of the Americans in sending over provisions for the Lancashire operatives during the cotton famine. [Hear, hear.] That was one reason why they should endeavour to make a return for their kindness. Another reason was the noble gift made to the poor of London by Mr. Peabody, amounting to upwards of £250,000. [Applause.] The chairman then briefly alluded to the good work done by the society during its three years of existence. Referring to the recent outbreak in Jamaica—which island had belonged to this country for upwards of 200 years—he said this was not the first,

for there had been no less than twenty-eight disturbances, all occurring whilst the negroes were in slavery, and caused by the tyranny of hard task-masters. The chairman then drew attention to the cause of the last outbreak, stating that there had evidently been a mal-administration of justice. There had also been, he said, a great cry among the negroes for what are called "back lands"—lands situated behind the great plantations of the planters. Dr. Underhill, he contended, had done right in forwarding his letter to Mr. Cardwell, and the charges made by Mr. Eyre against him for creating the outbreak had no foundation in fact. There appeared to be no evidence whatever to show that the outbreak had been instigated by Mr. Gordon; but on the contrary, there had been 1,000 houses burnt down belonging to these unfortunate people, the value of which would amount to about £1,000, exclusive of furniture. The chairman then said the purpose for which the subscriptions would be applied, would be in providing such institutions as an orphans' asylum, or some permanent school, which would enable them to teach these people. The noble chairman, after some further remarks, moved the following resolution:—

"That this meeting, having in view the interests of the coloured population of Jamaica, has considered the new constitution for the better government of that colony, as provided by Act of Parliament, and while giving a general concurrence to its main provisions, it desires to express a hope that the governor's council may be composed, as far as possible, of those who are believed to be unprejudiced against the negroes, and that if necessary the members of the new executive government may be sent direct from this country.

"That a copy of the foregoing resolution be presented to the Secretary of State for the colonies."

Fred. Alexander, Esq., hoped that that meeting would be of a somewhat practical character and having expressed his thanks to Lord Alfred Churchill for attending the meeting, stated his willingness to start a subscription by putting his name down for £10. [Applause.]

W. D. Sims, Esq., had great pleasure in

seconding the resolution brought forward by the noble lord, which was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Dr. Fred. Tomkins then addressed the Meeting at considerable length. He said he rose to speak with feelings of the most pungent regret, for he had not long since learned that they had lost a valued and excellent friend of the Society in the late Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, so suddenly removed from their midst. He regretted the unfortunate outbreak in Jamaica, and the sad loss of life, both of whites and blacks. There was no justifying outrage and murder, by whomsoever perpetrated. All right-minded men must regret the gloomy termination of the career of Governor Eyre. But the Society he represented had nothing to do with political questions. The poor people for whom he pleaded were in circumstances of the greatest possible want, and suffering, and ignorance. The emancipated slaves claimed protection at the hands of christian England, and they needed social, mental, moral and religious culture. Their case was that of the poor and the weak appealing for help to the well-to-do and the powerful. England had never turned a deaf ear to such a cry. There had been, he said, quoting an American account, no less than 50,000 black people in America educated in reading, writing, &c., by the benevolent efforts of the people of this country. There was, however, one question relative to the education of the negro, namely—Can you, with all your efforts, make a man of him? Has he the progressive improvement and the power that characterize the white man? The speaker proved that it was possible, and gave illustrations of what he had witnessed, in relation to the negro, in different parts of the world. He had no doubt but that the negro possessed just the same feelings and love for improvement as the white man. All that he asked for them was that they should be helped in their present distress, and then have "a fair field and no favour." People complained that they had so little information, and for this they were themselves to blame. When they desired full information, the press would supply it. He criticized certain articles which had appeared in some of the newspapers, par-

ticular the *Times*, though he did not blame the *Times* so severely; because the *Times* avowed that it wrote to please its readers. It did not profess to give "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." It was not the corrupt tone of the lie that marked the *Times*. It was simply devoid of any moral aim. It suited itself to the whim, the caprice or the prejudice of the passing hour. Its rule was like that of the Lesbian architect which was made of lead and bent to the occasion. In conclusion he begged to say there was one lady in Ipswich—Mrs. Alexander—who had promised to give £50 to their society, on condition that £200 could be raised. He acknowledged the sum of £5 from Mr. Harwood, who he said was prevented attending.

The Rev. J. Cox, next made a few appropriate remarks.

The Rev. E. Jones proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was seconded by Mr. W. D. Sims, and warmly carried.

The Chairman returned thanks.

A collection was made at the doors.

RECEIPTS FOR MARCH & APRIL.

ABERDEEN—1st Subscription List.

	£	s.	d.
George Thompson, jun.	...	...	10 0 0
William Adamson	...	...	5 0 0
Francis Edmond	...	...	5 0 0
William Henderson	...	...	5 0 0
Neil Smith, jun.	...	...	2 0 0
James Aiken, jun.	...	...	1 1 0
Henry Adamson	...	...	1 1 0
Alex. Nicol	...	...	3 3 0
R. B. Horne	...	...	1 1 0
James Buyers	...	...	2 2 0
John T. Rennie	...	...	1 1 0
John Blaikie	...	...	1 1 0
Friends	...	...	1 1 0
F. G. Cochran	...	...	3 3 0
D. Rose & Co.	...	...	3 3 0
A. Brand	...	...	1 1 0
John Cook	...	...	0 10 6
Joseph Wood	...	...	0 10 6
J. B. Adam	...	...	0 10 6
David Aiken	...	...	0 5 0
John Sheed	...	...	0 10 6
J. B. M'Combie	...	...	1 1 0
Andrew Murray	...	...	0 10 6
Alex. Pirie	...	...	1 1 0
James Hall	...	...	1 1 0
William Hall	...	...	1 1 0

Brought forward £52 19 6			Brought forward £92 5 0		
2nd Subscription List.					
Dr. R. L. Grant	2	2	J. A. Sinclair	0	10
Anthony Cruickshank	1	1	Alexander Davidson	0	10
Mrs. Hunter, Albyn Place	1	0	B. Sangster, sen.	0	10
Principal Dewar	5	0	George Rose	0	10
A. Gibb	1	0	George Marquis	0	10
R. S. F. Spottiswood	1	1	H. Jackson	0	10
John Keith	1	1	Collected at Public Meeting	2	15
Mrs. M'Robie	1	0	Friends at Flinder and Old Town,		
William Leslie, Architect	2	2	Kennethmont	3	0
Baillie Fraser	1	1	Fraserburg Congregational Church	3	18
Mrs. Maxwell Gordon	1	0	Peterhead	13	2
A. Chivas	1	1	Banff, & Co., in all	36	17
W. Littlejohn	1	0	Additional—Macduff	0	2
George King	1	1	Weekly News Office	0	10
Robert Urquhart	1	0	46 Sums under 10s...	10	3
William Yeats	1	0			
Jameson, & Mitchell	1	0		£165	16
John M'Gregor	1	0	Balance of Town Collection received		
John F. White	1	1	to be sent by Mr. William Allen to		
James Houn of Pittsheaden	1	0	Western Commission	20	0
Ebenezer Gibb, New Byth	1	0	Rt Hon Stephen Lushington, D.C.L.	15	0
Charles Brown, Solattie	1	0	S. Harwood, Esq., Fife Hall	5	0
D. Chalmers & Co.	1	1	Rev. Richard Shaen, M.A.	2	0
Friend, per Mr. Cruickshank	1	0	J. M. Ludlow, Esq.	4	10
Free Press Office	0	10	James Chalmers, Esq.	1	0
Herald Office	0	10	A Parcel of Clothing from Mrs		
J. Avery, Northern Advertiser Office	0	10	Hatch and friends, Highgate, con-		
James Abernethy	0	10	taining 21 articles		
Edmund Hides	0	10	J. W. Probyn, Esq.	5	0
James Matthews	0	10	Lord Alfred Spencer, Churchill	5	0
John Walker	0	10	John Stuart Mill, Esq., M.P.	2	0
J. Crumpton	0	10	Mrs. Peter Taylor, Balnakeil	6	2
W. M'Combie	0	10	Miss Helen Taylor	4	0
William Williamson	0	10	Victor Schoelch, Esq.	1	0
M. L. & Sons	0	10	John Norton, Esq., Blay	1	0
James L. Glover	0	10	Rev. F. Kelly, Southampton	1	0
James Garden	0	10	Mrs. Josephine Butler	0	10
Atb. Henderson & Son	0	10	Dr. Epps, per F. W. Olsson, Esq.	0	6
A. Stenach	0	10	Mr. Delphin, Newbury	0	5
J. D. Miller	0	10	Mr. L. Webb, Stowmarket Collection	4	10
W. Henderson & Son	0	10	Mr. Francis Windpenny, Barnard		
			Castle, Congregational Chapel	2	2
List of Articles sent from Stoke Newington to Levi Coffin per Johnson, Johnson, & Co.					
4 Oomforters			9 Red Flannel Petticoats		
6 Magenta & Black Skirts			2 do. Frocks		
5 do. Jackets 1 do. Frock			6 Purple Linsey Skirts		
5 Light Brown Linsey Skirts			2 do. Jackets 2 Black do.		
8 do. Jackets			11 Caps and Hoods		
5 Large Flannel Petticoats			5 Pairs Check Trowsers		
OASK No. 3			5 do. Tilled do.		
68 Chemises 9 do. or Shirts			3 do. Waistcoats		
5 Print Shirts			8 Linsey Boys' Jackets		
6 do. Jackets			4 Gingham do.		
2 Check Skirts			7 Girl's Frocks		
2 do. Jackets			5 Shirts and Frocks		
5 Knickerbkr Linsey Skirts			18 Children's small Coats		
6 do. Jackets 8 do. Frocks			3 Old Chemises		
2 Grey Linsey Skirts			4 Dr. Brown Linsey Skirts		
8 do. Jackets			4 do. do. Jackets		
3 Green Check do.			5 Old Petticoats		
12 Blue Aprons			2 Large Wrappers		

THE FREED-MAN.

REV. JOHN ALDIS ON JAMAICA.

At the Anniversary Meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society, held in Exeter Hall on Thursday, April 26th, the Rev. John Aldis said: "The only light in which I wish to view these sad transactions in Jamaica is in the light of the text, 'All things work together for good to those who love God, to those who are called according to his purpose.' First, let us learn that if we devote ourselves to God's work, though man for a time may shut the door, yet God will ultimately open it for us. I have been asked again and again how it happens that, when there are so many native Baptists in Morant Bay and the neighbourhood, who have from the first welcomed our missionaries and furnished a large number of converts, we have no stations in that particular region. I have looked into the matter, and find that two-and-thirty years ago our now sainted brother, Burton, went to Morant Bay, preached the Word, gathered a congregation, and started the whole enterprise under the most hopeful and promising circumstances. Subsequent to the outbreak in 1832, he was arrested and thrown into prison. A lady of whom he had hired premises was also arrested and punished, and a gentleman passing by the name of Rector Cook was one of the most active of those who insisted that our brother should there and then depart. We have waited four-and-thirty years; the sons of this gentleman and himself have recently appeared upon the stage; one was unhappily immolated; the gentleman himself was indebted for his life to the care and supervision of a poor black man; and now we are in circumstances most favourable and promising, the brethren of different societies inviting us, promises of different kinds offering, and those in authority suggesting that we should undertake the work we are about to enter into. Another lesson is, that we should appreciate more highly than I fear we have done the immense preference of deep personal religion to intellectual culture. Men of culture have proclaimed that the whole negro population is but the development of the ape, and evidently sigh for the time when all the sons of Ham shall be reduced to a state of bondage. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' These men have demonstrated to us that infidelity is essentially a tyrannical thing and a cruel thing, as far from rever-

ence of right as from love of mercy ; and that it combines the iron hand and the brazen brow. But, on the other hand, they have also demonstrated that the only true source of humanity is personal religion ; that if a man does not fear God he is not likely to regard man ; that if he learns to love God he will learn to love his brother also ; that if you would know the true doctrine concerning the Divine brotherhood, you must go to Him who expounded the true doctrine concerning the Divine Father ; and that we must get into sympathy with Him who calls us friends ; and then we shall be the friends of man, because we are the friends of God. (Cheers.) There is another lesson, which concerns our standing in the general estimation of mere worldly and unbelieving men. The bitterest vituperations have been loud and long, denunciations have been very severe, frightful crimes have been laid at our door, and purposes and acts yet more frightful than our crimes. We are not surprised ; this is an old and familiar experience. We will not render railing for railing ; we will not conflict with their passions and prejudices : but we will appeal to their understandings, their consciences, sooner or latter, to do us justice ; if not finally, to Him who can exalt the humble and abase those that walk in pride. Another lesson we have to learn is concerning our officers, and the worth we should attach to them. There has been one name most unmistakeably and remarkably prominent in connection with this business—the name of my honoured friend Dr. Underhill. (Loud cheering.) I think in these days one of the best means by which you can ascertain a man's power is to ascertain the measure in which he is abused. Certainly we cannot contend that Dr. Underhill is the best-abused man in Europe, but decidedly he is the best-abused man in England. Well, we thank God that our eyes have been opened, and that we have been led to see more fully and more distinctly how much God has conferred upon us in the person of our secretary. We did honour and esteem him ; we did accord to him our confidence and our love, but we did not know that he had been working so gravely, so wisely, and so successfully ; we did not know that he had manifested a heart so tender in its sympathy, and so tenacious in its purpose on behalf of our coloured brethren. We should not have known all this but for these circumstances, and now that we do know it, we thank God for him, and take courage in connection with our work ; and seeing that we have such a man to lead us in the way, we do him honour to-day in this Hall. (Applause.) Lastly, there is an appeal made by the whole of these transactions to our young friends. Remember, that neither wealth, nor learning, nor honour, nor ease, is the great goal of human life ; that he is the richest who is the most generous ; he is the wisest who is the most holy ; he is the noblest who can stoop the lowest, and yet not think that he is stooping ; and he is the most to be admired and loved who in every way is the most Christ-like. To have an open hand for the needy ; to have a sympathising heart for the wretched ; to speak a word for the oppressed, and the scorned, and the hated, when the hissing is universal and the maledictions are loud and deep ; to abide with the despised and outcast when there is nothing left on

earth to help and to comfort them; still to be firm and brave through all changes, in spite of all opposition, and notwithstanding all difficulties, though a scornful scepticism, a flippant indifference, a world's fashion and a world's respectability may sweep in a resistless flood in another direction;—it is for you, young men, to do this with a true and loving heart, and not by constraint. Do it so long as life shall last, and feel that you cannot die except holding this position and breathing this spirit; and if you do this we are victorious, God is honoured, Christianity is vindicated, and humanity is saved.” (Loud applause.)

COST OF ANTI-COLOUR PREJUDICE.

The exasperation of many who have lost slave property is extreme. They tell us that so long as the negro was under their complete control they could treat him with kindness and in some instances with fondness, but as set free to act for himself, he has become to them an object of absolute loathing and disgust. It is not simply the pecuniary loss that so much vexes them as the change produced in their relations to the coloured man. There is something in his actual and manifest liberation that is beyond endurance. Their displeasure is evinced in manifold acts of hostility towards the negro and in the vehement abuse of all who interpose for his protection or help. We fear that reasoning, however calm and forcible, will be altogether lost to men in the frenzied condition of the ex-slaveholder. The stronger the facts against his cause the more he will feel embittered. Coolness to those who are consumed with passion often increases its intensity. There is no help for it however; we must at the risk of fiercer provocation submit a few items of loss for their serious consideration in calmer moments. We are of opinion that they have suffered very largely from the blinding effects of anti-negro prejudice.

1. *There has been a serious loss from want of fore-thought.*

Their hatred to emancipation prevented them from seeing that it was inevitable. The “corner-stone” philosophy of Mr. Stephens has proved to be sheer madness. All the predictions of the leaders of the Southern confederacy have been strangely falsified and their calculations are now seen to be utterly at fault. There is no evidence at the same time of any disposition to correct their errors

on the part of those who yet cling to the old system; they are in consequence losing moral credit—we might say there is at least in them a partial loss of reason.

2. *There is, from the same cause, a loss of confidence leading to a want of capital.*

The pro-slavery party declare that their antipathy to the negro as a freed-man is unchangeable. They insist that two alternatives only are possible—either “extermination” or compulsory labour. The religious journal in New York most favourable to speedy re-construction in the South, is compelled to admit that the spirit of the planters is one of deadly hostility. The editor says: “So much of the war spirit still prevails, that the people cannot send union men to Congress. We have been willing to trust the South, and to aid in building up her waste places, and to restore the harmony of the republic with the least possible delay.

“But we are pained by the necessity of saying that the information we get from the South does not encourage us to labour in this direction. Particularly is the intelligence unfavourable in regard to the ministers of the South. A pastor in one of the Southern States writes as follows:

“It is a fact that the ministers of the Gospel in the South, who have generally returned to their parishes, are almost without exception bitterly opposed to the Government, and are exerting all their influence against loyalty and re-construction. It is the opinion of candid loyal men, that they are exerting a stronger influence in that direction than any other class of men in the South.

“These ministers teach their people not to listen to any propositions for aid in supplying the destitute: or organizing and furnishing

Sunday schools, *unless* these funds be put into the hands of true Southern men, for their own support or to advance their principles.

"A christian gentleman, who has recently visited every town in nine counties in this State, on business, and made this a special subject of enquiry, says it was the testimony of the best men everywhere that no Northern missionary or Sunday school agent would be safe from personal violence. The spirit, is bitter, and, so far as I can see, grows worse." In Jamaica the same spirit has led the anti-negro merchants to refuse from the coloured people the products of their industry, and to throw obstacles in the way of exportation. Outside this circle of prejudiced cultivators and traders, who does not see that their course must be suicidal?

3. *Their loss of humanity is attributable to the same cause.*

Under the slave code, killing a negro was no murder. The punishment for crime committed by slaves was death, and for this reason, that in the condition of slavery he already suffered everything besides. He could not be fined, for he had no money. Imprisonment was rather a relief than otherwise. Flogging was only an incident in his normal state. Death was the only penalty therefore that could be devised. We have seen with what zest the Jamaica troopers hunted down the negroes. It is not to be supposed that but for the prejudice that sears the conscience the atrocities that followed the proclamation of martial law would have been committed.

4. *The loss incurred from the influence of prejudice against persons of colour is widely spread and will rapidly increase.*

The inter-dependence of civilized communities is so complete that derangement of order in one part of the system is sooner or later felt in every part. The interruption of commerce—the depreciation of the price of commodities or the increase of their value—the suspension of labour—the expenses of war, or of commissions of enquiry—affect all classes, and should be reckoned in the account.

5. *The heaviest loss, and most grievous and irreparable, is the loss of true national honour.*

The meanness, cruelty and injustice shown on the part of a great nation to a weaker race toiling to produce its wealth cannot fail to lower its prestige. What rendered Spain so infamous and ultimately so despised in the New World?

It is not then a harmless thing, however common, to indulge a haughty, contemptuous and oppressive spirit toward the coloured races.

We are anxious that the friends of the freed-man should look most carefully into this matter. Mr. Steinthal writes: "There has never been a time when the sentiment of England in favour of justice was dead; but unless an intelligent knowledge of facts be combined with that sentiment, it produces only spasmodic action, unless the religious indignation which the Jamaica massacres have evoked be directed to a proper channel, and men and women are taught to watch the course of events in the colonies with more interest than they have done, I very much fear that the long-seated prejudices of race and colour will be allowed to prevail over justice again." . . . "The self-same spirit which has led to the disgraceful scenes in Jamaica inspires the English residents in the East Indies and in other colonies with feelings against the nations which are not only unchristian, but inhuman; and until a more religious principle is made to rule, our government will be constantly antagonistic to human progress and to the recognition of the rights of man as man."

Mr. Steinthal urges us still further to enlarge the basis of our Society. He is not aware how many philanthropic and earnest men, formerly with us, vehemently oppose the course we have taken in admitting the British freed-men to a share of our sympathy and help. It is a most unaccountable fact that the same men who have devoted years of effort and contribution for the abolition of slavery *throughout the world* are displeased with us because we seek to afford aid and encouragement to those who are concerned to make abolition a real step to well-regulated freedom. We only apply their own principle to the altered work of the times. We are under cogent necessity to give a reason for the

line of conduct we have felt it an imperative duty to pursue.

We are convinced that the "exclusive" system will not fully meet the necessities of the coloured people. Take for illustration the case of the freed-men in Canada. They are about 100,000 in number. Thousands of liberated negroes (parts of the families of the former fugitive slaves) are flocking to the settlements in British America. It is true their destitution is not like that of the freed-men in the United States. At the beginning of their settlements the fugitives were ignorant, unapt, and prone to irregularity and discontent, but now there is marked and most gratifying change. Buxton Settlement may be compared with any settlement of Europeans in British America. The work of cultivation is steadily advancing, the negroes have erected for themselves comfortable dwellings, with schools and places of worship, they manage their civil and ecclesiastical affairs with order and intelligence that commands the respect of all who know them. They add in consequence to the strength of the country; at present there is a heavy strain upon them from the influx of the freed-men from the South. Timely help for education would be an incalculable benefit. They have sent Mr. JONES, one of their number, to this country, to represent their state and to advocate the cause of their race. Teachers may be trained in Canada in a state of society more settled than that of the Southern States. A good work may be accomplished in Jamaica. We must however respectfully and yet most earnestly warn our friends that no merely "spasmodic" or temporary effort will raise the freed-men to the condition they should occupy for their own welfare and for the advancement of civilization. If, for example, to meet the present distress in the Southern States, a large donation is given that will provide a teacher and pay the rent of the school house, a year hence by some local adverse cause the school without help may be broken up and the teacher be compelled to return. In Jamaica a short-lived effort is sure to be disappointing. Our aim must be to gain the confidence and the concurrence of the coloured people for their own good, and by teachers most adapted wherever they can be found.

The state of things is such that a force stronger than that of policemen or soldiers will be required—the might of judicious persistent christian kindness.

"Plainly," says Dr. Hopkins, "there are two methods by which men can be controlled. The one is by fear. This has been adopted by most governments hitherto. By appealing to their immediate and supposed interests, the rulers have attached to themselves in the form of standing armies, a portion of their subjects, and these they have employed to keep the remainder in fear. But where fear, and interest, are the highest motives known, the action of the government can have no tendency to elevate the people. Fear is a principle which man has in common with the brutes; but if man is to be governed as man, it must be by an appeal to his distinctive nature, to those faculties which make him man. Hence the second method of controlling men; is through their affections, acting in subordination to their rational and moral nature. Fear is a force that presses from without, and in this respect finds no analogy in any of those agencies by which nature builds up her beautiful and organized structures, or carries on her grand operations. It is attraction, that forms the crystal, that keeps in its place every particle of the body, and that holds the orbs of heaven in their appointed path. But affection is the attraction of the moral world, and if any government is ever to move on with the harmony and beauty of the planetary system, it must be by a central force drawing the affections of the people to itself, and holding every man in a bright path of patriotism from which he would not willingly escape."

We must apply this law of attraction in Jamaica. We shall then have 450,000 British patriots, or, better still, educated christian people, instead of desperate and alienated incendiaries. Once more we ask enlightened and steady help for this grand and benevolent object.—W.

FRIENDS to freedom in Holland are making efforts on behalf of the coloured people in Surinam. We learn that these exertions have the sanction of the Queen of the Netherlands.

Correspondence.

THE PROPOSED INSTRUCTION OF THE 800,000 CHILDREN OF THE POOR FREED-MEN OF AMERICA.

MR. RIDLEY is quite intent on stirring up the Sunday Schools. We can rely on his persistent zeal and kindness. He sends the following communication:—

"The spontaneous practical sympathy which has of late been called forth in this and other countries, in favour of the poor Freed-men of America and their numerous children is at once remarkable and gratifying. It presents an additional happy exhibition of the philanthropy which characterises the age. Verily it cometh from above, and is in harmony with the spirit and example of Him, who, when on earth, 'went about doing good,' and left on record for instruction and imitation the beautiful narrative of the large-hearted individual, who on going down to Jericho, met with a fellow-creature, who had fallen among thieves and who had robbed and bruised him. He at once lifted him up, supplied oil and wine, then placed him on his ass, took him to a khan, or inn, and provided for his entertainment.

"Now the negro is 'a man and a brother.' He too has fallen among thieves, who have stolen his very person, then impoverished and maltreated him, and at length left him with his numerous and helpless offspring to perish. Well, he has come in our path, so to speak, and we are providentially called to *lift him up*, and supply to some extent his more immediate wants, in the shape of food, raiment and shelter.

"Those poor peeled suffering people have thus been partially relieved, and many of them put in the way of helping themselves by honest industry, for they are willing to work, thank God—and we hope that ere long the great bulk of them will be similarly circumstanced. But let us not think the work is done, and our duty fully discharged. Those poor people have not only been oppressed, and impoverished, but imbruted. They have been down-trodden both physically and mentally. Secular and religious instruction have been alike to a great extent denied them, and

we must essay to give them a lift in schooling, in morals, in mental and religious culture. They desire it too, and are able to appreciate the same.

"And then, there are their numerous offspring—their eight hundred thousand helpless children. What scope for laudable energy on our part, in their enlightenment and elevation, under the blessing of God, does the case present, and moreover—demand! And happily, in the order of a righteous providence, agents, teachers of the very type required, are ready, are springing up on all hands, and with our genial countenance and Christian liberality, what a vast salutary work may be accomplished!

"We are here speaking more particularly of the families of those despised and afflicted and outraged people: and may we not call on the children of Great Britain to help them? Let us seek by all kindly and fitting means to inspire them with a lively sense of their own advantages and manifold blessings, and warmly appeal to their gratitude and generosity, in lending a willing, helping hand to their little cousins across the broad Atlantic amid their great distress and destitution, their ignorance, and want of instruction. We know how British children—and more particularly those in our Sunday schools—cheerfully came out as moved by the example and counsels of their commendable teachers on various previous occasions, say in helping to supply the poor children in Ireland with bibles, in building once and again a missionary ship, and in relieving the late starving thousands of Lancashire people; and if promptly and kindly appealed to they will right readily come out again in favour of schooling the myriads of little freed people.

"The writer has already made the attempt, though on a small scale, and not without success, and he purposes in the next number of this journal to supply particulars thereof, and also submit some such suggestions as may more fully discover the feasibility and probable productiveness of the proposed juvenile measure.

"Sunday Schools it is justly admitted, on all hands, form a power for good in the land, and that power, so far, we hold, is only partially developed. The united contributions of the

three millions of British Sunday scholars, in addition to the thousands of the children of our households and congregations that are not Sunday scholars—are capable in the aggregate of rendering no inconsiderable help to our various christian benevolencies. The fact itself, of the exercise of their early philanthropy, is admirably calculated to inspire them with a spirit of christian liberality which, under the blessing of God, shall give shape and character to their efforts and influence in after-life in relation to the religious enterprises of the day.

"I am, yours truly,

"E. RIDLEY.

"Burswell House, April 11th, 1866."

American Missionary Association,
No. 61, John St., New York,
March 5th, 1866.

The Executive Committee of the American Missionary Association hereby commissions Rev. W. Patton, D.D., as a delegate to the anniversary meetings to be held in London in May; to the meetings of the General Assemblies in Scotland; and to all benevolent societies on the continent of Europe; for the purpose of presenting to them the great work of the Association among the Freed-men of America, and to offer to philanthropic and christian people, wherever he may go, the opportunity of reaching with clothing, education and the gospel of Christ, this long neglected and much abused, but now free race.

The Committee takes pleasure in commending him to the full confidence and fraternal regards of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ and the cause of his suffering poor.

(Signed) Edward N. Kirk, President.

George Whipple,
M. E. Strieby, Secretaries.

War Department,
Bureau of Refugees, Freed-men and Abandoned
Lands, Washington,

April 13th, 1866.

The Rev. W. W. Patton, D.D., of Chicago, U.S.A., visits Great Britain and the Continent, as the representative of the American Missionary Association in its work among the Freed-men. I take pleasure in commending Dr. Patton and the Association he represents, to

the confidence and favour of all persons abroad, who are interested in the welfare of these freed-people, whose present wants are pressing, but whose future is so promising. They are a nation to be elevated by christian influence, and are most enthusiastic in welcoming the means of such elevation.

The American Missionary Association is the oldest of the organizations now engaged for the Freed-men, is a national society, evangelized yet unsectarian in its character, and enjoys most fully the confidence of this Bureau.

(Signed)

Respectfully,

O. O. Howard,
Major General, Commissioner.

Washington, D.C.,

April 5th, 1866.

The undersigned members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, learning that Rev. Wm. W. Patton, D.D., of Chicago, Ill., is about to visit Europe to secure aid for the physical, intellectual and moral improvement of the Freed-men of this country, take pleasure in commending him and his cause to the friends of humanity and religion. Dr. Patton has been widely and favourably known in this country as an early and devoted friend of the slave, an Officer of the Sanitary Commission during the war, and a Pastor for many years in one of our principal cities.

Lyman Trumbull.	Schnyler Colfax.
Charles Sumner.	W. P. Fessenden.
L. F. S. Foster.	Lee Moulton.
John Wentworth.	J. B. Grinnell.
Richard Yates.	James A. Garfield.
J. F. Farnsworth.	Henry Wilson.

Our readers will notice among these names the President of the U.S. Senate, and Acting Vice-President of the U.S. (Mr. Foster,) the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Mr. Colfax,) the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, and framer of the "Civil Rights Bill" (Mr. Trumbull,) the late Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Fessenden) the world known statesman, orator and philanthropist Mr. Sumner, and his honoured colleague in the Senate from Massachusetts, Mr. Wilson.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE must refer *Mrs. Craft* to the *FREED-MAN* for April, page 223.

C. R. H. asks—"Has it not occurred to you that the thousand houses which have been wantonly destroyed should be replaced by the government?" The people of Jamaica will find the expenses of the rebellion and commission heavier than they can bear. They have neither the power nor the disposition to care for their outcasts. The Government at home are not likely to interpose for their relief—in the mean time the people lapse into barbarism, being driven into the woods for shelter. Some forty shillings probably would be sufficient to stimulate a houseless family to erect the sort of habitation that for the present they require. The British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society have already sent relief to fifty widows. The pro-slavery planters rather deserve their contributions for a testimonial to Governor Eyre.

ALL orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to *ARLISS ANDREWS*, 7, Duke St., Bloomsbury.

The Freed-Man.

JUNE, 1866.

"I have observed with satisfaction that the United States, after terminating successfully the severe struggle in which they were so long engaged, are wisely repeating the savages of civil war. The abolition of slavery is an event calling forth the cordial sympathies and congratulations of this country, which has always been foremost in showing its abhorrence of an institution repugnant to every feeling of justice and humanity. —QUEEN VICTORIA.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

As many persons are in uncertainty as to the exact intent and nature of this bill, a short explanation may be useful. The Civil Rights Bill was passed by Congress in the usual way

and submitted to President Johnson for his assent, when, to the surprise of the world, it received his veto. The friends of the coloured free people felt aggrieved and indignant at the refusal of the President to place his imprimatur on this act of the legislature, inasmuch as a draft of the bill had been submitted to the President before its introduction, to which at the time he took no exception. That the President had a legal right to veto the bill, no person denies, but he could not do so after he had given, as was supposed, his general approval to its introduction without being charged with double dealing. If Mr. Johnson had given the explanation which he has given since the bill has been passed a second time in the Senate by a vote of 38 to 15, and in the House of Representatives by one of 122 to 12, that he wished so important a statute simply to receive a second and more careful revision by the legislature, the very grave suspicion that was raised against his integrity, might have been avoided. Such an explanation, however, from his lips, after his boisterous menace against Mr. Sumner and others well-known patriots and friends of freedom, comes too late, and only serves to change our condemnation of his conduct into unmitigated contempt. The real issue between Congress and Mr. Johnson is very simple. The President believes that the Government of the United States is a Government of white men, and exists for white men alone. Congress believes that it is a Government of citizens without reference to the colour of its citizens. Mr. Sumner has all along asserted that the law needed no alteration—that the

constitution embraced all citizens — that the decision in the Dred Scot case, which decided that a black man though free had no rights which a white man was bound to respect—was an infamous violation of the constitution of the United States. The Civil Rights Bill then gives no new Article to the constitution, but like our own Great Charter, and the twenty-ninth chapter of it in particular, declares in relation to the freedom of the citizen and the protection of that freedom, only the fundamental law of the State. It authoritatively strikes out colour as an integer in the great political sum. It is an assertion of the triumph of freedom against the cruel ravaging demon of slavery. It reserves the essential principles of citizenship from that destruction to which Mr. Johnson seemed to be willing to surrender them. It tells in unmistakeable terms that the war, having terminated in the defeat of the Southern oligarchy, an era of justice—justice for all—equality before the tribunals alike for white and black, is to dawn upon those fair and promising Southern lands.

And what is this terrible declaratory enactment, which some of our countrymen who have never seen it or read it suppose to be intended as a means to fling those who were formerly slaves offensively before the faces of their quondam masters? We will give, not in our language but in the words of the statute, the first section, and then it will be manifest what it is, and what an outrage Mr. Johnson endeavoured to perpetrate upon freedom by his presidential veto.

"Be it enacted, &c., That all persons born

in the United States, and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens of every race and colour, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary service, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, to be sued, be parties and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property; and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by white citizens; and shall be subject to like punishments, pains, and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

And this is the method the Sumners, the Wilsons, the Stevens of the United States have resolved to employ to consolidate their nation and to conserve liberty—a method which at once tells us that these men at least are well-read in the laws of their ancestors, and that they have determined to crown the triumph of the arms of the nation in the field by the greater triumph of law and justice in the forum.

A writer of an article full of confusion and falsehood in "Blackwood's Magazine" — falsehood rendered the more odious because the writer professes to know—a profession we very much doubt—from personal experience something of the negro about whom he ventures to write—proposes in cold blood as a remedy for the negro difficulty one of two things. First—let not our readers be startled—EXTERMINATION, or, secondly, to reduce them to constrained labour, or in plain English the reintroduction of SLAVERY. Is the writer serious, or does he pen his fool-

ish sentences to please a clique that has aimed to involve us with our own kin, across the western wave. We have no word for these ribald scribes. The world moves on, and it will neither tolerate Extermination nor endure Slavery. Twenty years with black people in and out of slavery enable us to affirm what this writer does not know—that the negro is faithful, industrious and religious. God knows this is more than we can say for the whites, whether the mean-whites or the would-be oligarchs of the South. We repeat for the hundredth time, that it is not the “irrepressible nigger” that makes the difficulty in the South, but the impracticable, ignorant and oppressive white man. To those who aim at a solution of the negro question we say: in your calculations assume that the negro is not idle, and that he is influenced by the same motives that avail with ourselves.

At a Committee Meeting of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society held April 29, 1866, it was moved by J. H. Estcourt, Esq., seconded by J. M. Ludlow, Esq., and resolved unanimously: That the character of the Society and the unity of the cause which it represents being now so well understood that it is no longer necessary to adhere to the restriction requiring the specific appropriations of donations, it will be understood that unless specially designated for particular objects they will be regarded as given to the general purposes of the Society.

FRIENDS of the freed-coloured people residing in any locality, who may desire, or be willing, to receive deputations for Public Meetings or Lectures, or Clergy of the Establishment, or Ministers of Dissenting Churches, who may be willing to receive delegates to advocate on behalf of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, will kindly address the Rev. John Waddington, D.D., 102, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

DORCHESTER.—On May 10th a meeting in aid of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society was held in the beautiful Town Hall in the above place. The Rev. Mr. Merriman presided, and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. W. H. Jones, a coloured minister from Canada, and by Dr. Fred. Tomkins, who attended as a deputation from the Society. A large number of volunteers attended, and considerable interest was manifested. On the following Sabbath the Rev. W. H. Jones preached three times in the Wesleyan Chapel to large congregations, and lectured on the following day. The Society is under obligations to the Rev. Joseph Fox, B.A., Rev. Mr. Merriman, Mr. Devenish, and other ministers and friends.

WIMBORNE.—On Friday, May the 11th, a large meeting assembled in the New Hall, Wimborne, to listen to addresses delivered by Dr. Fred Tomkins, Barrister-at-law, and the Rev. W. H. Jones, a deputation from the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society. Rev. Carr Glynn, Rector of Wicthampton, presided, and after prayer by the Rev. John Keynes, delivered an earnest and able speech. Dr. Tomkins advocated at length the claims of the Freed coloured people, and was followed by Mr Jones, who was warmly received. The meeting was large, and expressed the deepest interest in the Society. The thanks of the Committee are presented to the excellent clergyman who presided, and also to the Rev. J. Keynes, who kindly acted as local secretary.

THE REV. DR. HOLBROOK writes us from Edinburgh that the United Presbyterian Churches assembled in Synod, have determined to make congregational collections for the Freed-men. This is good. The Congregationalists, some time since, came to the same resolution at Bristol, and already more than Three Thousand pounds have been sent from this source to aid the new-born sons and daughters of freedom in the West.

THE REV. SELLA MARTIN and the Rev. Dr. Patton, of Chicago, have arrived in this country. Their object is to present the claims of the freed people of America especially to the Continent of Europe. We wish them the best possible success.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY.

MEETING AT WEYMOUTH.

A public meeting in behalf of this Society was held at the Royal Hotel Assembly-room, on Wednesday evening, May 2nd. The Chair was taken by Rev. T. A. Greaves, the Rector. The attendance was highly respectable. The proceedings commenced with a hymn and prayer, offered by the Rev. J. Beveridge, of Portland.

THE CHAIRMAN then said:—My knowledge of the work of the Freed-Men's Aid Society, and also of the field of its labour, is so exceedingly small, that it would be improper in me to occupy the time of this meeting with any remarks upon that subject. We can all understand and feel, however, that there must be a great need for the work of such a society as this. A large portion of the American territory we are aware at this time is in a state of transition. From the experiences we have had of emancipation in our own West Indian colonies, we can judge that, even in circumstances of peace, transition from a state of bondage to one of liberty cannot take place without much confusion and present suffering; but that confusion and present suffering must of course be infinitely increased, when such a change takes place, as has taken place in America, in the midst of a tremendous conflict; when that emancipation of slaves over which I am sure we are all rejoicing, is the result of one of the most fearful baptisms of blood through which any nation has ever been called on to pass. So far as I am aware, this society does not at all, I believe, enter into political questions. We know that the political aspect of this matter is at the present moment one of extreme difficulty. On the one hand there is the extreme Radical party in America, who would wish not only the emancipation of the slave, but would desire to raise him to more than equality, and to thrust the old servant in the face of his old master, not only as his equal, but as his superior. On the other hand there are others who would reduce emancipation within the very narrowest possible limits; but we in this country have nothing to do with this question of policy. Our business is to realise, as I trust we all do, that God has made

all people and nations of one blood, and has redeemed them with one and the same precious blood of His dear Son. We should rejoice in the emancipation and elevation of this branch of the human family, inasmuch as we know that, in the great distress of this country during the cotton famine, the United States of America did manifest much sympathy, and did send much substantial help to England, so that now in return we have an opportunity of which we ought to avail ourselves, by manifesting the same Christian sympathy, and sending the same liberal and substantial aid. I therefore feel we may in this work, not only supply the wants of large numbers of our fellow creatures, who are, for the present at least, exposed to much poverty, privation, and difficulty—that we may not only, in fact, perform the duties of Christian philanthropy, but we may also be the means of drawing more closely those bonds of sympathy and real love which ought to unite together the branches of the great Anglo-Saxon family, upon the unity, sympathy, concord, and affection of which the happiness, civilization, and Christianity of the whole world so much depend. (Applause)

DR. TOMKINS, the society's deputation, next spoke, and prefaced his address with a history of the origin of the society. It was established, he said, in 1863, and its object was in no sense political; it was of a philanthropic character; it was religious, but not denominational. Since the society commenced there had been raised about £80,000, but that was small compared with the unsolicited help which the Americans raised for this country in its time of national distress. It seemed to him that those people who sent England at least a quarter of a million for our Lancashire distress, and our Irish famine, and who had furnished such a philanthropist as Mr. Peabody, had certainly, at least, a moral claim upon us. The Americans themselves were by no means slow to acknowledge the help already sent by England. By the last report of one society it appeared that about 200,000 coloured men and women had been taught to read and write, and had been instructed in various elementary processes. Out of that 200,000, about 50,000 had been educated by money sent from this country. He had

lately visited the Southern States, and attended some of the schools, where he examined many of the classes, and was filled with wonder and astonishment. These poor people, so long denied education and the reading of God's word, came to their instruction with a freshness and eagerness that was truly astonishing. He was surprised at the accuracy with which they repeated passages from almost every part of the Bible. He criticised an article in the *Times*, which was disparaging to the negro character, and mental capacity. He denied that their only capacity was for hard work; the negro's proper condition was just that in which their ability, or God's providence, placed them. He wished to mention one or two circumstances to show that the negro was not inferior to ourselves. He had been one of the inspectors of education in our American provinces, and had had five black men under his training. One of these was one of the most accomplished men he had ever seen. His best student at Dalhousie College was a black man, who had greater ability in mathematics than any other person in the province. He believed that God was about to work a great change by means of these people. The negroes had sympathies of the deepest character. In conclusion he observed, now that the negro's yoke was broken, it was the object of the society to send him help, and especially that blessed Word upon which all our hopes are based. He mentioned that the English steamers carried all the society's parcels free of expense to America, and the United States Government remitted all duties on whatever was sent to the negroes. They had carried on this work at a nominal expense for the last three years. The work they were engaged in would have an important effect on the world's future. He urged on the meeting to give their assistance, and was certain they would not regret anything they did on behalf of the society.

The Rev. Mr. JONES, a coloured minister, from Canada, then spoke. He stated that he was born free, but nevertheless he felt an interest in his race. He begged to endorse all that had been said by his friend, Dr. Tomkins. The free negroes in America were about half a million, and previous to the war they had

many meetings, and prayed for the overthrow of slavery. It was often suggested that the blacks should strike a blow for themselves, if they desired to be free. But the blacks did not do so. They pointed to God's ancient people, who waited patiently till He sent Moses to be their deliverer, and in God's own time He sent deliverance to the negroes, who were now free. He thanked God for raising up the good and great Abraham Lincoln to cut down the tree of slavery. Two hundred thousand negroes, brave and faithful men, were employed in the Northern armies, and General Lee demanded and received every white man capable of bearing arms in the Southern States, so that the negroes were numerically strong enough to massacre all the women and children left unprotected. The negro might have said "Now we have got you; you took advantage of our ignorance and weakness, now we will be revenged; we will massacre you and hold the reins ourselves." But there was no instance of such cruelty, for the negro put his trust in God. If the negro were placed in the same position as the white man he would make the same progress. The free negroes of the North had 11 annual congresses, 561 preachers, 200,000 members of their congregations, and 1,000 churches and chapels; and since the war terminated they had been sending missionaries to the Southern States. He referred to the Buxton Settlement, where the negroes owned from 25 to 100 acres each, and during nine years there had not been a single case of drunkenness among them. The negro did not expect they would send money and clothes continually; he only wished to be helped while he was learning to walk in the way of freedom; and if he happened to fall he did not wish him to be allowed to lie unaided. It was said the negro would not work without a master; but the fact was he would not work for a master when he could work for himself. They wished to teach the black to bear no feelings of revenge, and they were succeeding. He trusted those who gave would do so in the name of God. He hoped they would have cause to rejoice for the assistance they afforded to these people, and that God would bless and sanctify the means employed to elevate the negroes.

The Rev. R. S. ASHTON said he did not intend to make a speech in connection with the interesting movement before the meeting. He believed all would understand that the effort put forth by the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society was of a temporary character. How long it might be necessary to continue it on behalf of the freedmen of the United States remained to be seen. It was a temporary effort intended to help the negro freed-men to obtain that position in the States which would render them independent of assistance from abroad. It was necessary to remember this, because some persons might go away with the idea that the society was established with the purpose of continuing it for many years. He trusted however that, in consequence of the efforts set on foot here, and especially in the United States, it would be very soon unnecessary to continue their field of philanthropic labour. With reference to the objections sometimes raised as to helping the negro, that he would not help himself, he thought they had been fully answered in the remarks made by Dr. Tomkins, and more especially by the excellent speech of the Rev. Mr. Jones, who, being a black man, could speak with greater authority even than Dr. Tomkins himself. Such remarks as those of Mr. Jones were sufficient to assure us that the negroes were disposed to work if only they had the chance. He had not risen to support what had been said, but to propose a resolution which he felt sure would meet with a cordial response—it was a vote of thanks to the Chairman. (Applause.) He had long wished that this society should have a hearing in Weymouth, and he felt personally thankful to Mr. Greaves for having presided over the meeting, which he hoped would be followed by some further effort, and that something would be done for the purpose of sending help to the freed-men of the United States. (Applause.)

DR. TOMKINS seconded the resolution, and observed that the society was under great obligations to the clergy.

The motion was then put and carried with applause.

The CHAIRMAN, in response, said—I feel I deserve no thanks whatever for any assistance

I can render to a work on which I believe the sanction of God rests. I wish, however, to make one or two remarks. The first is, that although Dr. Tomkins has wisely abstained from alluding to it, there is one important field opening elsewhere for such a work as this society takes up. I believe it wise and judicious, before the report of the Commission as to the unhappy state of Jamaica is published, to observe a reticence on that subject. I have no doubt, however, there will be in Jamaica a wide and speedy opening for the labour of such a society as this. Another remark I have to make is, that I feel as strongly as any of my friends who have gone before me, the capability of the negro, and his power of being elevated to as high a position of intelligence and usefulness, as any other race. But, even if it were not so—even if it could be shown that the negro race was prostrate, and that their mental energies were in so low a state that they almost rejected the freedom offered to them; that they were so completely borne and trodden down by long years of servitude, that at the present moment apparently they were unfit to stretch out the hand to receive the boon of liberty that is proffered them—even in that case I think it would be no proof that they were incapable of the highest elevation and cultivation. The mightiest nation that ever appeared on the platform of the world's history were once not slaves only, but degraded slaves, sunk to a far lower level than the negroes of America. They were brought so low that, when liberty was offered them, they seemed to reject the offer. You remember that when God sent liberty to his enslaved people in Egypt we are told that they hearkened not unto Moses for anguish of heart and cruel bondage, and yet that was the mightiest nation that ever stepped upon the platform of history. Therefore, though it could be shown that the negroes of America were incapable of stretching out their hand to receive this boon of liberty, yet will I maintain that would be no proof of their incapacity for mental elevation and for rising into the highest positions among the greatest nations of the earth. Unquestionably the work in which America is now engaged is one of most momentous character. There can be no doubt that this

is a crisis in the history of the world, and that the consolidation of American power must tell with immense force upon the moral, social, and spiritual history of this earth. If, therefore, we can in the least degree assist our American brethren in their work of peculiar difficulty, and I may say of peculiar glory, I am sure, as Christian men and women, we should rejoice to do so. I will only leave upon your minds to-night one important precept which the apostle gives in connection with the sympathy which one Christian should feel towards another, when he says, "Remember them that are in bondage, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body." And whilst you do this, remember that the American negro, lately a slave, and now, thank God, free, is indeed your own flesh and blood, and as capable of rising to a high position, social, political, and religious; and you will be doing a blessed work in seeking to raise and elevate him. I am thankful to hear that the Scriptures of truth form the basis of the education given in these schools, which in some measure are supported by this society. I was anxious to ascertain that fact, for where the Word of God is taught I am sure the true liberty will follow. I cannot but feel that many of those who have died slaves were men like the Apostle Paul; they have lifted their shackled hands before their professedly free masters, and have said as he said, "I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am, except these bonds." I believe that many have gone to their heavenly liberty and their heavenly glory out of that deep dark system of bondage; and I look upon those who have done so as the precursors and harbingers of what the negro race, under the blessing of God, may come to when they have that "liberty wherewith Christ has made us free." (Applause.)

The Meeting concluded with the Doxology and Benediction.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the Rev. R. S. Ashton would be happy to receive any contributions on behalf of the society. A collection was made at the doors.

REV. W. H. JONES.

The Rev. W. H. Jones, of Chatham, Canada West, of the Coloured Methodist Episcopal Church, has presented his credentials to the Executive of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society. He is commended to this country by gentlemen well known to our Committee, among whom it is sufficient to mention the names of Bishop Simpson and Bishop Janes. Mr. Jones's papers have been carefully examined and approved. He will conduct his labours in this country in connexion with our Society, aiding in the formation of auxiliaries and the collection of funds. Mr. Jones is an able speaker and an exact business man. Born in Pennsylvania of free parents, he has never been a slave, and although quite black, shows what by culture and religion a negro may become. He is warmly commended to friends, and is ready to address meetings, lecture, or preach, on behalf of the Freed-Men's Aid Society, wherever there may be an opening. His kind and unassuming manners have already won for him many friends. He may be addressed at the office of the Society, 102, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

It should be mentioned that Mr. Jones represents one hundred thousand free black men—our countrymen by birth or adoption in Canada. The British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society is the only Society in England that could entertain his case and render him assistance.

THE SEA ISLANDS.

These islands, in which the finest kinds of cotton is grown, and which through the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Philbrick, of Boston, were the first spots of the Freed-man's labour and triumph, have this year afforded an increased growth of cotton. At this one cannot but rejoice. The negro cultivators have suffered much in past seasons in various parts from what is termed the "army worm" and Mr. Philbrick and Mr. Atkinson of the Board of Trade in Boston have all along stated that we might expect a large increase of cotton from the Sea Islands, if the plant were not blighted and the negro were protected and left unmolested. Their predictions are now verified.

GOVERNMENT REPLY TO IPSWICH RESOLUTION.

It will be remembered by our readers that at a meeting of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, held at Ipswich, on April 12th, last, the following resolution was passed:—"That this meeting, having in view the interests of the coloured population of Jamaica, has considered the new constitution for the better government of that colony, as provided by Act of Parliament, and while giving a general concurrence to its main provisions, it desires to express a hope that the governor's council may be composed, as far as possible, of those who are believed to be unprejudiced against the negroes, and that if necessary the members of the new executive government may be sent direct from this country. That a copy of the foregoing resolution be presented to the Secretary of State for the colonies." We have received the following reply from the Under Secretary for the Colonies.

Downing Street,
April 27th, 1866.

Sir,

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Cardwell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 16th Instant, forwarding a Resolution adopted at a Public Meeting held at Ipswich on the 12th Instant.

I am, Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,

W. E. FORSTER.

The Secretary of the Freed-
Men's Aid Society,

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER

Written by Dr. Carruthers, to the Editor of the "British Standard," from Portland, Me., U.S., April 26th, 1866.

The industry of the blacks in Georgia, Alabama, and elsewhere, and, indeed, wherever they are well treated and faithfully remunerated for their labour, is rapidly breaking down the foolish prejudices of their quondam masters, and proving, to the great satisfaction of the latter, that their supposed loss of wealth is, in fact, their substantial gain. In a few more years the abettors of negro inferiority and servitude, if not absolutely extinct, will

be few and far between,—the fossilised relics of a race of petty tyrants who coined gold out of the bones and sinews of their fellow-men, and, like Jeshurun, waxed fat and kicked at every threatened invasion of their right to rule over their human chattels with a bar of iron.

THANKS FOR BLANKETS SENT.

American Missionary Association,
61, John Street,
New York, April 28th, 1866.
Fred. Tomkins, Esq., 3, Tanfield Court,
Inner Temple, London.

Dear Sir,

We some time ago received a note from Mr. Thos. Noble, Dewsbury, Yorkshire, giving notice of the shipment of 400 pairs of Blue Blankets, to our order, and requested that when received it should be notified to you. They have this day arrived, and I acknowledge their receipt accordingly. You will be so good as to present our thanks in the name of our Association, and of the Freed-men, for this valuable present.

VETO OF THE FREED-MEN'S BILL.—The President's veto of this bill is, by every rebel in the South, and by the rebel papers, declared to be the greatest victory they have achieved since the first Bull Run! The President's veto of this measure may have been intended as a rebuke to some extreme men of the North: and, as it contained some objectionable features, his veto may well have been honest and conscientious, and affording no grounds for a split between the President and Congress, but for some private facts which have come to my knowledge. I state them with perfect freedom, and pledge myself for their correctness. The bill was taken to the President by Major-Generals Howard and Fisk, and read section by section before it was introduced into Congress. General Fisk objected to some of its features, but the President defended those very points. He afterwards got into a quarrel with Sumner and Stevens, extreme men of the North; and he turned to affiliate with the extreme men of the South. He should have stated his objections then, and prevented this collision between him and his friends.

SUBSCRIPTIONS & DONATIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Per Miss Remond	40	0	0	Mr. A. Brown	0	2	6
J. Elgar, Esq.	5	0	0	R. W. Briggs, Esq.	2	0	0
Mrs. P. Cudworth	10	14	0	J. F.	0	2	8
Wm. Martin, Esq.	1	1	0	Mrs. Pine	0	10	0
Hon. Lyulph Stanley	5	0	0	Miss A. Slatter	0	10	0
Wm. Took, Esq.	10	0	0	Miss J. Slatter	0	10	0
Rev. S. Garratt, M.A.	1	1	0	Per Miss L. G. Gulliford	14	5	9
Rev. J. Allum, Reading collection	0	11	0	Mrs. Eimen	0	5	0
Miss Portal (collection)	53	9	0	Per Rev. J. Keynes, Wimborne	3	7	3
Rev. A. S. Trotman, collection at				Four Copies "Abraham Lincoln"			
Gainsboro' Chapel	2	0	0	Rev. W. Tyler	0	18	0
Rev. J. Williams	2	0	3	Per Rev. Mr. Merriman	0	11	0
Rev. E. Price, collection at Lime-				A Lady at Camberwell	5	0	0
house	5	0	0	Per Sale of "Freed-Man"	5	3	3
Per Mr. W. Ludbrook	1	14	0	Lady Stephen, per the Rev. Samuel			
Rev. J. S. Nightingale	0	10	0	Garratt, M.A.	5	0	0
Dr. J. Epps	0	5	0	Mrs. Edwards, Battle, per Mrs.			
Collection at Exeter Hall	15	0	0	Peter Taylor	0	2	0
T. B. Bell, Esq.	0	5	0				
R. Peek, Esq.	1	1	0	Per W. H. Kitchin.			
Per John Alsop, Esq.	3	15	6	Public collection at meeting held in			
Sale of "Freed-Man"	4	13	7	Whitehaven	3	17	0
J. F. Linden, Esq.	0	2	6	Mr. Simpson	2	0	0
Rev. E. A. Shalders, B.A.	12	0	0	Rev. F. A. Charles	0	5	0
Rev. W. Cook, D.D.	0	10	0	Mr. Wardhaugh	0	5	0
Mr. G. Joseland	0	10	0	Dr. Crerar	0	5	0
Benjamin Scott, Esq.	10	0	0	A. B. C.	0	1	0
Dr. Epps	0	5	0	Mr. W. McGowan	0	2	6
Wm. Shaen, Esq., M.A.	2	0	0	Mr. W. Stalker	0	5	0
J. M. Ludlow, Esq.	1	10	0	Mr. W. H. Kitchin	0	5	0
Jas. Chalmers, Esq.	1	0	0	Mr. Muncester	0	5	0
Periodicals	0	1	6	Mrs. J. McGowan	0	2	6
Per Dr. Waddington	2	2	0	B. C. D.	0	1	0
E. Smith, Esq.	0	10	0	A Friend	0	1	0
Jos. Lower, Esq.	0	10	0	Small Sums	0	2	0
Handel Gosham, Esq.	3	3	0				
J. P. Bacon, Esq.	5	0	0	WYMOUTH: Per Rev. W. H. Jones.			
Per Mrs. P. Taylor	22	0	0	Mrs. Coles	0	10	0
Rev. J. Thomas	1	0	0	Miss Herring	0	10	0
S. Harwood, Esq.	5	0	0	Rev. W. Lewis	0	10	0
Mrs. P. Taylor (Balance)	1	6	2	D. Paigion	0	5	0
Dr. Epps	0	5	0	T. Anderson	0	5	0
Mr. Dolphin	0	5	0	A. Bolt	0	5	0
J. W. Probyn, Esq.	5	5	0	Mrs. Wills	0	2	6
Lord Alfred S. Churchill	5	0	0	D. Robins	0	2	6
Rev. F. D. Maurice, M.A.	1	1	0	Mr. Damon promised one Box of			
Miss H. Taylor	1	0	0	Clothing			
John Stuart Mill, Esq., M.P.	2	0	0	Hope Independent Chapel, (Rev.			
V. Schoelcher, Esq.	1	0	0	Mr. Lewis)	1	6	1
Per Mr. L. Webb	4	10	0				
Per Mr. F. Winpenny	2	2	0	Collection at the Portland Wesleyan			
John Norton, Esq.	1	0	0	Chapel	2	10	0
Rt Hon Stephen Lushington, D.C.L.	15	0	0	Do. at the Independent	2	0	0
Mrs. J. Butler	0	10	6				
Rev. E. Kell, Southampton	1	0	0	Collection at the Wesleyan Chapel			
Per Mr. Davies	0	13	0	Dorchester	2	0	6

THE FREED-MAN.

CURIOSITIES IN THE PAST CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE OF JAMAICA.

BY DR. FRED. TOMKINS, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

We find in the Appendix O of a work entitled "Lights and Shadows of Jamaica History," by the Hon. Richard Hill, Member of Her Majesty's Privy Council for Jamaica, and published by Ford and Gall, in Kingston; in 1859, many facts recorded which have a painful interest at the present time. The evil spirit that prompted the atrocities recorded by Mr. Hill is not to be exorcised from any community in an age, as the recent outrages in Jamaica painfully demonstrate.

The following illustrations of injustice and cruelty were extracted by the late Advocate General Boswell Middleton, from the Session Book of St. Thomas-in-the-East. There is not a parochial record which would not furnish similar examples of judicial severity.

"Extracts from the Trial Book kept at the Vestry Office, Morant Bay, Jamaica. Page 35. Year 1766:

"*Jack*, for being a runaway, sentenced to be immediately carried to the place of execution, and there to be hanged by the neck until he is dead, and his head to be cut off in the most public place on said estate.

"*Neptune*, for being a runaway, to have his right ear cut off.

"*Philander*, for practicing 'obeah,' to be hanged.

"*Warwick*, for killing a steer belonging to Lord Oslow's estate, to be hanged.

"*Brown*, for the same offence, sentenced to receive 39 lashes under the gallows while *Warwick* is executed.

"*Jack*, for killing a calf, to have both his ears cut off immediately.

"*Emma*, for running away, to receive 39 lashes every Monday morning for a month, to be chained during that time and branded on both cheeks.

"*Poor Nancy*, ditto.

"*Bacchus*, for running away and being in rebellion, and *Daniel*, for assault and robbery [we know what this meant in Jamaica] both to be hung, beheaded and their bodies burnt to ashes.

"*London*, for stealing some rum, sentenced to have his right ear immediately cut off close to his head, and, after being soaked in rum, to be nailed upon the door of the store.

"Winter, convicted of practicing 'obeah,' was sentenced to transportation.—Evidence: Deponent on searching prisoner's house found sundry matters such as egg-shells tied up in plantation trash, fowls' feet, fish-bones, feathers and sundry other matters, in a basket; also a coney skin or some such thing, stuffed in a bottle, which those who practice 'obeah' commonly make use of, &c.

"Richard, charged with the crime of having fresh meat found upon him, sentenced to be worked in chains along with another negro for four weeks, and to receive 39 lashes every Monday morning."

"Plato" did not escape so easily, for he was for the same offence sentenced to have "both his ears cut off close to his head, to be worked in chains for twelve months, and to be brought down to Yallahs Bay the first Monday in every month and receive 39 lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails on his bare back each time. Listen to poor "Mercury's" sentence for having 10 lbs of fresh veal in his possession: "to have his right ear cut off close to his head, then to receive 50 lashes, and to be worked in chains on Mount Ida plantation till the work-house [i.e. the prison] be established, and then to be delivered to the said work-house for six calendar months from this date, and to receive 50 lashes twice a month during that time."

Let us turn to page 22 of the next year for a piece of refinement of cruelty practised upon "Quaco" and "Thunder" for running away, the former having ventured to defend himself against his pursuers. Poor "Quaco" was sentenced "to have both his ears cut off close to his head, and also the great tendon, commonly known by the name of Tendo Achilles, of his left leg to be separated or cut asunder in such a manner as it may not re-unite." The prisoner "Thunder" was sentenced "to have his right leg cut off below the knee, by a surgeon, at the proprietor's expense, within ten days from the date hereof: Witness our hands and seals this, &c., Robert Warren, Fran. Fourraces, Richard Barham, John Frone; Richard Wansborough, Clk. Peace. Poor "Jackson," who had made tracks, probably under some gulling injustice, was sentenced "to have his right ear cut off close to his head—it must be close to the head—his nose slit, and to be branded in each cheek with the plantation mark: 5th July, 1780." But enough of these heart-sickening recitals, since that entire generation has passed away. Now, at least the slave has found rest from the oppressions and tortures of his white tyrant. The master and the slave of those days, no longer hostile, lie side by side under the ever green sod of the quiet Jamaica valley, or are buried beneath the sunny hill sides and fertile slopes of its mountains.

The authority for the perpetration of these crimes, was found in the 8th William III, c. 2., passed in 1695—6 and entitled, "An Act for the better order and government of slaves." This statute among other things enacted—

"That if any slave shall offer any violence, by striking or otherwise, to any white person, such slave shall be punished at the discretion of two justices and three freeholders, who may inflict death, or any other punishment according to their discretion.

"Every master, mistress, &c., shall cause all their slaves' houses to be diligently and effectually searched once every fourteen days, for clubs, wooden swords, or other mischievous weapons, and finding them shall take them away and cause them to be burnt.

"Any slave in whose custody stolen goods shall be found shall suffer death, transportation, dismembering, or other punishment, at the discretion of two justices and three freeholders, or the major part of them, one of whom to be a justice."

There is a bill of Mr. Nixon's, the Clerk of the Peace at St Thomas-in-the-East, p. 490 in the Vestry book, from which it appears that £1 8s. 9d. was the charge for cutting off an ear, or a foot, or a leg, or for hanging, or for burning; the charge is made for burning a poor slave named "Buckingham." Mr. Nixon, however, only charged a like sum in one case for cutting off an ear, and slitting the nose of a black man named "London." Cruelties unfit to be mentioned are recorded, and when some of the more humane inhabitants of Kingston and of St. Iago de la Vega petitioned to be heard by themselves or counsel in relation to the same, it is stated in the journals that on debate and motion to hear these petitioners, the application was negatived.

Not only were the Negroes themselves cruelly maltreated, but their friends and instructors were not allowed to escape. An Act was passed "to prevent the preaching of ill-disposed, illiterate, or ignorant enthusiasts, whereby not only the minds of the hearers are perverted with fanatical notions, but opportunity is afforded them of concerting schemes of much private and public mischief." This act was interpreted as limiting religious ministration to the Established Church. The offender was to be deemed a rogue and a vagabond, and for the first offence was to be committed to the workhouse. What was called the "workhouse" was the house of correction for slaves. A sentence to it was a committal to "filth and vermin."—Squalor carceris. The offender for the second offence was to receive a public flogging not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, or such punishment in cases that were deemed heinous as "the court should see fit to inflict, not extending to life." This act was passed so recently as the 18th Dec., 1802, without any discussion, and immediately the Methodist Missionary, the Rev. D. Campbell, was imprisoned and the chapel in Kingston closed. A Mr. Frisk was also prohibited preaching; and the Rev. Mr. Reid, the Scotch Missionary, and Mr. Swingle, the Baptist Minister, were silenced. At that unfortunate locality, Morant Bay, these persecutions were commenced, whilst the Rector of the parish was on leave of absence in England, so that that large district was left without any christian minister. It was somewhere about this time, that a profane and infidel Club, which continued in existence for years, was got up at Morant Bay called the "HELL-FIRE CLUB."

We have called public attention to these atrocities of the men of a bygone generation, because it is the same spirit in Jamaica that has given rise to the cruelties and public scandal of the present hour. In 1827 that great man, George Canning, told the colonists that "as the governing part of society they might win to themselves by indulgence and conciliation these poor people, whom it would be absolute madness and the most incredible folly with their eyes open not to conciliate." Mr. Canning goes on to say, "he would leave to the colonies the means of attaining his object as fast as they could by a conquest

of prejudice; but he would exact from them the removal of positive evil. IN DUE TIME, IF THEY DID NOT REMOVE IT THEMSELVES, IT MUST BE REMOVED FOR THEM." (See Hansard's Parl. Deb., vol. 17, N. S.) To these words we call the attention of our government, and in the name of humanity and justice we ask that they may be verified. Government has acted hitherto with promptness and impartiality. The colonists in Jamaica have failed—grievously and shamefully failed—to do their duty. The cause of the outraged and the too-long-neglected Negroes of Jamaica is now committed to ministers whom we desire to trust. Let Earl Russell and Mr. Gladstone, let Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Forster resolve, come what may, to redeem Jamaica from oppression and to declare that this day the words of the immortal Canning shall be fulfilled.

JAMAICA REPORT.

The long expected report of the "Jamaica Royal Commission" has been presented to Parliament with the voluminous evidence on which it is based. The more closely the evidence is examined, we believe the more difficult it will be found to reconcile the narrative of the Royal Commissioners as to the origin and course of the outbreak, with the statements of the witnesses taken in their completeness. The more flagitious cases of outrage and cruelty on the part of the military are suppressed in a manner so palpable that it cannot fail to call forth the indignant comments of a vigilant press. Eventually the truth will be brought out with greater distinctness. The contrast between the treatment of the case of Mr. Gordon and that of those who are known to have committed the greatest outrage is too striking to escape the attention of the most cursory reader of the documents. With wearisome prolixity the Royal Commissioners recite the minutest particulars that may tend to lower the character or position of Mr. Gordon. Jocular observations in off-hand conversation are repeated as the avowal of deliberate purpose; documents respecting his commercial transactions and other papers, equally irrelevant, are given with a manifest bias, and yet the conclusion after all is inevitable, recorded in the words of Mr. Cardwell, that "the evidence, oral and documentary, appears to be wholly insufficient to establish the charge upon which the prisoner took his trial." "His trial by Court Martial and his execution by virtue of the sentence of that court, are events which Her Majesty's Government cannot but CONDEMN and DEPLORE." The annals of illegal violence surely contain no record more condemnatory of its authors than the reports of the Court Martial in reference to cases on which the Royal Commissioners preserve a silence that compromises their moral dignity far more than any reflections that can be made upon their course.

Take a single example—that of McKINTOSH. A comparison of the evidence given by Rev. Stephen Cook, Mr. Stephen Cook, Clerk of the Peace, and Henry Clyne shows unmistakeably that on the day of the riot he was standing by the Clerk of the Peace in the Court House, the rioters were about to enter the place

and McKintosh was urged to meet them and persuade them to go back. With some reluctance he went out and tried to check the rioters. As he raised his hand for the purpose the volunteers fired and McKintosh was wounded in the back. He did not return, for he was taken to the hospital. In this condition he was summoned to appear before the Court Martial, and sentenced to death by hanging. Nothing is more clearly proved than his self-sacrificing attempt to prevent the entrance of the mob into the Court House, yet his life was wantonly sacrificed, and not a word is said by the Commissioners in the case. The absence of all moral sensibility in the matter is most astounding.

Judicial delicacy is shown nevertheless in the case of Provost Marshal, Mr. Ramsay. The pre-eminence of this barbarous official in acts of atrocity is unquestioned; his name is covered with infamy in every part of the civilized globe. In his letter to Captain Luke he said, "I hope I may not be thought seeking for *pecuniary benefit alone* in claiming the rewards for information against G. W. Gordon." It will be believed by all that he had a satisfaction in his horrible work beyond that of the "price of blood." His services have had full recognition, and in consideration of them, though charged with murder, he enjoys at this time the advantage of *bail*.

In allusion to his case, the Royal Commissioners say: "It will be observed that a great deal of evidence laid before us with a view of proving the use of undue severity of martial law has reference to the conduct of Mr. Gordon Ramsay, the Provost Marshal. As he is now about to take his trial on a charge of wilful murder for an act done by him while he filled that office, it was not thought right by any of the parties concerned in the enquiry that he should be asked any questions, the answers to which, or a refusal to answer which might prejudice him on his trial. It will be obvious that for the same reason *it would not be right for us to make any remarks upon his conduct.*"

The consideration of the Royal Commissioners is admirable, but for their own credit it would have been well if it had been shown equally on the side of the oppressed.

There is not a word in the report, so far as we can trace, to indicate that those who conducted this momentous inquiry were possessed of either moral sensibility or manly courage, to characterize distinctly the evils brought to light. Credit for diligence, patience and care in the investigation will be freely given, but a more conscienceless document, under all the circumstances, could hardly be produced. Wanton outrage indeed is condemned, but we look in vain for the brand on those by whom it was individually perpetrated, except, in the case of the "uneducated peasantry." The report closes in the following terms:—

"Lastly, that the punishments inflicted were excessive.

"1. That the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent.

"2. That the floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous.

"3. That the burning of a thousand houses was wanton and cruel.

"All which we humbly submit to your Majesty's gracious consideration." Mr. Secretary Cardwell states that "Her Majesty's Government do not feel that they should discharge their duty by advising the Crown to replace Mr. Eyre in his former government." Mr. Cardwell says: "On my own part, I have to request that you will cause careful investigation to be made in those cases of civilians which appear to require it, with a view to such further proceedings as may be requisite and just." "Great offences ought to be punished."

With the result of this protracted and searching enquiry now before us, we submit for deep and serious consideration the following queries:—

1. *What has been done to elevate the moral condition of the coloured people in the disturbed districts of Jamaica since the time of emancipation?*

For more than thirty years there has been a fair opportunity to give them sound and thorough instruction. We have a most humiliating demonstration of their neglected state in the almost unintelligible jargon in which the witnesses gave their evidence. "As regards the negroes, "the Royal Commissioners tell us they are "for the most part *uneducated peasants*, speaking in accents strange to the ear, often in a phraseology of their own, with vague conceptions of number and time, unaccustomed to definiteness or accuracy of speech." Their ideas are as confused as their language is broken. They neither understand their rights nor can they fulfil with intelligence their social duties. Mr. Mowat, in a letter dated Windsor Forest, St. David, Jamaica, April 24th, 1866: says "the masses are degraded because they are ignorant, and they are demoralized and superstitious because they are degraded; and ignorant and degraded because they are exposed to all those vices, irreligion and superstition that are so painfully manifest among them, and which have done so much to retard their progress." People in such a condition must become a serious element of danger in the strongest community: much more so in a country like Jamaica. Without a change, society there must tend to disintegration.

2. *What sort of leaders have these ignorant and unhappy people?*

The best teachers in some respects are required for those who are least instructed—for this reason, that so much misapprehension has to be removed and *they have all to learn.*

Mr. Eberhart, Superintendent of the freed schools in Georgia, writing to the Freed-men, April 23rd, 1866, says: "The next school year begins the first of October, 1866; and it is my earnest desire to open, at that time, as many schools as possible, and all in charge of the very best teachers.

"Some of you very erroneously think any kind of a teacher will do for your children. You can never hold an opinion which, if carried into action, is fraught with greater evil to all the fondest hopes and dearest interests of yourselves and your children.

"You are, now, *only beginning to live as men*; before you were only property—*things*—and your future happiness and prosperity depends very largely upon

beginning right—and to begin right, you must have earnest, conscientious and *competent* teachers: for they are to mould the character of your children, and to instil into their minds the principles which shall guide them, and form the habits which shall govern them during all their years of manhood."

This is the course pursued in America in relation to the Freed-men. Ample evidence has been given in our pages that they have indeed had some of the *best* teachers. We fear that in many districts of Jamaica, some of the most unsuitable teachers have been sent and that character has been moulded under influences positively the worst. We reap what has been sown. The report of Mr. Mowat given from the vicinity of the recently disturbed districts, should be thoughtfully considered. "There was a time" he tells us, "in the time of trouble and persecution when the missions in this island were proverbial for prudence, piety and diligence." He intimates that there has been a change in this respect; the evangelist from family connexions has become half planter, and as such more exacting than his neighbours, who say of him, "How he hates the blacks!"

The present juncture is one of grave responsibility. The people of England are now on their trial. It is of unspeakable moment, for the honour, safety and well-being of the nation, that we should do justly in our colonial dependencies, and that our example before the world should be worthy of imitation.

The service rendered in the cause of the Freed-men in America has already secured for us great advantage in the frontier line of Canada. It is well for us that instead of uninstructed, uneasy and oppressed coloured people in that colony, we have on the border 100,000 loyal contented and attached British subjects of the African race. The American government is making an ample return for the aid given to the freed-men in the South, in vigorously checking the Fenian raid.

Why should not we gain to the side of Great Britain and to the cause of freedom and humanity, the half million of coloured people in Jamaica? No time should be lost. We have repeated for several months the statement now endorsed by the government that *the burning of 1000 houses was wanton and cruel*. More than this, it was in itself an example and an incentive crime of the most perilous kind, the folly and madness of which could not be exceeded. Will this great country remain content with the repetition of the statement without building up those rustic dwellings?

We must go beyond this. Industrial schools on the best system and with the most devoted and judicious teachers should be planted in the centre of the most neglected districts. The times may be unfavourable—routine and superficial philanthropy may start objections—but we have yet faith in the conscience and heart of our nation to do all that the case requires.—W.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE acknowledge with thanks five shillings in postage stamps from C. W., Ipswich.

WE regret that Mr. Bourne's letter, which is in type, must stand over till next month.

OUR Subscriptions are also crowded out this month.

ALL orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to
ARLISS ANDREWS, 7, Duke St., Bloomsbury.

The Freed-Man.

JULY, 1866.

"I have observed with satisfaction that the United States, after terminating successfully the severe struggle in which they were so long engaged, are wisely repairing the ravages of civil war. The abolition of slavery is an event calling forth the cordial sympathies and congratulations of this country, which has always been foremost in showing its abhorrence of an institution repugnant to every feeling of justice and humanity.—QUEEN VICTORIA.

AN APPEAL FROM AFRICA.

The present monetary crisis is affecting, more or less, all the philanthropic institutions of the country. As the case of Jamaica is so ably presented in other parts of the present number, we may devote these few lines to a plea on behalf of three little boys, cast upon Mr. W. Craft, now in Dahomey, for protection and instruction. Mr. Craft's son, an intelligent well-behaved boy, in the absence of his father, writes as follows:—

12, Cambridge Road, Hammersmith,
June 23rd, 1866.

Dear Sir,

My mother wished me to ask you if you do not think that your Society could help father educate three little African boys that

were given to him as slaves. It is his wish to have these boys educated for schoolmasters and missionaries. The little fellows have been at school for three years through the kindness of * * * Dr. Hodgkin, and the late Mrs. Reid, but as death has taken away two of these noble friends of the negro, these three little boys are left without friends. The brightest and most intelligent of these three boys was presented to * * * and the child was christened * * * You will see by the enclosed note that owing to the great panic, our dear good friend * * * is no longer able to do any more for the little boy, of course these children are on my father's hands, and he is most anxious to have them kept at school. The sum is very small for the board and education of the little boys, being £12 each per annum; my father clothes them himself. Mother sincerely hopes that you will not be offended with her for begging you to help these poor little boys—once heathens; she feels so very deeply for them, and hopes that the kind christians of this country will not allow them to go back to the barbarous King of Dahomey.

I am, Sir,
Your very obedient servant,
CHARLES CRAFT,
For E. Craft.

We need not add a word to this. The following donations are promised—British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, £10; Lord Alfred Spencer Churchill, £3 3s. Aid may be sent to Dr. Fred. Tomkins, 102, Fleet Street, E.C.

On Wednesday evening, June 21st, a meeting in aid of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, was held in Deverell Street Congregational Chapel, Old Kent Road. The Rev. N. T. Langridge, of St. Mary's Cray, the former minister of the Church, presided, and spirited addresses were delivered by the Rev. G. Denniston, the Rev. W. H. Jones, the Rev. W. Morton Mather, and the Secretaries of the Society. A collection was made amounting to several pounds.

CINCINNATI.

To the Secretary of the British and Foreign
Freed-Men's Aid Association.

June 8th, 1866.

Gentlemen,

The day before yesterday I received a letter from our respected friend Levi Coffin, of Cincinnati, with the enclosed. Levi Coffin has met with a very serious accident, which for a time threatened to conclude his labours upon this earth—but I am glad to say that he has so far wonderfully recovered.

I am, respectfully,

WILLIAM ALLEN.

Treasurer's Office, Western Freed-Men's Aid
Commission,

No. 25, West Third Street, Cincinnati,

April 9th, 1866.

Mr. Wm. Allen, London, England.

Dear Sir,

Your favor, authorizing the Treasurer of the Western Freed-men's Aid Commission to draw for £100 sterling, by the hands of Levi Coffin, for the benefit of the Freed-men, is received. On their behalf please accept the thanks of the Commission.

Yours respectfully,

JOS. F. LARKIN, Treasurer.

Treasurer's Office, Western Freed-men's Aid
Commission,

No. 25, West Third Street, Cincinnati,

May 15th, 1866.

Mr. William Allen, London, England.

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 19th of April, is received with stated enclosures, £20 sterling, for the benefit of the Freed-men. On their behalf please accept the thanks of the Commission.

Yours respectfully,

JOS. F. LARKIN, Treasurer.

THE Freed-Men's Saving and Trust Co. Bank was established here six or seven months ago, and has had one hundred and three thousand dollars deposited in it by those who a year or so ago were the property of somebody else.—*Cincinnati Colored Citizen*.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN FREED-MEN'S
AID SOCIETY.

MEETING AT TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

A meeting in aid of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, was held on Thursday evening, June the 21st, at the Sussex Hotel Assembly Rooms. The Rev. G. Jones occupied the chair, and there was a very fair attendance. E. T. Smith, Esq., barrister-at-law, and local Secretary of the Society, first gave a brief account of its rise, and the results accomplished by it. It was first originated with a view to helping the negroes of the Southern States who were by the late war suddenly released from slavery in a condition unfavourable to an appreciation of the blessings of liberty. Money had been sent over for their relief, agricultural implements to stimulate their industry, teachers to impart education, and ministers to preach the Gospel. By these means great good had been accomplished, and yet greater good was sure to follow. The recent events in Jamaica had induced the Society to alter its name, extend its operations, and engage in so large a work as called for increased support at the hands of all bodies of Christians. Fred. Tomkins, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., who attended as a deputation, gave a very interesting account of his experiences in America, and the condition in which he found the emancipated negroes. Contrary to the generally received opinion he declared them honest, industrious, eager for knowledge, and possessed of a thoroughly devotional spirit. He made a powerful appeal on their behalf—pointed out that these coloured races had a prominent part to play in the history of the world and of religion, and called upon all to reciprocate the friendly feeling of America towards England by assisting the United States to deal with their greatest difficulty, the manumitted slaves. He was followed by the Rev. W. H. Jones, a coloured minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who delivered a very animated and forcible address in favour of the claims of the Society. The meeting was rendered more interesting by the presence of Mrs. Craft, who many years ago escaped from slavery, and created a profound sensation by the publication of a narrative of her sufferings. The object of her

visit was to form in Tunbridge Wells a ladies' auxiliary, for which purpose it was arranged that she should meet ladies at the Countess of Huntingdon's school-room next morning. After a few words from the chairman, the proceedings terminated, and a collection was made at the doors.

MEETING AT POOLE, DORSET.

On Monday, May 28th, a public meeting in aid of this society, was held at the Town Hall, Poole. The Rev. A. Wilkinson, incumbent of St. James's, occupied the chair, and there were also present the Rev. G. Morgan, the Rev. J. H. Osborne, the Rev. E. T. Verrall, B.A., F. Tomkins, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., and the Rev. W. H. Jones, a coloured gentleman, a freed-men's missionary from America.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly opened the meeting,

Dr. TOMKINS said that the members of this society were not sectarian. They felt it their duty to clothe the naked, to relieve, as far as possible, their necessities, and to educate the 4,000,000 of freed blacks in the Southern States. For these purposes there had been obtained from various sources during the last eighteen or twenty months, from £80,000 to £90,000. He then proceeded to say that the freed negroes were doing all they could to help themselves, and mentioned instances of the efficient operation of the Civil Rights Act in Louisiana and Indiana, in giving to the freed blacks liberty of religious worship, and a title to all civil rights. The society was making great progress, 200,000 black people in the Southern States having learned to read and write during the past year, 50,000 of whom had received instruction from teachers supported by funds derived from this country. The American people were a noble people in their philanthropy and felt grateful to us for this help, but we should also bear in mind that we were indebted to the United States during the Lancashire distress, and for the splendid gift of Mr Peabody. Dr. Tomkins then read extracts from an American paper, showing how actively and willingly the freed negroes themselves assisted in the work of education and gave proof of the general improvement among their class. As to the alleged incapacity of the negroes, he remarked

that human nature was much the same all the world over, and it was a libel on our common humanity to say that the black man did not possess those same feelings which white men sought to monopolise to themselves. He contended that after being educated and religiously instructed they would become most useful citizens in the United States and in the British West Indian islands. As a proof of this he mentioned instances of the vast amount of good that was being done in Dahomey and other parts of Africa, by coloured ministers (especially by Bishop Crowther and Mr. William Craft) in the conversion and improvement of their sable brethren. Whilst he did not wish to say that all slaveholders were bad and unscrupulous, he adduced ample reasons in favour of universal freedom, and he proceeded to show, by examples, that the negro race possessed not only the ordinary feelings of humanity, but also the faculties for receiving instruction, and for becoming adepts in mathematics, and in prose and poetical compositions—and here, as examples of negro culture and taste, the speaker read a piece of poetry written by a black man, and a prose composition by a black woman, both of which exhibited marks of intellectual culture, of considerable imaginative power, and of equal command of language. Dr. Tomkins pointed out that many gentlemen of influence in the South, now very cheerfully assisted the efforts of the society. He then spoke of the interviews he had enjoyed with President Lincoln and General Grant, both of whom gave him every welcome and most ample facilities in his philanthropic work among the blacks in the South during the war. He spoke of the attachment of the Americans to this country, their ancestors having lived here, all he had spoken to saying, God forbid that they should ever wish to overthrow the sacred altars or disturb the sepulchres of the old land. After again urging the claims of the society upon the consideration of the audience,

The Rev. W. H. JONES addressed the meeting. He said there was not a drop of any but coloured blood in his veins, and he would not be of any other colour for a thousand pounds. He was about 40 years of age, had embraced Christianity, and for more than half of his life

had been engaged in imparting the gospel to his fellow creatures. He then mentioned painful examples of the practice of selling slaves, and he proceeded to say that in spite of what had been said in disparagement of the negro, he would make the same amount of progress as one of any other race, provided he had an equal chance. He then dwelt upon the great progress of religion which had been and was still being made among the freed black community, and the unalterable attachment of the race to the religion they professed. This was true of the coloured inhabitants of every city and town in the Union. After saying that the blacks did not drink half so much intoxicating beverage as the whites, he alluded to the great care they took of their sick, and the ample provision they made for burying their dead. Black men were not satisfied with merely being free, but they desired to have both their houses and chapels equal in elegance and size to those of the white men, and to live with all that refinement which characterised the respectable portion of the white community. They are, thank God, not altogether unsuccessful in their aspirations for these things. What they wanted was a practical settlement of the question whether the black man, with the same opportunities as the white man, would not make the same progress. He contended that the question would be truthfully answered in the affirmative, and all that was needed was that the efforts of the free blacks themselves should be assisted and seconded by help from this country. He mentioned examples of the good conduct of black communities, and he related, for instance, that in the Buxton Settlement, among three thousand black inhabitants, there had not been reported during nine years a single case of drunkenness. He spoke of the demonstrative loyalty of the blacks, and their love of a free life, and he read some poetry composed among them in Canada, which was very unique but characterised by a loyal spirit towards our Queen. He concluded by invoking God's blessing upon England, and by expressing a hope that the negro would show himself worthy of our sympathy.

The Rev. A. WILKINSON then expressed the

deep interest he had taken in the addresses of the deputation, and urged the claims of the society upon the assembled audience. He trusted that all would respond to the appeal that had been made.

Dr. TOMKINS proposed a vote of thanks to the Rev. Chairman, and took occasion to remark upon the great and willing assistance the society had received from the dignitaries and ministers of the established church.

The doxology was then sung and the benediction pronounced, after which the meeting separated. A collection was made at the door.

NEGRO EXTINCTION.

The devices of the enemies of the coloured race are curious and manifold. It is gravely asserted that there will be little need for any aid to the Freed-men because of their rapid decline in number. No longer under the fostering care of benevolent slave-holders, it is maintained that nothing can save them from gradual extinction. Many accept with easy credulity this representation, both as a relief from all responsibility and as a semi-justification of their opinions in favour of the continuance of slavery with certain slow ameliorations. It is certain that in some Southern districts the negro population has greatly diminished, not however by death, but by voluntary migration. Many perished no doubt in the terrible destitution and exposure of the first winter after their escape from bondage, but there is no evidence of decay arising from a transition to freedom. Mr. E. P. Smith, after an extensive tour in the Southern States, says: "I was told in some localities that a marked process of extinction had commenced. The proof was, that negroes were getting scarce. But when I asked for their graves they were not to be found. 'Has there been any unusual mortality here?' They did not know that there had. All that they knew was, that the negroes were not as numerous as they used to be." Ubiquity is not an attribute of the coloured man. It is unreasonable to expect that he can be found in two places at the same time. The coloured population of Texas has more than doubled. Southern Georgia and Alabama are crowded with ne-

goes taken from Tennessee and other states. There is a large accession to the coloured population of Canada. From the government returns of mortality in the camps, it is shown that the number of negro graves is not half that of the other troops. There is no foundation for the story that the Freed-men are fading away like the Indians of America; nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the two races. The Indian is profoundly vindictive; the negro is joyously oblivious of the wrongs he has suffered. The Indian shuns the white man and keeps apart in little gipsy encampments. The negro persists in keeping within the heart of modern civilization determined to raise himself above the lowest position. The Indian perishes from his habit of drinking spirituous liquors. Temperance is widely spread amongst the negroes, and they have found in the christian religion to a large extent an abiding source of support and pure enjoyment. They are winning confidence by their cheerful diligence. The Rev. C. L. Woodworth says: "On Sabbath, April 22nd, I attended in Charleston, S.C., the dedication of a meeting house for the coloured people. It had been bought of a *white* congregation for some 25,000 dols. The blacks had raised among themselves what they could, and then they had gone to the white people in the city, a number of whom subscribed very liberally. Among these was Mr. Trenholm, late treasurer of the rebel confederacy, for 100 dols., and Brig. Gen. Waker, of the rebel army, who lost a leg in an assault on our lines at Bermuda Hundred on the 22nd of May, 1864. He was left on the field. I saw him when he was brought into our lines, and gave him a draught of cold water, but thought that he must die. God however ordered it otherwise, and I met no man who accepts more gracefully the overthrow of the rebellion than he. Such men cannot give their money to coloured churches and schools without feeling a lively interest in them. At Charleston this same Mr. Trenholm, in connection with several other gentlemen, recently visited our schools for the purpose of gathering facts that might aid them in the establishment of similar schools in the parishes of the Episcopal church throughout the state. These things tell quite

as much on the whites as they do on the blacks. Gradually the wall of prejudice is melting down, and by-and-by will entirely disappear." "The black man" continues Mr. Woodworth, "is the only man who can do the work and live on the food that is furnished. He has the advantage too of numbers, and possession of the labour market; and I think he is bound to hold it against all comers."

In breaking the fetters of the slave, God has, at the same time, broken the power of the oppressor. We can now carry letters and religion, freedom and wealth, to the slave, not only through the *interest* of the master, but through his very *necessities*. The field is white for the harvest. Never a race so hungry for books, for the gospel, and for every good institution. Never did the church have thrown open to it so effectual a door, and laid open to it a work of so much promise."

We submit these interesting statements to the more reflecting portion of our countrymen. One of three courses is open to us.

1. We may try to keep the negro labourer down in our own colonies by fostering prejudice against him and denuding him of instruction, and of all opportunity to improvement that he may be retained for menial labour as a semi-serf. The cost in the end of such a policy must be terrible.

2. We may treat the case with temporary expedients, create a sensational interest, raise subscriptions to secure the fading laurels of a self-complacent or shallow philanthropy, and exert an influence to prevent any other mode of action. The result will correspond with the narrowness and vanity of the plans adopted.

3. We may be honest, consistent and thorough, look all the difficulties in the face, and resolve for the sake of humanity, for the credit of our country and in the fear of God, to meet our whole duty in the case, and keep at it until it is faithfully fulfilled.—W.

THE BEST PROTECTION FOR THE FREED-MEN.

It must be evident to all who observe what is passing in the countries where slavery has been abolished that the grand difficulty in the new era of emancipation is to secure real

and permanent protection for those who have received their freedom. An eye witness of the riots at Memphis says: (May 8, 1866) "It was started under the name of a negro riot, but from the first it was a white one, and had all the essential characteristics of the New York riot of two years ago. In no instance was there any combined effort among the blacks either for attack or defence. Some coloured soldiers just paid off and discharged attacked a policeman in revenge for the cruel treatment of one of their comrades a few days previous, and it is supposed in the *melee* killed him. Upon this the police rallied in full force, rushed down to the neighbourhood and without attempting to arrest the guilty parties, commenced an indiscriminate murder of the blacks. They shot down the innocent and unarmed while begging for mercy. The next day a cry was raised that the riot had begun again. The sheriff of the county, deceived we must believe by some designing villains, summoned a posse, including many old rebels and negro haters. The court adjourned and down they went to the scene of the previous murders. There was no riot whatever of the blacks, and had been none. The poor creatures were terrified, and hid from sight wherever they could. But this availed not. The mob broke open houses, shot down the inmates, broke open trunks, and robbed the poor in their poverty. In several instances women and children were killed. That day more or less of blacks in different parts of the city were shot down with impunity. It was a regular "slaughter of the innocents." About midnight of the same day the fires began to rage. These were the school houses and churches of the coloured people. Every one in the city was burned. The scenes and emotions of that night can never be forgotten. New cases of cruelty, robbery and murder are now coming to light daily.

But this is not all. The lives of the teachers and missionaries among the coloured people were threatened, and about twenty of these labourers for God and humanity have fled north for safety. From Granada, Mississippi and other places, they have been obliged to do the same thing. As the *Post* of this morning says, "at this rate the fair prospects that

a few weeks since existed of a steady improvement in the intellectual and moral status of the freed-men will soon all be blasted. With nearly all those here referred to, the writer is well acquainted. Many of the teachers were his constant hearers on the Sabbath, and he knows them to be, without exception, most excellent and devoted servants of the Lord Jesus Christ."

These scenes of disorder and violence there is reason to fear will often be repeated, especially in districts removed from the observation of just and philanthropic men. The cause of danger to the peace of such places is two-fold. The ex-slaveholders cannot bring their minds practically to recognize in the freed-men the ordinary rights of humanity and the ex-bondmen cannot divest themselves of distrust and apprehension. Fear is proverbially cruel. Men who are rendered desperate, whether white or black, often strike friend and foe without discrimination. Suppose a settlement of a thousand people to be removed from the centre of civilization to cultivate a distant waste in which there should be no vigilant press and few in the isolated community who could either read or write. Every member of this uninstructed community of necessity would be subject to injustice and injury in a hundred forms. He must buy at the price dictated by the seller, he must leave the reckoning for his own produce to the purchaser always having the power to take advantage, if not the disposition.

The helpless people, conscious of unfair dealing, would in turn form the most erroneous notions of the best means of redress. Their expectations might be altogether wild and their demands in a state of excitement utterly unreasonable.

In many districts in Jamaica this is the actual condition of the people, with the additional evil that they belong to a despised and hated race.

How can they be permanently protected so as to give stability to society and a basis for sound prosperity? A stipendiary magistracy though useful to a certain extent will obviously not meet the case. The witnesses before the recent commission, to our discredit as a nation, were found after thirty years of

emancipation incapable of speaking clear and intelligible English. The most upright judge in such a state of things must be perplexed beyond measure and give his decisions with the best intentions in the utmost uncertainty.

There can be no real protection for the freed-men until they are supplied with all the means of self-defence within the reach of a people thoroughly instructed how to manage their own affairs. It must be our constant and steady aim to put them in this position. Neither petting nor undue management by proxy will permanently improve their condition. The truth is that the oppressors of the freed-men are afraid of nothing so much as that in all the relations of life they should prove their capability of acting for themselves. Some of the ex-slaveholders in the southern states are beginning to see nevertheless that nothing will save them from convulsion but to make the freed-men useful citizens. Dr. Armstrong, who was committed by General Butler to Fort Harter, says: "I do not take back anything I may have said or written in regard to the rightfulness of holding slaves. I accept the fact however, that slavery is abolished in this country, and will never be re-established. The simple question with me now is, how can we prevent the negro from becoming a curse to himself and to us; how can we make the most and the best of his new condition? I say by giving him a christian education. I have visited your schools, I have called on your teachers, and if I had the placing and arranging of the whole work, I do not know that I would alter a thing. Persons have been sent here, I know not by whose authority, that have scandalized the work, but your teachers seem to me above reproach—christian men and women, who come to give the people not merely letters, but the gospel in its application to this life, without which letters would do them no good."

England in this matter has the most solemn responsibility. The honour, the safety and the lasting prosperity of our country are involved in the just protection of the humblest of the people. Righteousness exalteth a nation. Neglect and oppression must be followed with retribution. We have contracted before God and man the obligation to give

real emancipation to the coloured people in the West Indies. The non-fulfilment of this engagement is perilous.

"Ye had done right in my sight, saith the Lord, in proclaiming liberty, but ye turned, and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom he had set at liberty at their pleasure, to return, and brought them unto subjection, to be unto you for servants and for handmaidens. Therefore thus saith the Lord, ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty; behold! I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine."—Jer. xxxiv, 14-17.

We believe however that such judgments will be averted. Thoughtful, earnest and conscientious men are beginning to examine the matter with the care it demands; we ask their moral support. It is no secret that a determined attempt was made to suppress the "FREED-MAN," because of the word *Jamaica*. The impoverished ex-slaveholder of the southern states was deemed to have a prior claim* to the neglected coloured people of our own colonies, but we stand or fall by the principle which in the end will commend itself to the judgment, the conscience and the heart of every true friend of freedom and of humanity.—W.

THE CRISIS IN THE SCHOOLS.

The latest correspondence from our friends in America expresses deep concern in the state of their finances. The American Missionary Association has reached a point of difficulty that excites apprehension. The time for the payment of their teachers at the close of the scholastic year is just at hand. Sanguine expectation of pecuniary help to a larger amount than ordinary seemed to warrant them in increased expenditure. They have in consequence incurred liabilities which are somewhat serious. Without relief they will be a thousand pounds in debt on the first of July and their work will be hindered. Va-

* During the first quarter of the present year, in the state of Arkansas, there were distributed 234,063, rations to the whites, and only 32,065 to the freed-men.

rious causes have contributed to this partial collapse. Many benevolent friends of the freed-men have had no further intention than the relief of physical destitution and when the winter was over and gone they concluded that there was no further necessity for aid. It has been found moreover that the white population in the south, including the smaller ex-slaveholders, required help, and in conjunction with the freed-men several societies have determined to include the impoverished southern people in general. To many contributors this arrangement will be most agreeable. They can help the sufferers from the war in a way that will not wound their sensibilities. We think however that in societies properly instituted for the relief of freed-men where there is an enlargement of the sphere of benevolence it ought to be explicitly stated that the aid is extended to the former slave masters as well as to those who have been liberated. We believe that means are provided for the education of the poorer slave-holding class. They undoubtedly need instruction and if they can be induced to allow their neglected children to attend school in common with the coloured pupils, a great advantage will be secured. We fear that as yet very rare instances of the kind can be found. For ourselves, we feel growing confidence in the plan of directing our efforts to the improvement of the deeply injured coloured race. It seems to us that the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society will soon be, if it is not so already, the only really FREED-MEN'S Society in this country. We shall hold steadily on to our simple and grand object. Consistency, common-sense and christian equity and kindness will in the end be found on our side.

THE following is given as Jeff. Davis's bill of fare for his Sunday meals; and it is further stated that his week-day living is as ample and well selected. It does not look as though he was very badly treated:—Breakfast: Veal outlets, poached eggs (two), wheat and corn bread, butter, sugar, milk and coffee. Dinner: Broiled chickens, stewed oysters, potatoes, onions, bread and butter, coffee, sugar and milk.

Correspondence.

THE SCHOOLING OF THE NUMEROUS OFFSPRING OF THE POOR FREED-MEN.

Mr. Editor,—A circular having reached me, at the commencement of the movement, in which the destitution and sufferings of the freed-men were vividly portrayed, a ready response was accorded the same. Having learnt that their numerous children were estimated at eight hundred thousand, it occurred to me that an appeal might be made to the children of the Sunday Schools of Great Britain for small collections and donations in their favour. The matter was submitted to the Committee of the London and Newcastle-on-Tyne Unions with a request that they would take part therein, and thus set other Unions an example, but both declined, finding their hands full of other work. A circular was then drawn up and a copy thereof sent to the numerous schools of the Newcastle Union and the treasurer consented to take charge of contributions. Copies of the said circular were also sent to the secretaries of various other Unions throughout the country, though few of them, so far as we know, were induced to co-operate.

After waiting a month or so, not more than half-a-dozen schools replied. The writer then addressed a letter to those most likely to contribute. To not a few a third communication was made. At length a hopeful interest was exerted, and one school after another took the thing up. Not more than £10 was at first looked for, and now nearly £42 have been realized,—about £35 mostly in the schools of the Newcastle Union, and £7 in the North and South Shields Unions. Besides, £25 have been collected in the Halifax Union, whither a circular had been sent, and there may be more, of which the writer has not heard. This we infer from the letter of a clergyman in the south, requesting information as to where their money should be sent. In reply reference was given to the treasurer of the Birmingham and Midland Freed-Men's Aid Association—an association whose zeal, energy and perseverance have set a noble

example alike to our own and other countries in this great christian charity.

Some little time after our commencement, as the condition and prospects of the freed-men began to improve, as the people got into *free* labour, and which, thank God, they are willing to perform, the schools were advised thereof, and informed that subscriptions would now go towards the rearing and maintenance of day schools, wherein it was presumed sound religious instruction would also be afforded; and how gratifying it is to know, that *seventy thousand* or more of those poor coloured children are already attending those schools!

One may here well pause a moment to contemplate and adore the wisdom and goodness of God in thus opening a way, a once unlooked-for way, for the preservation and renovation of those myriads of youthful negroes, their welfare temporal and spiritual. Thus we once more see, how—

“God moves in a mysterious way;

His wonders to perform;

He plants His footsteps in the sea,

And rides upon the storm.”

Few indeed thought during that terrible war of four long years, which so suddenly terminated, that “a great door and effectual” would thus be opened for the rescue and salvation in every sense of the offspring of the late bondsmen! But so it is, good again is happily educed from seeming evil, and the wrath of man once more made to praise God. In devout admiration of this illustrious and stupendous event, let us reverently and cheerfully present our free-will offering. While we seek to inspire the children of our own beloved country with the meek and joyous ambition of sharing with us the duty and pleasure of educating and christianising the juvenile negro race, let us not cease to supplicate this blessing of God thereon, *may they become “a seed to serve Him,” a people formed for His praise.*

May the writer make free to submit to the Committee of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society the propriety and probable results of a general appeal to Sunday Schools through the Secretaries and Committees of the several Unions, and busy as the Committee of

the London Union are, for by the grace of God they are doing a great work, would they be induced to lead the way in this great christian charity, their advocacy, influence, and example would go far to give the move general success, and thus ample facilities would be afforded for the secular and religious instruction of the numerous children of the poor Freed-men both of Jamaica and America.

We may meely conclude our letter with a pertinent passage from the Report of the Annual Meeting of the American Bible Society, held in New York last month. “We remember the time when the Society undertook to give a Bible to every family in the United States *except the slaves*. We hail with delight the new proposition to give every family a Bible *not excluding the Freed-men*.” Blessed be God, Blessed be God, who is not ready to exclaim?

I am, Mr. Editor, yours truly,

E. RIDLEY.

Burswell House, Haxham, June 5th.

P. S. Enclosed is a cheque for £20 for the Treasurer of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Association, as part of the above money collected in the Sunday Schools. The other £32 we remit to the Birmingham Freed-Men's Aid Society.—E. R.

ON Wednesday evening, June 13th, a large and influential meeting was held at Trinity Congregational Church, Wandsworth Road, South Lambeth, to advocate the claims of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society. The chairman, the Rev. W. Morton Mather, minister of the place, briefly introduced the subject for which they had met together, and was succeeded by one of the Secretaries of the Society, the Rev. Dr. Waddington, who gave an interesting account of its objects and the work it had accomplished. The Rev. J. Bourne, recently from Jamaica, then entered into some very interesting and touching particulars of the late disturbances there. After addresses from the Rev. St. Dunston Rev. W. H. Jones, and Dr. Fred. Tomkins, the Meeting closed. Mrs. Craft and her mother were present on the platform.

THE FREED-MAN.

APPEAL FOR JAMAICA.

THE most recent and reliable information from Jamaica leaves no doubt in the minds of the well-wishers to the colony that, as far as regards the negro and coloured population, a state of hopelessness and distress prevails. This is not to be wondered at, when the sad and suffering condition of these poor people is borne in mind. From the report of Her Majesty's Commissioners it appears that at least one thousand houses belonging to the negroes have been wantonly destroyed. According to the evidence of Mr. Parry, the government surveyor, the property thus sacrificed is worth not less than £4,000. This estimate, however, does not include the mills and minor buildings. Nor does it include the furniture and clothing consumed or otherwise destroyed. The distress consequent upon this reckless destruction of property it is painful to contemplate. It is estimated that not less than 5,000 persons, principally women and children, are at the present time homeless. They are dwelling in the woods or in temporary sheds, in vast numbers of instances deprived by the hand of violence and cruelty of their natural protectors. The colonial government is prostrate and has probably not ability to aid these forlorn and suffering people. Our duty at the present time seems to be in the first instance to provide shelter for these poor outcasts, and afterwards to take measures for their social, educational, and moral improvement. The British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society is prepared to undertake this important work. Already it has opened up a correspondence with Jamaica, and a number of clergymen, ministers and gentlemen of the first respectability are prepared to co-operate with the London Society. A gentleman writing to us from Jamaica on the 23rd of May, says—"Since the receipt of your letter dated the 8th instant, I have written Mr. ——— intimating my willingness to co-operate in any measures for the carrying out of the wishes of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society. My idea of working the thing is, to form a Central Committee in Kingston, with branch Committees at Morant Bay, Blue Mountain Valley, at Bath, and at Manchioneal. I have discovered many real cases of loss and unrighteous suffering." Speaking of the district from whence the letter was written, the writer says—"To give a general view of things here, I may tell you that there are some 200 houses in this district burned. 100 may be

put down as destroyed by the recklessness of soldiers and pseudo-volunteers under Mr. ———, their brave lieutenant." The writer then speaks of the hardships, loss and impoverishment of the people, and says: "general and great is the distress brought on by our recent troubles." He concludes by presenting the following suggestions:—"That aid be given—

"1 For the immediate relief of hunger, nakedness and destitution.

"2 Pecuniary or material help to those who are desirous of re-building their homes.

"3 Aid in building or repairing mills, schoolrooms, places of worship, &c.

"4 A fund for the formation of primary schools in villages remote from the central schools."

The writer further says: "the 'Friends' gave me £50, and I got £20 from ———. £70 I have been enabled to distribute already, but to feed, to clothe, to aid in providing a temporary hut, what was that among so many? My humble prayer is that great as have been our troubles, greater may be the good stimulated by the Supreme Wisdom and Power."

It would be easy to present touching cases of distress, but this cannot be needed. The Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners—

"That the punishments inflicted were excessive—

"1 That the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent,

"2 That the floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous,

"3 That the burning of a thousand houses was wanton and cruel,"

together with the Minutes of Evidence, are sufficiently thrilling to afford a sufficient justification for my appealing with confidence to the sympathy and support of the generous British public. I shall be glad to receive the donations of those who are willing to come to the aid of these suffering and perishing people, or donations may be paid into Messrs. Barclay, Bevan, Tritton, & Co., Bankers, 54, Lombard Street, to the account of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, or sent to the Secretary, 102, Fleet Street, E.C.

I am yours faithfully, ALFRED S. CHURCHILL,

President of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society.

16, Rutland Gate, S.W., July 3, 1866.

In support of the preceding appeal from the President of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society the most affecting statements might be cited from the minutes of evidence taken before the Jamaica Royal Commission. The chief difficulty is in making a selection and in presenting a summary sufficiently condensed. The Blue Book contains 1162 pages. We present the following case as an example. On the 21st of October Lieutenant Adcock with a small company of volunteers came in carts to the house of Charles Mitchell at a place called Harbour-head. EDWIN GENTLE, a master builder, one of the volunteers, says: (3077) "Captain Adcock gave the word to halt: we all stopped, and he said, 'This fellow (Mitchell) looks d—d suspicious.' (3079) 'Any of you know this man; can any of you identify this man?' No one could. We all

said, no we did not know the man. He said 'Rear, advance.' The rear advanced, and one of the volunteers, whose name was Sigismund Depass, said, 'I know him, sir; he was one of the men with a cutlass in his hand.' The captain then gave orders to tie and shoot him." (3012) "He was tied to a tree in his yard and shot." (3083) "Whilst he was hanging shaking on the tree Sigismund Depass loaded his gun and went to his head." (3085) "The others began to set the house on fire; his wife was bawling, and another old lady." (3092) "We set two houses on fire." (3093) "They were Mitchell's houses." (3095) "He lived in one and his mother in the other."

LIEUTENANT HERBERT BURROUGHS ADCOCK did not admit on all points the correctness of the statement made by Mr. Gentle, the volunteer. Lieutenant Adcock said: (34,237) "Mitchell was 'charged with being concerned with the rebels at Morant Bay' on the 11th of October." (34,339) "I examined two witnesses upon that and it was proved, and I ordered him to receive fifty lashes." (34,240) "He was afterwards 'charged with having attempted to commit murder' on the 12th of October. I must tell you that he had received the fifty lashes. I then assembled the same officers again, and we examined into the case, and he was ordered to be shot. I had his house searched, and found some plunder there and a bayonet."

(34,878) "Depass and Mr. Duffus," Lieutenant Adcock said, "gave the most strong evidence that their lives were attempted by Mitchell."

The witness, Mr. DUFFUS, was proprietor of Bowden, and in the military expedition rode "in front along with Lieutenant Adcock" (9577). In his examination he stated that at the trial of Mitchell he was not sworn nor was his evidence taken down in writing. On the march he said to Lieutenant Adcock, "there was a man who was threatening me the other day" (9547); the troops were halted and he was arrested. On being pressed to explain the way in which his life was attempted by Charles Mitchell, Mr. Duffus gave the following answers:

"9539, The man went and cut off a bamboo, and said, that is the way to cut off buckra's head.

"9540, He did not cut your head off?—No.

"9541, Or your overseer's?—No.

"9542, Only the bamboo?—Yes.

"9543, And for that he was executed?—He was executed."

"SIGISMUND DEPASS, overseer to Mr. Duffus, said that Mitchell, irritated and angry in his manner, gave three chops to a bale of bamboos, and said: 'I would as soon cut your d—d head off'" (14804). "He was flourishing his cutlass recklessly, as if he were vexed, saying 'Why don't you put iron hoops on, and then they could not be chopped in that way'" (14,805). "Was any threat made use of by him with regard to yourself? (14,843). *Nothing beyond that.*" (14,844). "14,857, I was called up before Captain Adcock and saw Mitchell tied to a tree. I immediately said to the captain that I could give evidence of threats that man had offered to me. He asked me the nature of the threats:

I told him; and he said to me, can you swear that that man used those expressions, and held his cutlass over you; can you swear that that is the man. I said yes, I can swear it; there was some argument for some time; and the man was ordered to be shot.

"14,858, What do you mean by argument; what was said?—What was said between the officers I could not say.

"14,859, There was something said, you mean, by the three persons, the substance of which you did not hear?—No.

"14,860, Was that all you saw done?—I saw him shot.

"14,861, Who shot him?—The soldiers shot him.

"14,862, Only the soldiers?—No.

"14,863, Who else?—I fired at him too.

"14,901, Did you see the house burnt?—I saw the house in flames.

"14,902, Who set fire to it?—I do not know.

Mr. WILLIAM ASHWOOD, Captain of the Kingston Volunteer Cavalry, was also examined.

"13,653, Can you recollect the evidence the witnesses gave as to Mitchell being present at Morant Bay?—They identified him as one of the rioters, that was the substance of their evidence.

"13,654, Did they state that they had seen him?—Yes.

"13,655, Were those witnesses in Morant Bay the day of the riot?—I don't know; I should presume they were.

"13,656, Did you inquire whether the witnesses had been at Morant Bay yourself?—Yes, you can understand, your Excellency, that we should not upon such an occasion be so careless as a barrister would be here."

To complete the case Mr. JAMES HARRISON, attorney, manager and magistrate said, (2146), "We came across this man (Mitchell's) house, there were two gentlemen present, one of whom, Mr. Duff's, said, if I recollect right, that he had threatened his life. (5148), "We found upon Mitchell several papers, with Paul Bogle's signature. The one I saw was something about a meeting, it was very unintelligibly written, the signature was very indistinct. It was something about payment for some oil or something, at their meeting house, or about procuring some oil, I don't exactly remember the words, but he was found with this, and he was shot." The clearest statement was given by Ann Mitchell as the following extracts will show.

"4978, Where are you living?—At St. Thomas, in the East, at Harbour-head.

"4679, You were married in October last?—Yes.

"4680, Were you living at Harbour-head then?—Yes.

"4681, In a house of your own?—Yes.

"4682, What business did your husband carry on?—What did we do: he was a bowl maker by trade, and sometimes kept a school at spring.

"4685, When was he killed?—Last year.

"4686, In October last, during martial law, where was your husband?—At Harbour-head: they killed him on Saturday in the yard.

"4688, Were you there at the time?—I was there. When I came down I met them coming up, and I heard Mr. Harrison say, 'This is one of my people;' he said to me, 'Where is your husband?' I said he was at home.

"4690, After you said your husband was at home what was done?—He said that martial law was put on for seven years, and if I did not mind they would catch and shoot him.

"4696, Was your husband at home at that time?—He was in the house.

"4697, Whereabouts was he?—He was in the house, and I was standing close to the roadside. They came up and said, 'Who lives here? Open the gate,' and he opened the gate and they went in.

"4704, Keep your attention to what took place after he had opened the gate, and they all got in; what happened then?—When they came into the room they made search.

"4705, What for?—They said, 'Buckra's goods in the house?' they did not find anything, and they took away a coat that belonged to my husband, and when they asked who's coat it was she said it was her son's.

"4706, Who said that?—My husband's mother.

"4707, Was she in the house?—Yes.

"4708, Was he standing by at the time?—He had come out in the yard, and they were in the house.

"4709, What further was done by them?—After she said it was her son's coat they said, 'Where did nigger get such a coat as this?'

"4712, What next took place?—After they came out they asked where was the man. His mother said, 'Out in the yard,' and there they catch him, and tie him up to a quassia tree in the yard, and stripped his shirt off his back, and shot him, and gave him a shot in his eye.

"4718, They tied him to a tree in the yard, do you say?—Yes.

"4714, Did you see that done?—Yes; and as they shot him his head dropped.

"4724, Was that the only gun that was fired?—Three guns; they gave him and Depass shot him here (in the head) and his brains were scattered.

"4728, Did they all shoot him at once?—They fired the guns after one another.

"4727, How soon?—As one went 'boom' the others went 'boom boom'.

"4732, Of those three persons who fired, the first you say was Depass, a volunteer?—Yes.

"4753, Who were the other two?—I do not know.

"4754, Were they volunteers, or soldiers?—Volunteers; some of them were book-keepers who dressed themselves in regimentals.

"4755, But they were not soldiers?—No; when they shot my husband they put fire to the house at the very moment and burnt everything.

"4757, What became of you?—I was in the road.

"4758, You saw the house burnt?—When they shot him I ran in, and as I returned back I saw everything burnt down.

"4759, Where was your mother?—When I came back again I saw my mother as the house was burning, standing there folding her arms and when I

said 'What has he done?' the answer was that ~~Depass~~ had shot him; they took him from the tree, and one of the soldiers went and made his old mother come and stand over him.

"4760, Did the soldiers or volunteers do anything to you?—Nothing at all; they did nothing to me, only to my husband, and they burnt my house and left me in distress.

"4761, What became of you afterwards: where did you go after you returned and found your house burnt?—I left the body. I could not get anybody at all to come and bury him, so I went to a man, by the name of Phillips, a carpenter, and said I had no man to bury him and asked him to let a person come and bury his body. I followed him all the way. *They left him naked; I wrapped him in calico and carried him to the wharf.*

"4766, Did you bury him in the sea?—Yes.

"4767, Did the carpenter take his body in the sea?—It was Corporal Phillips; he was the one; he was a special constable. He was left at the station, and he took my husband to the pier and threw him in the sea.

"4774, You went to him and got him to come?—Yes, he sent a person to come and dig the hole, but at the time of martial law everybody near was afraid to come, and I wanted somebody who was not of the neighbourhood.

"4775, Was that your reason for going down to Port Morant and getting Phillips?—Yes."

We might give extracts to show the condition of the black population in the outlying districts of Jamaica—isolated from the towns, unvisited in many places by the white people, left without instruction, and sinking too often into a state of vice, crime and misery. The heart may well sicken at the spectacle presented. We could show the strong delusions to which they are subject in their state of ignorance, and the corrupt examples set before them by the white population, leading to wild excitement, the fear of being enslaved, and to consequent recklessness, but we forbear. We want attention to be fixed on the three poor women—the wife, the mother and the mother-in-law—leaving the murdered man in the sea, having lost the two houses provided for by his honest labour and seeking shelter in the bush, removed from the English civilization which might help and guide them, but from which they have suffered wrongs so deep and so cruel. The guilty no doubt there are, but we do not find them in the thousands of poor desolate women and children for whom we have so often asked timely succour and some proofs of practical sympathy.

We have not yet seen the extent of the oppression and of the woe that exists, but this story of calamity is surely enough. If it could be read in our English homes without moving the heart to pity and the hand to help; then indeed we should tremble for our country. But we have a very different expectation. The resources of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society are exceedingly limited; our advocacy is too feeble; but we have the full assurance that help will come. Let no one inclined to diminish this load of sorrow wait a moment longer: however small the tribute, let it come.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE are compelled to defer the announcement of the Tunbridge Wells collection and subscriptions for want of space till next month.

REPORT of Mr. Jones's labours will also appear in our next number.

ALL orders and enquiries concerning Advertisements, or other business connected with this Magazine, are to be addressed to
ARLISS ANDREWS, 7, Duke St., Bloomsbury.

The Freed-Man.

AUGUST, 1866.

"I have observed with satisfaction that the United States, after terminating successfully the severe struggle in which they were so long engaged, are wisely repairing the ravages of civil war. The abolition of slavery is an event calling forth the cordial sympathies and congratulations of this country, which has always been foremost in showing its abhorrence of an institution repugnant to every feeling of justice and humanity.—QUEEN VICTORIA."

DEPUTATION FROM JAMAICA.

We have been favoured with an interview with three coloured gentlemen, who have arrived in England from Jamaica with a view to promote the material interests of the negro population. The Rev. S. W. Holt is a Baptist Minister from the Black River; C. Plummer, Esq., comes from May Hill, and W. Brydson, Esq., who is a Justice of the Peace, comes also from the Black River, in the island of Jamaica. These gentlemen—for gentlemen they are in character and behaviour—have been specially sent to England as a deputation from their brethren in Jamaica, not at the suggestion of friends in England, but *mero proprio motu*, with a view to promote the peaceful arts of commerce. The negroes of Jamaica

wish through them to say to us, we are willing to work and to send to your markets what our Island can produce if you in England will establish an agency that will deal directly and fairly with us, the producers of the crops. Mr. Brydson says that the Island is as capable as ever of yielding large quantities of cotton, sugar, logwood, rum, coffee, ginger; and other staples. It is prepared to take in return our textile manufactures, salt, salt fish, salt meat, butter, lard, tobacco, ironmongery and crockery. If it be affirmed that the negro is so lazy that he will not work, and therefore that the promised Island crops will not be forthcoming to pay for the goods we should be ready to export from England, Mr. Brydson and his friends reply, that the assertion is utterly false. The black man is the man that clears the land for cultivation, he is the man that plants, he is the man that manufactures the produce—he chips the logwood, he carries the freight to the wharves for shipment, he labours on the wharves, he works in the boats which bear the produce to the ships, he stows the ships, he works on the roads, he is the chief man on the properties (and is called the head-man,) he also carries Her Majesty's mails through the Island by day and by night, he grows the ground provisions to supply the markets, the daily food of the bulk of the population; in short, he is the man that does most of all which is done to produce money. The negro pays the bulk of the taxes. The week when the negro on the estate is paid, the market of the district is thronged, every one expecting to derive

some good from the money he spends. What better proofs are required to show that the negroes do work? Black people moreover sent this deputation to England at their own expense, to promote their interests and the general interests of the Island. There is scope in Jamaica for ten times the present population, and the beautiful Island may be made a very storehouse of wealth for all who are prepared to take an interest, and to labour for its development.

THE FREED-MEN OF THE DUTCH COLONY OF SURINAM.

The Amsterdam Ladies' Freed-men's Aid Committee are desirous of awakening the sympathy of the friends of the freedmen, and particularly of Dutch citizens in London, in behalf of the liberated slaves in Surinam.

In the year 1863, on the 1st July, Slavery was abolished by an act of Government, whereby 45,000 slaves were liberated. This event took place not only without the least disturbance, but the most affecting scenes of thankful gratitude to God and man were witnessed.

Abolition has proved a blessing to the negro population. This result may be attributed, in a great measure, to the faithful missionary labours of the Moravian brethren who have for more than a century exerted themselves to establish schools and places of worship, and have been so successful, that now about 24,000 slaves are members of the Moravian church, and 15,000 children attend their schools. A seminary also exists, in which native assistants are educated, and many are now useful labourers in

the Missionary field of Surinam. The Ladies' Committee has for ten years supported these missionary efforts, and contributed in different ways about 12,000 florins (\$1,000).

The original impulse to anti-slavery effort in Holland was given by the highly esteemed Mrs Elizabeth Fry and Mr Chamerovzow. At his suggestion, Miss A. A. Bergendahl assembled several ladies favourable to abolition, and constituted an Anti-Slavery Society, under the designation of the "Amsterdam Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society." The Ladies' Committee are happy to say, that their endeavours have met in Holland with favourable responses, from the Christian community as well as from members of the Royal family. Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands and the Royal Princesses have made many presents to the bazaars, and also donations in money. Since abolition every obstacle is removed to furnish the plantations and all parts of Surinam with schools and places of worship, and means of assistance for the aged and the helpless; and it is calculated by credible and highly esteemed persons in Surinam that not much short of £2000 will be annually wanted besides what has been already done to meet the expenses. For this reason, Miss Bergendahl, being on a short visit to England and Scotland, wishes to avail herself of the opportunity to enlist the sympathy of the Dutch residents and of the Christian friends of the negroes, and freed-men in their behalf. She is happy to state that the Secretary of the "British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society" will give information on the subject, and receive donations or subscriptions.

FREED-MEN'S BUREAU.

An attentive reader of the *FREED-MAN* has called our attention to paragraphs in English newspapers, denouncing the Freed-Men's Bureau. One of them says: "As contributions have been solicited in England on more than one occasion for the benefit of the negroes who have lately been released from slavery in the United States, it may be as well to mention that the organization through which those contributions are distributed is the notorious 'Freed-Men's Bureau,' and recent disclosures have proved that that department is in reality a mere engine for the benefit of Northern speculators."

It is somewhat curious that the recent advocates for the fugitive slave law, should take upon themselves the office of protectors of the Freed-men, but doubtful as we have reason to be of their sincerity, we are bound to meet their objections with a plain statement of facts.

No better answer can be desired than that furnished by Rev. Horace James, a Christian minister, personally known to us, and whose self-denying devotedness to the cause of the Freed-men has been exceeded by none.

At a meeting of the American Missionary Association in Boston, United States, Mr. James said: "The war has ended—thank God for that! And the question is, how to carry on the same kind of influence, and reproduce it in insignificant proportions over a larger extent, under peace; and in counsel upon that question you are convened to-day."

"The officers of this society are endeavouring to work out that solution. They are doing it nobly and beautifully; similar organizations are doing it. God is giving them success, and the work is bound to be done, if only the Christian people of this nation shall uphold them in it and feel the importance of this work and carry it out."

"What are these instrumentalities on which we rely. One of them is, unquestionably, the Freed-Men's Bureau, much spoken against of late—one which is, by the acknowledgement even of its enemies—even of those who think that now it ought to be done away with—confessed to have been of great importance and value in previous times. It is an institution which combines large resources and wields

them, and calls to its aid a large number of individuals. Very likely there will be found those unworthy—those whose judgments are not to be sustained by righteousness or common sense; but on the whole, the influence of that institution has been unquestionably beneficial to a very large and unexpected extent. The coloured people have confidence in its officers—trust us, believe in us, come to us, as their friends, and they look upon us as those who wield the authority of the government in their behalf, and are to be their personal protectors. The Freed-Men's Bureau is so well known that I do not stand here in its advocacy. It is not necessary to do so.

"Pass to the schools; for the Bureau is to come to an end, and schools and education are the main and grand influence on which we must rely to do this work in the South. And I am proud now to be a little personal, and say that from the old city of Boston I took the first teachers that went into North Carolina, and established schools there by permission of the Major-General commanding in the summer of 1863; and those teachers did nobly, and that beginning has grown up into schools to the number of 160 to 170, with 40,000 children under instruction. Multitudes are able to read the Word of God and the newspapers, who knew not the alphabet of learning before. And that work cannot be stopped; it is going on splendidly. We must give these people education, whatever else we do not give them; Nothing but learning will make them men. The Emperor of Russia came near to being assassinated the other day; a peasant saved his life, and the Emperor created him a nobleman. That he might have that whereby to appear with all the paraphernalia of a nobleman, they subscribed many thousand dollars. Money would not make him a nobleman; he needs something more; and so the Emperor sends him best engineer to superintend his education. He understands that education makes the man. So in regard to these redeemed souls—these slaves coming up into freemen; and the whites as well catch the inspiration from them, and rise with them into a higher life."

The schools are coming more into a system of plantation schools, and again it was my

good fortune to be the pioneer in that matter. I took one of the most excellent ladies handed over to me by your president; I started out to superintend and organize a labour system, and did so successfully. I carried two teachers one of this Society and one of the National Freed-men's Association. The schools have been established with the greatest success; and by day and night, old men, young men, women and children, with their spelling-books and Testaments, are going forward up the steep of science and of knowledge. How they enjoy it, how they delight in it, you can have no conception; and all this goes on as harmoniously and as pleasantly as a summer morning, and there is not a breath of discontent on our plantation or the neighbouring ones where Northern people have gone—nothing whatsoever.

"Yet I think I see incredulity on your faces because you have seen in the papers that your old friend has turned negro catcher, and has chased negroes. Never in my life have I laid the weight of a finger of violence upon the negroes of North Carolina or anywhere else, whatever newspapers may say, or official reports may aver. Never have I even uttered an angry or harsh word to a coloured person, but through the five years of my intercourse with them in North Carolina have been to them like a father and a friend. I don't mean on social equality as a father or friend, but a shield, comfort, support, and defence.

"It is objected again that there is no use in doing anything at the South, because the negro is incapable of elevation. All the facts show that this is not so. They are capable of education, they can and do receive impressions, and are as susceptible of influence as we ourselves. When everybody declared that the negro would not work, I said I believed he was sufficiently human, that if you treated him well and paid him fair wages, he would be just as willing to work as a white man. It is proved so now. Even their foes confess there is no difficulty in getting labourers; that they receive impressions is equally plain; that they are good fighters is abundantly proved. I have conversed with southern officers who have met them and felt their steel on the battle field. Where have they disappointed us?

Did you ever know of a race of people being brought out from bondage harder than Egyptian bondage that had deported themselves so grandly? And the best of it is, they don't know it themselves! In their simplicity they are unaware that they have done anything great. I am astonished and delighted when I see the dignity with which they accept their new situation—with which they come up into it and perform its duties. It is wonderful. I see in it the hand of God and the power of his goodness and grace. I have heard the songs they sing, and the prayers they have been uttering these many years. They have come up into this new state upon a religious platform, and in connection with religious views, and they accept it as a fulfilment of their prayers, and a blessing directly from God. How touching are some of the refrains of the songs they sing now which they used to sing in slavery, but still repeat with new feeling. One is,

The winter will soon be over,

The winter will soon be over,

The winter will soon be over,

Children, Yes, my Lord.

"That is the whole: and they breathe it out again and again; but Oh! that winter, that was soon to be over in the coming spring, connected with the dread they have for the frost and the snow, and associated with their terrible trials, has a meaning you don't know unless you know them intimately. They are grateful for this blessing and this boon. I said to them 'what shall I tell them about you?' 'Express to them our thanks for this great delivery. Tell them we bless the Yankees and shall always bless them for what they have done for us. And, Captain, while you are gone, your work will go on just the same. We'll take care of your interest—be sure of that.'

"If I were to speak of the analogies in favour of this mode of working out the problem, I should say it was the Divine method seen in history to found a new and superior civilization. God brought Abraham out of Chaldea, and sent him among the children of Heth, that he might, as a living man, breathe new impulses. Moses and the children of Israel were educated in Egypt, and then carried out into

another land to do the same work. The Pilgrims were prepared by persecution and trained by Providence, to come here and make New England and America what it is.

"This infusion of ideas must be caused by the men and women in whose minds those ideas are impersonated. An idea is a very good thing, but we must have men who can live it out, and impress it upon society, before it can become the living thing it ought to be to influence society."—W.

THE COLOURED RACE.

Our ancestors came to this country by compulsion, they had no choice in the matter; had they been consulted probably we should to-day be enjoying the liberty of barbarism, happy in our ignorance of civilization and all its blessings. (?)—Have you, proud descendants of white barbarism, demonstrated that civilization is a blessing? Are the Indians better men to-day, than when your ancestors planted their infant colonies upon this soil? Are they more honest, more humane, more upright now, than then?

The degraded beings you say we are, you are responsible for; for, had you pursued a different course towards us, we should have been a different class of people. You first robbed us of our liberty; and, to make your possession certain, stole from us the key of knowledge, drove us into the fields, and yoked us with your beasts of burden.

We are here, forced here by your ancestors (ours too, for that matter), and here we intend to stay. You have no right to order us away, for we are as much native as any of you. You took the soil forcibly from its original possessors, soaking your bonds in their blood; our labor has developed your resources, our sweat watered your fields, our blood cemented the fabric of your institutions, our wrongs called down upon your heads the vengeance of an injured God. We have been here so long that we have not the remotest idea of leaving this land to go back to Africa, nor to the bogs and fens of Europe. The best blood of the land flows in our veins; for we have inherited from your fathers (our ancestors) the same blood, the same name, the same proud ambition, the same fond hope, the same ideas, the same

vain-glorious presumption that you have. We were here when the war-whoop of the Native startled you at the midnight hour, and shared alike your danger and fears; we were here when you took up arms to sever the bonds which bound you to your mother (?) country; and our blood was first spilled upon the altar of liberty. We saw the birth of the Republic, and, though cheated of our inheritance, still lived with you and loved you: you made us the orphan child of the Republic, and forced us to endure toil and privation, heaped odium mountains high upon us, simply because we were weak and you were strong. We have marched along down the pathway of time with you, watching the growth of this mighty nation, this great Republic whose foundation was cemented by our blood as well as yours. We have been your friends against all foes: the wily Indians, the haughty British, the treacherous rebel, alike found us the friend of the American Government, and treated us with the same severity they treated you. We were with you in your infancy, in your youth; we are with you still, and still we shall be with you at the crack of doom.—*Cincinnati Coloured Citizen.*

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the "Freed-Man."

Sir,—I have good reason for believing that the government will do their part in the work of Jamaica's regeneration, and I doubt not the Committee of the Freed-Men's Aid Society will do theirs. I write now to make a suggestion which does not affect the action of either. Personal christian effort on behalf of the Freed-men of Jamaica is as much needed as money contributions. The settlement of men of large hearts and skilled hand and brain in the midst of the ignorant and easily led negroes of many parts of the island, would afford one of the best guarantees for the preservation of peace and order. A band of such, however small, would form a break-water in case of any fresh rising of the storms of human passion. Are there any medical men among the readers of your Magazine willing to go as lay missionaries (with the heroism, if not the pecuniary sacrifice of Dr. Lockhart of Chinese

fame) and help to form a nucleus around which such bands might gather? The outcry for medical men in the island has been loud for years, and no wonder! Manchioneal district, for instance, is destitute. Dr. Major, from the neighbourhood of Bath, visits the place occasionally; but thirty miles where there are no public conveyances cannot be traversed without considerable expense. The nearest practitioner on the other side, Dr. Clarke, lives (or did live) at Port Antonio, twenty-five miles off. Dr. Crowdy (who was located for some months at Golden Grove, about nine miles from Manchioneal) has left for England. Can no volunteers be found, think you? By all means, if you can, place me in communication with some medical men who are willing to emigrate and upon whom the mantle of the good Dr. Hodgkin has fallen.

Yours, &c., ALFRED BOURNE.

Brixton, May 18th, 1866.

PROSECUTION OF EX-GOVERNOR EYRE.

The Secretary of the Jamaica Committee has forwarded to us the following copies of letters which have been received from Mrs. Gordon by a member of the Committee:—

“Regent’s Park, July 2, 1866.

“My dear Sir,—The published resolutions of the Jamaica Committee, respecting a criminal prosecution of Mr. Eyre, and Mr. C. Buxton’s letter deprecating such a course, appear to me to require some notice from myself as the person most interested in this grave matter. I am very grateful to the kind friends who manifest such sincere sympathy for me in my deep affliction, and who seek to vindicate the memory of my dear husband. In any other circumstances I should desire to be guided by their counsel; but in the present case I solicit permission to give utterance to my own feelings, which I trust will not be disregarded.

“I shrink from the step suggested. My martyred husband, shaping his course in public and in private life by his Christian profession, died, forgiving his enemies. My earnest desire is to follow his example; and I feel that in doing this I am only acting in

harmony with the sentiments he expressed in his last letter to me and with the precepts of the Divine Master whose faithful servant he was.

“While yielding up my heart in gratitude for the grace which has been vouchsafed to me, and which alone has sustained me under this grievous affliction, I leave Mr. Eyre and those who have aided him in his cruel proceedings in the hands of ‘Him who judgeth righteously.’

“Begging you to make such use of this letter as you may judge best, I am, my dear sir, yours very sincerely. M. GORDON.

“L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq.”

“40, Avenue Road, July 14, 1866.

“My dear Sir,—If my letter to you of the 2nd has placed the Jamaica Committee in any embarrassment, I shall regret the circumstance. My object in writing to you was to give my reasons for not becoming the prosecutor in this case, and I feel that to that resolution I must adhere. If, however, the Jamaica Committee consider it advisable, on the grounds of the public interests and public justice, and especially with reference to the future security of the black race, to take proceedings for the vindication of these great principles, so outraged by Mr. Eyre and his coadjutors, I do not see how I can in any way interfere.

“As many of my friends are under the impression that I intend to prosecute Mr. Eyre, are pained that I should have such and thoughts, I think it desirable that this letter and my former one should be published. With every sentiment of gratitude, I am, my dear sir, yours very sincerely, M. GORDON.

“L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq.”

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR JULY, 1866.

Charles Gregory, Esq.	..	..	..	£5	0	0
Mr. Glasier, Bombay	..	..	..	50	0	0
Mr. Richard Bligh, Bath	..	..	..	20	0	0
Jas. Anstie, Esq. LL.B.	..	..	..	1	0	0
John P. Thomasson, Esq.	..	..	..	5	0	0
Rev. T. J. Falding, DD., Masboro’	13	5	3			
M. W.	..	..	..	0	5	0
Mr. J. F. Holcombe	..	..	..	0	10	6
“C. F.”	..	..	..	0	10	0
A Friend (Stamps)	..	..	..	0	2	6
Rev. J. Pratten, Guildford, N’thampton	10	0				

THE FREED-MAN.

JAMAICA.

BY CHARLES PLUMMER, ESQ., OF ST. ELIZABETH, JAMAICA.

JAMAICA is acknowledged to be a fine island: then the question naturally arises, why is she not prosperous as she was in times gone by? She was once called the "brightest jewel in the diadem of England." Wherefore has she lost her brilliancy? Why is she not still the queen of the Antilles? Why is she sinking day by day into nothingness? Time was when the Jamaica planters made immense fortunes and peopled Grosvenor-square; they bought majorities in the House of Commons, they trafficked in peerages, they played fantastic tricks until their glory departed. Now she is poor and beggarly. Is it because she is less beautiful or fertile? No! Celebrated as Italy is for its beautiful scenery, it cannot boast of that variety in detail and those grand features which are to be found in Jamaica. It is said, "Jamaica has scenes surpassing fable," and which cannot be denied by anyone who has been through the island. It exhibits a combination of scenery embracing the sublime, the romantic, the serene.

The climate is also healthy; much misconception prevails in England as to its salubrity; what is known of the heat of the East Indies has been erroneously applied to the West. In Jamaica the range of the thermometer throughout the year is from 65° to 90° Fahr. in the hottest plains, while in the mountains, in proportion to elevation, of from 40° to 70°. The island has almost constantly the advantage of a sea breeze, which tempers the heat by day, and of the land wind, which refreshes by night. There are some of the mountain districts which are said to enjoy the healthiest climate in the world, and offer a welcome home to persons in whom, from hereditary or other causes, there exists a tendency to scrofulous disease and pulmonary consumption.

The soil is generally deep and fertile, and in many instances this island exceeds all the others in vegetable riches.

The population is of a mixed race, white and coloured: the coloured race preponderates and is the labouring class, the white the governing. The governing class, who are still infected with all the old notions and distinctions between master and slave, still expect the same subserviency and obedience from the

freed-men as they did when the system of slavery prevailed; they still endeavour to exercise the selfsame domineering influence, and are chagrined and cut up where it is not generally accorded them; they refuse to ameliorate the condition of the mass, and in some instances disbelieve in the ability of the coloured race for improvement and cultivation. The reverend gentleman who lately described them as *petted panthers* once declared that he believed that the "negro had no soul;" yet this gentleman, who was sent to Jamaica to care for the souls of the coloured people, *honestly* receives his pay for doing that which he believes to be an impossibility. The planters generally are no friends of the people; they abuse the negro as stupid and ignorant and yet they discourage schools, for they would rather the children should labour on their plantations than that they should be sent to school to be taught the way in which they should go. A schoolmaster is an eyesore to many of our Jamaica nabobs. The courts of Petty Sessions can tell many a tale; disputes arise between the planters and the labourers; magistrates are the judges generally; they are nearly always planters, and the poor labourer finds but little justice. If the coloured man tries to improve his condition by dint of hard labour and economy, and lifts his head above his fellow labourers, he is put down at once as an ambitious negro and ought to be crushed. By the thoughtless remarks of a Custos a toll-gate was once broken down by the people, but no bloodshed followed that riot, because men in position connived at it. By the wrong doing of another Custos, supported by a weak Governor, a riot took place; the people are shot down, and when they retaliated civil law was suspended and martial law, with its thirty days' horrors and barbarities, was substituted. Had it not been for the timely and opportune protest of a portion of the English public, which promptly put a stop to the bloody career of Mr. ex-Governor Eyre and his subordinates, the island would have been depopulated, and every intelligent coloured man would have been destroyed who had the temerity to stand between the white tyrants and the oppressed blacks.

The government avowed that sedition was rife throughout the island. The Custos of St. Elizabeth, a gentleman of authority and position in Jamaica, informed Mr. Eyre that his parish was disaffected; he sought for and got a vessel of war stationed at the Port of Black River. But while he was trembling from fear and quaking under the sting of an evil conscience, the people, instead of planning a wicked rebellion, were busily engaged in their usual quiet avocations, and were organizing a more sensible and legal affair in the shape of a co-operative association, and although Mr. Salmon tried his utmost to crush the scheme in the bud and to bring the coloured movers of it to the gallows, during the very height of martial law, by false accusations, yet, nothing daunted, the promoters established the association, the people took off their crops and have sent a sample cargo, along with a deputation of three of their representative men, to assure the British people that while they were wrongly accused of conspiracy they were legally pursuing a different course, to show by

deeds, not words only, that they are a misrepresented and maligned people.

A gallant colonel wrote Mr. Eyre, which letter was made evidence, that "he saw in the face of every negro he met the expression that he would cut every white man's throat;" and not many weeks after that letter was penned to Governor Eyre, that gallant and farseeing officer got stuck in the mud while travelling (with his family, I believe) and there was no help to be got but from those very negroes in whose face he saw "treason, stratagem and spoil," and who joyfully rescued him and his carriage from the dilemma he was in and sent him on his way rejoicing. That the bulk of the Jamaica people are prone to sedition or that they are of a rebellious nature I positively deny; they are a forgiving and a forbearing people. In a great many instances which came under the writer's observation during the height of martial law in Jamaica, the negroes volunteered their services to protect the lives and property of their terrified white employers.

They have not sent a deputation to seek redress for injuries done; they do not cry out for vengeance on the heads of those who revelled in the blood of their friends and their race; they would rather leave vengeance to God, to whom it belongeth. They prefer, now that English people have taken so much interest in their welfare, to prove that they can and will labour, that they are ready to apply themselves to increased industry, to help themselves and their children and not to depend on the government to help them, a government that, if it was not oppressive, was either really and truly neglectful, or incapable.

The bulk of the produce exported from Jamaica is raised by the small settlers; it is bought from them by the traders and others, who ship the same as if they were the growers and not the people. The trader gets rich by the labours of the working man, and does he spend his means among them? does he try to ameliorate their condition or to improve the island? No! he goes into another country and spends his money. Would England be better off than Jamaica to-day were every man to drain her of her wealth and take it to another country to spend it? The system is an exhaustive one, and that is one reason why Jamaica cannot prosper. Those in power and with means will not improve the island or the condition of the people, because they do not intend to make the island their home. The system of doing good appears to be this:—We support a good many churches, established and nonconformists, we pay the ministers to look after the people; it is their province, not ours. And I feel thankful to say that Jamaica can boast of some exemplary ministers of Christ, hardworking self-denying men, who practically follow the footsteps of their master, "going about and doing good;" but the greatest drawback to them is the evil influences of the upper class, who, by their mode of living and bad example, almost counteract the influence of the Gospel.

The late legislators of Jamaica were always devising plans and schemes of torture and punishment. The aim of legislation was not preventive but punitive. They would readily grant thousands of pounds for prisons, while they

would waste weeks together discussing whether they would grant £50 or £100 to any one for educational purposes.

JAMAICA: A RETROSPECT.

The resistance of the planters of Jamaica to Christian civilization in every form seems to have been more persistent and more disastrous in its effects than that which has been encountered in any other part of the British dominions. Shortly after the capture of the island by the British, on the 10th of May, 1655, a proclamation was issued, inviting the people of New England, "driven from the land of their nativity into that desert and barren wilderness, for conscience sake, to remove to Jamaica as to a land of plenty, in order to enlighten those parts." A similar proposition was made to the people of New Haven; land was offered to settlers at a penny an acre, and six ships were placed at the disposal of persons willing to become settlers; the assurance was given of adequate naval and military protection. If this design had been fully accomplished, Kingston would have taken the place of Boston and Spanish Town might have had the prominence of New Haven. Under the last of the Stuarts Jamaica, however, became rather a penal settlement for those who suffered for conscience sake than a paradise of plenty. Members of the Society of Friends and Ejected ministers were in turn banished to the island, and some of the Huguenots of France went to it as a place of exile. Their influence has not been altogether lost; one of the best institutions in Jamaica was founded by Mr. Woolmer, a French Protestant refugee.

Since the establishment of the Jamaica planters no active evangelizing efforts have been regarded with favour. The Church of England, so long as it kept to the formal observance of its ritual, without attempting to instruct the servile population, gave no particular offence.

The MORAVIANS commenced a mission in Jamaica in 1754. Two brothers, William Foster and Joseph Foster Barham, the owners of large estates in the island, being impressed by the preaching of a Moravian minister in London, were anxious that their slaves should receive the benefit of religious instruction. They offered to provide accommodation for a missionary on their own property, and assigned 900 acres for a mission called Carmel. The Brethren who went out accommodated themselves as far as possible to the peculiar institution of slavery; they even became slaveowners themselves. Within certain limits the Jamaica proprietors were willing that the missionaries should exert their influence. It was stated by one of them in the House of Commons that a Moravian negro (*i. e.* one who was a member of the Brethren's church) was worth considerably more in the market than an ordinary one. Under these restrictions the brethren found they could not fulfil their mission. Practically it was a failure. Mr. Schlegel, in a letter of March, 1769, says—"I have all my life been accustomed to suit myself to persons and circumstances, but I have had to

learn this lesson afresh since I came to Jamaica; here one must give way to everybody and submit to everything." The missionaries were in danger of becoming themselves enslaved. Gradually they assumed a bolder and more consistent course, and incurred, in consequence, the bitter reproach and violent hostility of the plantocracy. It was only in the midst of trial, privation, and severe opposition that their useful institutions were established. They have been anxious throughout to give the people sound education and to occupy neglected districts. One of them writes—"The school at *Aberdeen* has just been opened. It is situated about eighteen miles to the north of New Eden, in the very centre of the island, in a district which is peopled by a number of settlers, who, having left the sugar estates, have removed to this retired spot, where there is neither church nor school within ten or twelve miles. Though so distant, a few are members of our congregation at New Eden, and attend pretty regularly. It was at their earnest solicitations that our attention was directed to this locality, and we made them a promise that if they would build a school-house we should supply them with a teacher. Upon this they made every exertion; but, not being supported by their neighbours, who appear a very godless and careless people, they have not been able to do more than put up the frame and cover the roof with thatch. This, however, was sufficient to enable us to open the school a few weeks ago."

The history of the WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSION in Jamaica is worth studying. Dr. COKE arrived in Kingston on the 19th of January, 1789, and hired a large concert room for religious services. A violent assault was made upon him and his life was in constant jeopardy. On his return to England WILLIAM HAMMETT was sent out as a missionary, and formed a society of eight persons. WILLIAM HARRIS, a free black man from America, also devoted himself to the work. The first Methodist chapel at Kingston was presented by the grand jury at the Court of Quarter Sessions as a nuisance, in 1790, "for preaching doctrines injurious to the general peace and quiet of the inhabitants of the town." Intolerant acts were passed in succession by the Assembly for the suppression of religious teaching. They were disallowed by the Imperial legislature, but their temporary operation was sufficient for the persecuting object of the planters. When one enactment was vetoed in England they framed another equally intolerant. For a minister to hold a meeting in his own house, for prayer with the negroes, was an offence punishable with fine or imprisonment, and if repeated, the magistrate could inflict any punishment at his discretion, "not extending to life." "Unauthorized ministers" were to be treated as "rogues and vagabonds." It is instructive to observe that Morant Bay, the scene of the recent outbreak, was one of the places in which efforts for the religious instruction of the people were most frustrated by the planters. The "affectionate people of Morant Bay," we are told, "paid every possible attention" to the prisoners. Mr. Campbell, a Methodist minister from England, "exhorted the people, through the iron grating, to hold fast their faith."

"Although the little flock," says Mr. Duncan, "continued steadfast, yet they were all the while destitute of the ordinances of God. No minister was allowed to teach them the way of righteousness; and from what they had already experienced, they were afraid to meet together for the more private means of grace; all that they could do was to retire to the shady banks of a neighbouring river in little companies, and there, concealed from the view of their adversaries, they poured out their souls to God in prayer."

No public worship of any sort was permitted between Kingston and Port Antonio, a distance of about eighty miles. Mr. Campbell, having no prospect before him but that of perpetual imprisonment, escaped from the island, and arrived in London Nov. 22, 1803. The chapel at Morant Bay was shut up between eight and nine years. Systematic annoyance and injury of every kind was continued to prevent the progress of the mission.

In the Report of the Royal Jamaica Commission, evidence is given to show the evils arising from native congregations under the care of incompetent and unsuitable teachers. A remarkable statement in the narrative of the Wesleyan mission explains the origin of such congregations. In reference to an ordinance passed 15th June, 1807, against preaching at Kingston, the writer says—"this law increased the evils which it professed to deprecate and to remedy. Its restrictions amounted almost to a total prohibition of the slaves being religiously instructed by persons who were competent to that work. Hence many took to themselves liberty which was denied them by the Common Council, and attended to doctrines very different, both in their nature and effects, from those taught by the missionaries. Many of them practised a rude mixture of Christianity and Paganism, and wild extravagancies became more common."

The Presbyterians, both of the secession and of the established church of Scotland, followed the Methodists in the work of Christian teaching in the colony. The LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY sent out agents and the American missionaries came into the field. Bishop LIPSCOMB, of the established church, in 1825 called the attention of the resident clergy to the state of the slaves, as a sadly neglected but important part of their charge; and at the same time he endeavoured to increase their number by men of a missionary spirit from England. The CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY sent out bold and energetic men. As yet the plantations could not be entered; the Christian minister, if he went unin- vited, could only go to be ejected as a trespasser or to be apprehended as a vagabond. Still the Episcopalian missionaries persevered in concert with their nonconformist brethren. An order of teachers was brought into action by Bishop Lipscomb, called Catechists, who originated schools for the education of all classes. "Let us petition," says the *Jamaica Courant* of March 3, 1831, "to place our own clergy under our own control and that of our representatives in vestry, even to the expulsion of those missionaries and curates who are still here, paid by and under the influence of our enemies, and who have already been detected in their vile vocation." The BAPTIST MISSION in Jamaica com-

menced in 1814 and has rendered signal services in the cause of evangelization and religious freedom; it incurred, therefore, in the most marked degree, the hatred of the white planters. WILLIAM KNIBB, on his arrival in the island in 1823, writing to his mother, says—"Slavery has, like a pestilence, withered almost every moral bloom. The slaves have temporal comforts in profusion, but their morals are sunk below the brute, and *the iron hand of oppression daily endeavours to keep them in that ignorance to which it has reduced them.* When contemplating the withering scene my heart sickens, and I feel ashamed that I belong to a race that can indulge in such atrocities."

Mr. Knibb went out in the first instance as a schoolmaster. The schoolroom he occupied was a wretched place "built close to a deep gully." "When it rains," he said, "this place is at times from six to eight feet deep in water, so that no school can be held. The room itself has no ceiling and is sheltered only by three boards or shingles." "The school," he said to the Secretary of the mission, "is much reduced since my brother's death; it is in want of everything requisite for a school, as almost all the slates, books, &c., are either torn or broken; pens, ink, penknives, and paper there are none of, and how I shall proceed I know not; but I hope you will not be long ere you send the necessary supplies." With characteristic energy Mr. Knibb resolved to erect a proper schoolroom. Pleading with his sister for help, he says—"Mind, 'tis *universal education*; I admit barbarians, Greeks, Jews, bond and free; I teach them the Bible, not the peculiarities of a sect. My dear Fanny, do try in your circle, think of the poor little girls who have no one to teach them; I wish you could see them; then even a stony heart must feel, much more yours."

Strong in frame, strong in mind, strong in will, stronger in heart, and, more than all, strong in faith, Mr. Knibb devoted himself in every way to seek the moral and religious improvement of the people. A fearful crisis was at hand: the progress of the cause of emancipation in England exasperated the Jamaica planters in the last degree; desperation made them more than ever cruel. Mr. Knibb, in a letter dated Savanna-la-Mar, April 26, 1830, gives the following instance:—"An excellent young man, a deacon of my church in this place, is now in chains for his love of Jesus. During my sickness he and others, bond and free, met at my house to pray. Information of this was carried to the magistrates; and, though I procured three respectable persons, neighbours, including the head constable, to prove on oath that no noise was made which the informer had sworn to, the poor fellow was convicted. The magistrate would have it that preaching and praying were the same; I tried to convince him of the difference, but it was of no use; so for offering a prayer to God, and nothing more, this poor fellow is sentenced to receive twenty lashes on his bare back and to be worked in chains on the roads for a fortnight. I did all I could to save him, and so did his owner, who told the magistrates that he had his permission. Next morning I went to see him flogged, determined to support him as well as I could, however painful to my feelings. Here he was, a

respectable tradesman, though a slave, stretched indecently on the ground, held firmly by four slaves, two at his hands and two at his feet."

Atrocities of this kind were repeated. The slaves were made to believe that the expected emancipation would be refused, and, in wild despair, they rose in insurrection. The most persevering attempt was made by the planters to implicate the missionaries in the guilt of the outbreak, but without success.

Mr. Burchell, one of the missionaries, on his return from England, was arrested on landing, 7th January, 1832, and taken on board Her Majesty's frigate. In answer to enquiries as to the reason of his apprehension, it was simply said—"it is martial law." The most ferocious and savage spirit was manifested by some of what are called the most respectable white inhabitants. "They began to throng around me, hissing, groaning, and gnashing at me with their teeth; some with water in their mouths to spit upon me; some cried 'Have his blood,' 'Shoot him,' 'Hang him.'" A sentinel paced his room with drawn bayonet, and his wife was kept in agonising suspense as to his fate. The treatment of Mr. Knibb was the same. The chapels were destroyed and a conspiracy was formed, strangely called the "Church Union," to exterminate the missionaries, aided by unscrupulous agents and a licentious press.

Since the time of emancipation the same spirit has been evinced in the continued attempt to reduce the freed-men to a state of serfdom. The evidence contained in the Report of the Royal Commission shows that the negroes in the more neglected districts were possessed by the fear that they would be deprived of their freedom. They could obtain no redress for their grievances, and they saw that the advocates of their cause were about to be seized. In their blind frenzy they rose in insurrection, as in 1831-2. There can be little doubt that but for the timely expression of feeling in England, every prominent advocate of the cause of the negro in Jamaica, however just and moderate, would have been struck down under the shelter of martial law.

This brief review suggests many reflections for which at present we have no space. The question must naturally arise—how could the white planters in Jamaica be so regardless of right and so blind to their real interests? We are of opinion that these fatal mistakes have arisen to a great extent from their native origin and defective training. They came to the island in the first instance in a subordinate capacity and from stations in life in which they had received few educational advantages; they found themselves unexpectedly a kind of aristocracy in possession of despotic power, and to retain their ascendancy they determined to keep an increasing population, approximating to half a million, at the lowest point in the scale of humanity. The consequence to themselves is an ignominious and irreparable downfall.

It is the extremest absurdity to charge the ignorance, or what is called the "engrained profligacy" of the negroes on the peculiarities of their race. No opportunity has been given to them as a people to make a fair start in intellectual, moral, or social improvement.

It has been justly said that "in Jamaica there are no accumulations of knowledge; each generation has succeeded to the degradation, to the low moral and mental habitudes of previous generations." The cry continually of Mr. Knibb was for schools. On the 1st of June, 1835, he writes—"Nothing but blood, murderous cells, and chains! I think nearly forty young and old females pass my door in chains every morning. Not one school is yet established, while most abominable cells and treadmills are being erected all over the island. This to prepare the poor things for freedom!" In 1837—"Men will arise for native agency, but education must precede it." In 1839—"I look upon our schools as the grand lever by which we shall raise the people in intelligence. I feel convinced that the welfare of the people depends in a great measure upon the use made of the present crisis. The abolition of slavery more clearly reveals the moral enormities it has engendered, and surely Egypt was not more cursed in her plagues than we are by the settled filth and pollution of this bottomless pit monster. The mental imbecility is distressing. While there is much—very much to cheer, there is a great deal, the natural and inevitable result of slavery, deeply to mourn over." On his death bed Mr. Knibb, turning to his daughters, said—"My poor girls, you will soon be fatherless; live near to God by prayer and work for him; DO ALL YOU CAN TO KEEP UP THE SCHOOLS."

There is abundant ground for hope. We must not suppose that all Jamaica is like Stony Gut. Where there is an earnest, sympathetic and intelligent missionary there is a well-ordered population. The outbreak in Jamaica did not extend to the region once under the care of Mr. Knibb. Excellent institutions are planted here and there, but they need extension and fuller practical development. The training establishment at Calabar is full of promise.

The hope of Jamaica, as it seems to us, is to be found, under the favour of Providence, in the more intelligent freed-men. They see more clearly than most what their country needs—the Gospel, schools, an enlightened and well-conducted periodical press, a healthy and improving Island literature, good roads, agricultural progress and sound commercial arrangements. We must help all—white, black or coloured—who will labour for the good of the people. We must help them systematically, continuously and with generous confidence. Brighter days will come.—W.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A FRIEND OF THE POOR.—We have pleasure in informing you that it is proposed that we should hold a Bazaar to aid in the erection of school houses, both in Jamaica and America. We shall be glad to hear from you or any of our friends upon the subject. REPORT of Mr. Jones's labours, from his own pen, will appear in our next number.

The Freed-Man.

SEPTEMBER, 1866.

"I have observed with satisfaction that the United States, after terminating successfully the severe struggle in which they were so long engaged, are wisely repairing the ravages of civil war. The abolition of slavery is an event calling forth the cordial sympathies and congratulations of this country, which has always been foremost in showing its abhorrence of an institution repugnant to every feeling of justice and humanity.—QUEEN VICTORIA.

EDUCATION FOR THE FREED-MEN OF AMERICA.

The great work that remains to be done in the United States of America is the elevation of the freed-man by means of patient Christian education. The suffering poor of the South will for a time look to the Government for food, and clothing must be supplied to the sickly and the aged by the unfailing hand of christian benevolence.

Many Southern men—not all—will show themselves not slow to discern the "signs of the times." Mr. Isaac T. Gibson, one of the general Agents of the Freed-men's Aid Commission in America, who has prosecuted most of his work in Missouri, states: "Whilst some of the Southerners insist on the colonization of the freed-men, and look

with distrust and disapprobation on the erection of churches and school-houses by them, or the acquiring of real estate as a token of their permanent location and prosperity in this country; on the other hand we meet with a class of former slaveholders, and rebels too, who afford us sympathy and encouragement. They allege that as the blacks are now free they should be educated and fitted for the various duties of life to which they are rapidly and surely advancing."

As to the claims of these people themselves upon respect and charity, from long personal observation and reliable information, we are able to present the strongest case on their behalf. They are sober, intelligent and industrious. Among tens of thousands of them, when in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky and other former slave states, we did not see a single case of intemperance. Mr. Gibson affirms that of the thousands of coloured people he saw in Missouri, Kansas and Arkansas, he did not see a single instance of drunkenness. He adds that he is sorry not to be able to say as much for his own colour. Surely such conduct entitles the negro to our confidence and our aid. The grand necessity is education. To aid America in this great work we again appeal to our countrymen. An American writing in the *New York Observer* objects to his countrymen coming to this country in order to beg money for the Southern blacks. The best advocates we have had from the United States have not begged. Levi Coffin, Charles Leigh, and Henry Martyn Storrs did not beg. They stated the case of the freed blacks of the South,

and that was enough for a British heart. It was also enough for British intelligence when not blinded by prejudice or dwarfed by ignorance.

The freed-men are struggling nobly to support their families, but can do nothing for the erection of school-houses. Help must come from the North and from abroad, and that at once, or the most favourable season for inaugurating a system of schools that shall permanently bless this neglected people will pass away never to be recalled. The desire among the freed-men for schools is almost universal. Whenever a school is opened it is at once thronged with scholars. The average enrolment of scholars in the schools of one district has been nearly one hundred pupils to each teacher, whilst the children are as eager to learn as the parents are to place them in school. If the teachers continue to conduct their work, of which we have no doubt, in that spirit of Christian love and zeal which has hitherto characterized their efforts, we believe they will do much to restore peace and harmony among all sections, and to bind up and heal the angry wounds of the nation. The Southern States, enlightened to perceive their true interests, will by and by provide by law for the education of all. Gen. Fisk writes, "the coloured people will be educated. They imperatively demand it. The ball set in motion by the societies of the North cannot be stopped. The people of this country should cast their gifts into the treasury with a liberal hand *this year*. *Push on the columns*. Multiply schools all over the South." The thirst for knowledge seems to pervade all classes,

from little children to adults of three-score years and more. Now is the accepted time for labourers to enter into this great harvest field. The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are yet but few. Many of the schools we ourselves have visited, and if the friends of education and human progress could behold the scenes we there beheld, a copious stream of supply would soon set in. Talk of progress and success in this great mental and moral revolution! Enter that school-house: that little boy—and we are detailing fact and not fiction—with such bright black eyes and eager face is just entering his seventh year. He can read well, and has finished what is known as the primary Geography and Arithmetic. His memory is truly wonderful. Ask him of Christ's teaching, to repeat the commandments, or to tell you some little stories, and he will please and astonish you. Look at that fine noble face near the head of the class—note the air with which that boy moves; observe his voice, and watch his sparkling eyes, as his little hand is raised to show that he knows the answer to the question just asked. He can scarcely restrain his reply, but he has learned obedience. He possesses manliness, mind and noble principles, and will make a man. So we might lead you from child to child—from that fair-haired, blue-eyed boy, once a slave, to yonder jet black child, fresh from the cotton field, to whom the school-room is a new but strangely pleasing place. The scholars are of all colours; some are intensely black, whilst others are scarcely to be distinguished from the whites. The most intelligent pupil in the school is entirely black, as are

some of the dullest ones. We plead for help for these poor—Heaven's little ones.

THE RECENT TROUBLES IN JAMAICA.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have issued an address to the black and the coloured population of Jamaica, of which the following is a copy; and have addressed a letter, of which a copy is subjoined, to Sir John P. Grant, the new governor:—

TO THE BLACK AND THE COLOURED POPULATION OF JAMAICA.

Permit us, your sincere and long-tried friends, to address you a few words of hearty counsel.

The anti-slavery men and women of Great Britain toiled hard in past years to obtain your freedom. They have since watched over your interests to the best of their power, and are still striving to promote the abolition of slavery in other countries. They now ask you to strengthen their hands by showing that the black man can prove himself to be a good subject of the Queen; and that he can not only support himself and his family, but improve his condition by honest industry; and that he can strive hard to train up his children, and to procure for them the blessing of education.

The present is an important time, a turning-point in the history of Jamaica. The sad events of the last few months have fixed public attention upon you, and a wider interest is excited than has been the case since the days of emancipation. We deeply deplore and utterly condemn the acts of violence which were committed at Morant Bay and its neighbourhood by a few misguided people; but the many innocent sufferers have our warmest sympathy.

Your friends hope much from you. They would earnestly exhort you to a continuance of steady industry. The prosperity of Jamaica depends upon you. Every idle man who sits down in his house when he ought to be earning wages, or working in his grounds, is doing his part to impoverish his country as well as

himself; and every man who robs his neighbour's provision-ground, is doing all he can to ruin and disgrace Jamaica.

Let the well-disposed, the honest and the industrious, set their faces steadfastly against evildoers. There is an old saying that "Prevention is better than cure." Begin, then, with your children. Teach them from their earliest years to speak the truth and to be strictly honest. Let them learn from you, their parents, that first best lesson, "The fear of the Lord," which "is the beginning of wisdom." Give them the best education in your power. Commence with them early. Let their daily study be the Bible. Do you, yourselves, set them the example, bearing in mind this great precept:—"Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."

Avoid all violence, and obey the laws of your country. Be constant in your attendance at a place of worship. Remember that all unrighteousness is sin. Jesus Christ offered His life for our sins, and we should pray for the Holy Spirit to help us to live for him who died for us. In all times of trial and temptation pray to Him, and His grace will be sufficient for you.

We earnestly entreat you to remember that God has given his blessing to honourable marriage; and that His displeasure rests on all who despise His holy ordinance. No country can prosper whose inhabitants live in disregard of the law of God in this matter.

You are placed in a beautiful and fertile land. If you honour God, He will bless and prosper you; but those can never prosper who, after they have been redeemed from the yoke of slavery, remain the willing slaves of sin and Satan.

Let the thousands of the honest and the industrious, the God-fearing men and women among you, do their utmost to persuade their careless neighbours "to cease to do evil, and to learn to do well."

There are those on the watch who may be ready to take up an evil report of the labouring people of the West Indies; but none of them can do you any harm if you yourselves, or some among you, do not give you occasion.

It is our earnest desire and prayer that the

past may be overruled for good, and that the change in the government of the island may be blessed, both to the white and coloured inhabitants and to you.

Under the impression that upon you, more than upon any other class, depends the future well-being of Jamaica, we have felt constrained to address to you this our Christian appeal.

We are, on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, your sincere friends,

William Allen, London; Robert Alsop, London; Alfred W. Bennett, London; Thomas Binns, London; Samuel Bowly, Stroud; William Brewin, Cirencester; John Chandler, Chelmsford; Robert Charleston, Bristol; Joseph Cooper, London; James Cropper, Kendal; John Cropper, Liverpool; Josiah Forster, London; Robert Forster, London; Charles Gilpin, M.P., London; Thomas Harvey, Leeds; John Hodgkin, Lewes; William Morgan, Birmingham; Richard Peek, J. P., King's bridge; Henry Pease, Darlington; Henry Sterry, London; Edmund Sturge, Birmingham; George Thomas, Bristol; Fred-eric Wheeler, Rochester.

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary.

27, New Broad Street, E. C.,
London, Aug. 15.

27, New Broad Street E.C., London,
Aug. 16.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit to your excellency the copy of an address to the black and the coloured population of Jamaica, which has been adopted by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and forwarded to the missionaries in the island with a letter of which a transcript is also inclosed. The committee venture to hope that the circulation of the address may be productive of good results.—I have the honour to be sir, your Excellency's very obedient servant,

(Signed) L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,
Secretary.

To his Excellency Sir John P. Grant, K.C.B.,
Governor of Jamaica.

We fear the missionaries in Jamaica will not find the preceding pastoral ad-

dress as serviceable as it is, no doubt, well intentioned. It grievously lacks discrimination. As it stands, the "hearty counsel" would be just as appropriate if sent round to the ministers in London after the riot in Hyde Park. We can make this clear to our anti-slavery brethren, by a little personal illustration. An article appears, for instance, in the present number of the *Freed-Man*, from Mr. Plummer, a coloured gentleman, from Jamaica. We have with us the Hon. Constantine Burke, and Mr. Brydson, J. P., both of the same complexion as the people to whom this "counsel" is addressed. Without offence, we might safely challenge a comparison between them and any three of the gentlemen who have subscribed this pastoral letter.

Is it needful for Mr. Gilpin, M. P., to recommend the Hon. Constantine Burke "to speak the truth?" Is it necessary for Mr. Richard Peek, J. P., to counsel Mr. Brydson, J. P., "to be strictly honest?" or is it becoming in our good and amiable friend, Mr. William Allen, to urge Mr. Plummer "not to sit down in his house when he ought to be earning wages?" The spiritual attainments of Mr. Chamerovzow may be higher than those of the Rev. S. W. Holt, who is one of the "black population," but is it pertinent on that account that he should tell him, so significantly, that "all unrighteousness is sin?" In sober truth, we regard the address, like that of Mr. Cardwell, as a grave mistake, though we hope no practical evil will arise from it. It ought to be distinctly and widely known, that in every district where proper pains have been taken to instruct the people, the black and

coloured population have done themselves credit to a degree that has never been fairly acknowledged.

The framers of the address will tell us that it was not intended for the cultured and patriotic black and coloured population, but mainly for the ignorant, indolent and vicious. Unfortunately, on that neglected class the document will be lost altogether, for the simple reason that *they cannot read*, and because they have been left and forgotten by those who might have given them instruction. It is high time that men who are concerned to do the honest and thorough work of Christian philanthropy should clearly understand the case. What is needed for the restoration of the more neglected *freed-men* is, not a casual visit and cheap printed advice, but the devoted and persevering effort of those who will forget themselves in the real and growing interest they feel in the work of Christian civilization. It must not be concealed that the failure of emancipation in Jamaica has mainly arisen from the want of judicious and well directed exertion, *continued long enough to secure a lasting result*. We go further, and we say with sadness, and with all the emphasis we can give, that if anything will cause a real wide-spread and disastrous revolution, it will be the practical neglect which has already produced such bitter fruits. We warn our anti-slavery brethren that, if they will not do more in this matter than issue this cheap counsel, they will not only lose the credit past service has given them, but occasion by tantalization and indirect discouragement, the ruin they profess their earnest desire to avert.

One word more, and we speak it with the utmost pain : the anti-slavery party in this country has *not* evinced "the warmest sympathy" for "the many innocent sufferers" in Jamaica. We are in a position to know with certainty to the contrary. The attempt has been made unceasingly on the part of some to *prevent a practical response to the appeal* reiterated in these pages on behalf of the homeless pillaged widows and orphans, whose innocence could be proved. It has been said, "There will be enquiry," "The Government will help," "Parliament will secure redress," "There is no need for help," "The country is productive." So the fugitives have been left, and as a substitute for succour and protection, they must be content with this "heartly counsel." The *Freed-Man* is read in Jamaica. We also counsel those who have suffered injury to be patient—to seek as their surest defence, useful and religious knowledge, to work out, under the blessing of God, their full deliverance, and to command confidence and respect ; but we do not forget that there are thousands of the black and coloured population from whose example we have ourselves much to learn. We are sure of their co-operation, whilst we attempt to vindicate their cause—so far as it is one of right, truth, freedom, and humanity.

REV. S. W. HOLT.

We have much pleasure in inviting the attention of our readers to the following extract of a speech by the Rev. S. W. Holt, a black minister from Jamaica. We have had frequent opportunities of conversing with the speaker, and can bear our testimony to his modesty, his intelligence and christian de-

portment. The speech was delivered at a meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society, held in Hertford, and we extract it from the *Herts Advertiser*, of July 28th.

"Mr. Holt, a pure negro from Jamaica, next addressed the meeting in a very intelligent, appropriate, and modest address, and in very fair English. He said he felt he was in danger of being brought up at the bar of grammar and tried for the murder of the Queen's English. He never went to school, and all he knew he had taught himself. He (Mr. Holt) stood before them as one of the fruits of missionary labour, the tree of which had been planted in Jamaica for many years. He could bear testimony to the gratitude of the negroes in Jamaica for what had been done for them by the missionaries there, notwithstanding the horrible outbreak in Morant Bay, where so many valuable lives were destroyed; and on behalf of the people he represented he had come to England to express that gratitude. Their first feelings on hearing of the Morant Bay massacre was, that, after that, the good people of England would cast them off for ever as unworthy of their attention. But as far as the people of Jamaica were concerned as a people, they had nothing to do with this unhappy disturbance, but it was confined to a particular district, and that a district where no missionaries now were labouring. His own county, Cornwall, was altogether innocent in respect to this matter. If it had not been so they would indeed have had cause to hide their heads in disgrace. He had come to England at the request of five thousand of his people to represent them here, as being one who had borne the burden and heat of slavery. He was there before them to show them what the unpolished material was, and when they calculated the effect of polishing they might form an estimate of what might be made of the negroes. He was sold at a public auction when he was ten years old. He was not a field labourer. He did not suffer in that state as many of his brethren and sisters suffered, but he was brought up as a servant in a white man's family. But it was one of their missionaries who first asked him to take a seat beside himself and his family at table. He was then

quite frightened at the white face, and they need not wonder that he did not eat a hearty dinner the first time he was so seated. Step by step he was encouraged by the missionaries, till they brought him on the platform and sometimes placed him in the chair at public meetings. It was thus he had been led to appear before them that evening. He trusted that for their release from slavery, and the noble undertaking of missions, the negroes of Jamaica would never be wanting in gratitude to the good people of England. In the course of his speech Mr. Holt said that the late Mr. Gordon made him a present of a Bible about four years ago. After the outbreak at Morant Bay, in the course of the enquires made by the authorities, they found that he had in his possession this Bible given him by Mr. Gordon. They thereupon sent a man who professed great kindness for him, to entrap him if they could into betraying sympathy for Mr. Gordon. The negroes and Baptist missionaries had now to submit to all sorts of annoyances and insults from a portion of the white population. He then alluded to the labours of Revs. William Knibb and Burchell, by the first of whom he was converted to the Baptist faith. He was sent here by the people amongst whom these good and great men laboured so faithfully. He said the people of Jamaica are most attached to our Queen, because it has been during her glorious reign that they have been liberated from slavery. 'Long live Mrs. Queen,' and 'God bless her,' were the expressions of their heartfelt feelings."

MR. T. MORRIS CHESTER.

Mr. T. Morris Chester has arrived in England from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, U.S. Mr. Chester comes as the representative of the so-called "Garnet League" and is commended to the friends of freedom in this country by Gov. Curtin and other distinguished American gentlemen. We have pleasure in presenting testimonials:

United States Senate Chambers,
Washington, July 18, 1866.

I am glad to contribute my testimony to the character and worth of Mr. Chester, who is now about to visit Europe for the sake of

the freed-men. I trust that he may find welcome and opportunity. In the hope of promoting his generous purpose I now write this open letter.

CHARLES SUMNER,

Senator of the U. S. and
Chairman of Committee of Foreign Relation.

War Department.

Bureau of Refugees, Freed-men, and
Abandoned Lands,

Washington, July 18, 1866.

To the friends of humanity in England.

Gentlemen,

The bearer has been delegated by an association called the "Garnet League" as an agent to collect funds for the aid of the freed-men, particularly for the promotion of education. He is commended highly by the Hon. A. G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania, and by the Hon. J. W. Forney, editor of *Washington Chronicle* and secretary of U. S. Senate, and others. With these gentlemen as vouchers I regard favourably his enterprize and wish him abundant success.

Now is our time to press education.

Respectfully yours,

O. O. HOWARD,
Maj.-Gen. Commissioners,

Correspondence.

Washington, July 4th, 1866.

British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society.
Sir,

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Coloured Home Association, held July 3rd, 1866, I was authorized to send a vote of thanks to your Society for your donation of £100 through our agent Mr. A. H. Burlingame, D.D., for the Aid of our Home for the Destitute Coloured Women and Children. For thus enabling us to take care of these destitute ones, we tender you our sincere thanks.

The average number at this Home has been seventy-two; we have procured good Homes for a number in the Northern States, in order to have place for others, thus our family is constantly changing. Many thanks for your kind donation. Yours Respectfully,

ELIZA HEACOCK, Sec.,

Dr. Fred. Tomkins. Of Col. Home Assoc.

RECEIPTS FOR JULY & AUGUST.

	£	s.	d.
James Yates, Esq., M.A. F.R.S.	2	0	0
Charles Gregory, Esq.	5	0	0
Mr. Richard Bligh	20	0	0
Jas Anstie, Esq., LL.B.	1	0	0
John Thomasson, Esq.	5	0	0
Dr. Falding, subscription at Mas-			
boro'	13	5	3
M. W. (printed in error 5s.)	5	0	0
Mr. J. F. Holcombe	0	10	6
C. F.	0	10	0
W. Brydson, Esq., from Jamaica	0	10	0
C. Plummer, Esq. do.	0	10	0
Rev. S. W. Holt do.	0	5	0
Rev. Mr. Pratten	0	10	0
Edward Chance, Esq.	2	0	0
Three Sisters	1	0	0
Mrs. Wanchope	1	0	0
Mrs. Daniel Wanchope	1	0	0
Sale of "Freed-Man" per S. W.			
Partridge	1	11	10
A Friend, per Mrs P. A. Taylor ...	0	5	0
Miss Winsor, per do.	0	2	6
A bet on the American War, per F.			
W. Chesson, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. W. H. Jones, Collection in			
Deverl St. Chapel, and in Kent	12	0	6
"C. S." per Rev. Newman Hall,			
L.L. B.	0	15	0
Mrs. Cooper, per do.	5	0	0
"Justitia" Stamps	0	5	0
A Friend, Stamps	0	2	6
Anonymous, Stamps	0	1	8
Collected at Northrain Wesleyan			
Chapel, Kent, per Rev. W. H. Jones	7	7	6
Wadhurst National School	4	17	0
Kilmdown Wesleyan Chapel	1	4	0
Lamberhurst do.	1	3	0
Per Sale of 100 Freed-man	0	16	8
Collections at Tunbridge Wells ...	3	0	0
Sunday school in connection with			
Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel	1	0	5
Primitive Methodist Chapel	2	0	0
National School, Southborough ...	3	13	0
Prim. Method Chapel, Lamberhurst	0	13	0
Wesleyan Chapel, Gillingdown ...	0	18	0
Wesleyan Chapel, Rotherfield	1	15	6
Wesleyan Chapel, Mayfield	0	10	2
Workman's Hall, Camden Road ...	0	10	0

Miss Remond wishes us to acknowledge the following subscriptions.

Mrs. P. A. Taylor	5	18	0
Mrs. F. Hill	1	10	0
Mrs. F. Hill	1	0	0
Miss Norah Hill	0	10	0
Mrs. P. A. Taylor	22	0	0
Miss Priestman	0	10	0

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THE FREED-MAN.

DAYBREAK IN JAMAICA.

WE are glad to find that our friends in Jamaica are full of hope with respect to the future. Sir Henry Knight Storks, on his return from the Island, speaks with confidence as to the return of prosperity under the new *regime*. The obstructive power of the Jamaica assembly is removed, and, in spite of continued misrepresentation, the truth is coming to light and the shadows cast by prejudice, selfishness and tyranny, are gradually passing away. The statements of Dr. Underhill in reference to the condition of the people, so violently impugned at one time, are now indirectly confirmed in the charges given from the judicial bench. With the cessation of the long-continued drought and the return of more propitious seasons the petty larcenies committed by the famishing people in some districts have been greatly diminished, and with the fuller development of the resources of the country, the general condition of the working population will be materially improved.

The conviction is gaining ground amongst the freed-men that, for their permanent improvement, they must put forth their own exertions with patient resolution. They are thankful for the service rendered by the Anti-Slavery Society, and for the protection afforded by the Jamaica Committee; but they deeply feel that no external help will avail apart from their own persevering efforts.

It cheers them to know that their case is better understood, and that in the mother country public opinion will be formed by the communication of facts in a way that will give them strength and encouragement. The FREED-MAN is finding its way into every part of Jamaica, and, with the support and co-operation of the people whose cause it is intended to maintain, it may become an organ of considerable importance for the advancement of Christian civilization. It will be impartial and of necessity independent. Its pages will be open to practical suggestions from all quarters likely to promote the general benefit of the people.

We learn with great interest that a Baptist missionary is appointed for Morant Bay. On his first visit he gathered the people under a tree near the

ruins of a chapel burnt in the recent troubles. This is the right course to take. The grand difficulty is to provide means for the instruction of the more remote and neglected districts. The missionaries of the several societies seem to be unwilling or unable to remove from the "base of their supplies." Pioneers are wanted ready to enter into the semi-barbarous localities, and to remain at the work, in the spirit of Moffat and the early missionaries, until they witness a decided change. It is of vital importance to secure a more numerous and better qualified staff of teachers. We fear that as yet there are comparatively few who are fully alive to the necessity of making this educational provision; but Providence has been on our side, and we must work on in faith and hope. When we least anticipate help, it may come. The upas tree of slavery has been felled to the ground, and its roots, after long toil, are likely now to be removed. The clearance leaves for the present an ugly chasm, everything has a crude and rough appearance; but steady cultivation, under the blessing of God, will soon make a wonderful change.

We hope that our friends in Jamaica will not attach too much importance to the sayings and doings of the Eyre Testimonial Committee. The probability is that they will raise money; but it is impossible, with the objects they have in view, that they should exert any moral force.

That wealth in England may be devoted to corrupt purposes we know too well from the disclosures at Yarmouth, Reigate, and Totnes, and it seems that genius of its kind is willing to prostitute itself at the feet of a debased slaveocracy. Something must be allowed for the bitterness of defeat and the mortification of unfulfilled predictions. We should suppose that there is not a negro in existence who has not sufficient capacity to understand how strangely Mr. Kingsley, Mr. Ruskin, Mr. Carlyle, and Mr. Mursell have lowered themselves, when the facts are clearly explained.

The best apology for the madness of Mr. Eyre in continuing the massacre of an unresisting people was in the statement that "he had lost his head." Guilty, an honest jury must find him, of unjustifiable homicide—with a recommendation to mercy on the ground of temporary insanity. But in his wildest freaks we find nothing more absurd in the course of the ex-governor than the aberrations of the excited party at the Southampton banquet. The "water babies" were not more wanting in common sense: one of the superfine gentlemen present expressed a wish to drink the health of their illustrious guest in the "skull of a nigger." If his desire had been gratified the ladies present, in the frenzy of the occasion, would have passed it round as a "loving cup." It was contended that, as the insurrection in Jamaica was suppressed with so small a loss of life in actual warfare, there was an ample margin for killing an additional number wherever they could be found. It was seriously proposed to elevate the heroes of Morant Bay to the peerage. General Nelson, celebrated for hanging Mr. Gordon, was spoken of as meriting a palm like that of his namesake of Trafalgar and the Nile. Mr. Ramsay, on the same principles, is entitled to "the

thanks of the house," and should be presented at court to shew his "cats with piano wire."

The distinguished leaders of the Eyre movement expect to crowd back the light of day into the darkness of the night of slavery; they have undertaken a task that can only make them ridiculous. Like Mr. Eyre, each of them has "lost his head," and with it his conscience and his heart; it is certain that, to the same extent, moral influence is also lost. A freak like this will not soon be forgotten.

It really is of no moment what any of these fantastic literati may say in the future on the Jamaica question. The bewilderment of the Southampton banquet will always put their soundness of mind under the gravest suspicion.

Of course it is very well understood in Jamaica why the Mayor of Southampton should give the sanction of his presence to the banquet: the Hebrew race, to which his worship belongs, occupy the chief place in the market of Jamaica they have long held it with characteristic persistency against the native producers of sugar and cotton. An incident reported in De Cordova's *Gleaner*, of the 24th of July, 1866, exhibits the common feeling of the class.—"On Saturday last, during divine service in the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, Jonas Hart, Esq., J.P. of this city, made a special offering for the health and prosperity of his Excellency Edward J. Eyre, Esq., the late governor of this island, that, in conjunction with his family, he might have a safe and speedy voyage to England, and that he might succeed in all his undertakings and overcome his opponents; in which sentiments the whole congregation united by a unanimous *Amen!* This shows the feeling which is entertained towards his Excellency by the Jewish community." The offering of Mr. Jonas Hart on the occasion amounted to eight shillings. This explains the animus of a Jewish editor in his comments on the letter of "Mr." Churchill.

It is too late—the "Jewish community" in Jamaica must be content to allow their sable brethren a share in the profits arising from the sale of the products of their own industry. The day is breaking—and what is now done must be in its penetrating light.

The meeting of the Chamber of Commerce at Birmingham, in favour of the Association for the Promotion of Native Industry in Jamaica, and the sale of its products, we trust will inaugurate a new era. It is not within the direct sphere of the operations of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, to enter into mercantile transactions, but we shall neglect no opportunity that may be conducive to the welfare of the injured people, whose interests we plead. We were permitted to take the initiative in this matter, by bringing influential parties together, and offering the first suggestions. We rejoice therefore in the success of the meeting at Birmingham. It is an omen for good to find Mr. Allbright, Mr. Estcourt, Mr. Morgan, Mr. J. Horne Payne, and other gentlemen in combination for the promotion of this object. The mission of Messrs. Brydson, Plummeridge and Holt, is one in which we take the

deepest interest. We shall watch the progress of the Association and commend it to the confidence and support of our friends. But with all these hopeful signs for the future in Jamaica, there is yet one sad blot unremoved. The widows and children of the murdered freed-men are still left in deplorable destitution. They are out of sight in the background. The new Governor is received with enthusiasm, and the legislative council will soon be formed under more auspicious circumstances. Scope will be given for general commercial improvement. The missions to some extent may be reinforced—but we cannot control our fears that those who suffered the most grievous wrong will be forgotten or pushed aside. We are told that on a recent occasion the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars was spent at New York by two-hundred and fifty gentlemen at a dinner given to the President. So it is—the rich fare sumptuously and for a long succession of months. We plead almost in vain, that the houseless, naked, wretched and terrified people driven to the wood may be brought within the reach of christian civilization. There is a time for silence, for importunity at some seasons may be not only wearisome but injurious to the cause it is intended to serve. But we cannot refrain now. We share the feeling of those who protest against injustice and who demand redress. It is a healthy sign that there should be so much enlightened persistency in the call for a judicial scrutiny. We believe that nothing can absolve the ex-governor of Jamaica from blood-guiltiness, but we also feel that there is danger lest we should incur heavier condemnation and sink to a lower point of debasement in the practical neglect of the outcast people. How can we justify the withholding of relief from those whose wrongs we have so distinctly proved and so loudly proclaimed. Moral indignation in this case will not prove its sincerity if we still allow the hunger, nakedness and ignorance to continue. Governor Eyre acted in a kind of frenzy and at the stress of the moment, and the people were driven in terror to their haunts of wretchedness; but we follow them with our missionaries; report their miseries and still allow them to continue unrelieved. Let us remember that in all the past, both in the English colonies and in the United States, this has been the ever repeated mistake, and crime that has been committed. Willing to use the labour of the negro—eager to profit by the fruit of his labour—we have not cared as we should, to prevent the destitution and the semi-barbarisms which have in retribution caused so many calamities and burdens. If an appeal is to be made in the British courts of law for the punishment of the oppressor, let us in consistency and in humanity do something effectively for the relief of the oppressed.—W

THE INTENDED BAZAAR FOR THE FREED-MEN.

The ladies of England have never failed in their zeal and energy on behalf of the poor. Will every lady who reads this prepare something for the Bazaar, and induce a friend to do the same. Please send the articles to 102, Fleet St., care of Dr. Fred. Tomkins.

MR. CARLYLE.

Personally Mr. Carlyle, from his recent great affliction, may be regarded with feelings of the deepest and most respectful sympathy; but, in connection with the Eyre committee, he has written a letter which has called forth an article in the *Daily News* too valuable for its admonitory suggestions to be dismissed with the passing notice of the hour. Our young men need the instruction on entering public life, this faithful criticism well supplies. Mere antiism of any kind, without care, will impoverish the heart and—as in this instance—cast a blight over the finest intellect.

A self-inclosed and supercilious nature is sure to bring in the end the penalty of a withered spirit: the lesson, we trust, will not be lost.

“The literary biography of Thomas Carlyle, when the time has passed alike for eulogy and for detraction, will form one of the most curious of psychological studies. It will have not less moral than intellectual instruction. No literary career illustrates more impressively than his the degree in which genius depends upon character, and social influence on both. Deterioration of moral sentiment and corruption of style have kept pace with each other in his later writings; and the audience which listened to his lightest words as to the inspired utterances of a prophet, now awaits his gravest with the expectant grin which rewards in anticipation the antics of a buffoon. That such a literary old age as his should crown his literary youth and manhood is among the saddest things in the misfortunes of men of letters—sadder far than the fate of Chatterton or of Savage. The generous enthusiasm, the poetic insight, the pure, if austere, morals, and blended hope and sadness of an earnest temperament which glowed in his earlier pages, live in his later writings only as half-extinguished fires under the smouldering ashes. Mr. Carlyle is a remarkable instance of the manner in which the life of the closet may unfit a man for judging of the affairs of the world around him. Of inactive habits and brooding temperament, his admiration is given, by a sort of self-revolt, entirely to men of keen worldly perception and prompt action. Energy, howsoever

inspired and directed, is the object of his sedentary idolatry, and that energy is most visible to him when its path lies over countless victims. His historic imagination requires vivid pictures, and the slow and tedious processes by which great results are achieved in obedience to laws and constitutions are little to his taste. The true hero, in his view, is one whose steady and ruthless purpose allows no obstacle to turn it aside; and as strength of purpose is shown by the natural force of the restraints which it breaks, a disregard of ordinary humanity immensely stimulates Mr. Carlyle's reverence.† Personally one of the kindest of men, Mr. Carlyle has cultivated an intellectual taste for bloodshed—a literary lust of carnage. He has become, by sedulous self-indulgence, voluptuous in cruelty. Like old Lear, in his madness, he threatens to quit the stage, muttering ‘Kill—kill—kill.’

“With these acquired habits of mind, it is not wonderful that Mr. Carlyle should find his sympathies powerfully stirred by the events which have taken place in Jamaica, and by the conduct and character of the principal actor in them. The letter which we publish to-day can surprise none but those who have obstinately shut their eyes to the real tendency of all his later teaching. Disregard of law and indifference to human suffering (or, as in the case of negroes Mr. Carlyle would probably consider it *semi-human* suffering), where ‘anarchy’ has to be combated, or an inferior race has to be taught submission to its natural rulers, are the principles of government which Mr. Carlyle has for many years been sedulously instilling; and he would be untrue to himself if he did not welcome the striking exemplification lately given in Jamaica. It is not strange, therefore, that he should pronounce, in respect to Mr. Eyre, that ‘penalty and clamour are not the things that this governor merits from any of us, but honours, and thanks, and wise imitation, I will further say, should similar emergencies arise on the great scale and on the small, in whatever we are governing.’ We commend this passage to those persons who imagine that the Jamaica precedent cannot in the nature of things be dangerous nearer home. The Tory journalists who de-

nounce the English reform agitation as illegal and seditious, have shown no readiness to discriminate between Hyde-park and Morant Bay. Mr. Carlyle unconsciously supports, and indeed has anticipated, the assertions with respect to the temper of certain classes among us, for which Mr. Goldwin Smith has been coarsely reviled. We are inclined, however, to hope that the contingency to which both these writers look forward with different feelings, is more distant than either supposes. What Mr. Carlyle says of the 'clamour raised against Mr. Eyre,' we repeat of the clamour raised in his behalf, that it is 'disgraceful to the good sense of England;' and 'if it rested on any depth of conviction, and were not rather (as we always flatter ourselves it is) a thing of rumour and hearsay, of repetition and reverberation, mostly from the teeth outward, we should consider it of evil omen to the country and its highest interest in these times.' We, with Mr. Carlyle, flatter ourselves that the English nation has not changed altogether; 'not yet quite; but only that certain loose superficial portions of it'—a few literary humourists and sentimentalists, a handful of peers, and others less considerable—'have become a great deal louder, and not any wiser, than they formerly used to be.' We are confirmed in this view by the fact that on the one side there are the two successive governments of Lord Russell and Lord Derby, and the entire House of Commons; on the other is the 'Eyre Defence and Aid Committee.' A Royal Commission of Inquiry, the Executive, and the Legislature—whom Mr. Carlyle, if he chooses, may call 'loose superficial portions' of the English nation—unite in pronouncing that Mr. Eyre has been guilty of the gravest errors affecting the lives of innocent persons. Whether these errors were crimes also, is a matter quite irrelevant to Mr. Carlyle's claim for his protégé of 'honour, thanks, and wise imitation.'

"Mr. Carlyle has generally the credit—and, so far as we are able to judge, deserves it—of thorough and accurate inquiry into the historic evidences of any matter with which he deals. But it is difficult to believe that he can have even looked into the Jamaica Blue Books. Mr. Eyre is censured by the persons

whom Mr. Carlyle denounces, not for what he did in the suppression of the insurrection, but for the homicides which he sanctioned after the insurrection had, by his own confession, been suppressed. Without legal trial, and on evidence utterly inconclusive as to their guilt, Mr. Eyre put to death men whose alleged crimes, if they had been proved, would not have been capital, and whose death the public safety did not demand. The phrases in which Mr. Carlyle speaks of 'the perilous and appalling difficulty, something like the case of fire suddenly reported in the ship's powder-room, in mid-ocean, where the moments mean ages, and life and death hang on your use or misuse of the moments,' are very tolerable rhetoric, but are very irrelevant as logic; for the fire had been put out and the powder damped, and the perilous and appalling difficulty had ceased, and the moments had ceased to mean ages, and to carry life or death with them, when Mr. Eyre committed the acts which Mr. Carlyle, writing under imperfect information, or with imperfect candour, approves. Even he is forced to adduce the tyrant's plea of necessity, which Mr. Eyre himself has virtually disclaimed, and which the report of the Commissioners has refuted. It is for 'unnecessary' executions that the ex-Governor of Jamaica has been recalled and censured. Mr. Carlyle's real sympathy and his formal defence rest upon grounds which are inconsistent with each other; and the same inconsistency runs through the apologies of the other literary, clerical, and aristocratic partizans of Mr. Eyre. The refutation of their false assumption converts their elaborate praise into the more damning censure."

PROFESSOR SILLIMAN.

In direct contrast with the sketch given of Mr. Carlyle, we find a portraiture of Professor Silliman in the *New Englander*, which contains the following interesting passage in reference to his anti-slavery principles:

"In his moral character Professor Silliman was marked by his strict adherence to principle. Nothing that was wrong, and nothing even that violated the highest sense of honour was passed by him without rebuke. It seemed

to us sometimes, in our acquaintance with him, that he was so elevated in this latter respect as to be almost incapable of judging properly of other men, whose standard was far lower than his own, and who could not, therefore, be trusted, as he well knew from his own experience that he could trust himself. The deep feeling of the injustice of American slavery was the natural outgrowth of these statements, which lay at the very foundation of his being; and we gladly record on these pages what appeared so clearly in his life, and now appears so clearly in the story of it—the steadiness and earnestness of his opposition to this enormous sin through the whole of his long career. No mingling with southern society—no honours received from southern men—could ever blind him to the evil of southern institutions, or save them from the indignant abhorrence of his soul. The country in every part became acquainted with his position on this subject and with his manly defence of it during the great conflict in Kansas; and afterwards, during the still greater conflict, of which that was the immediate precursor, he was recognised as an earnest, enthusiastic, brave-hearted, prayerful and ever trustful patriot. Yale College has had a glorious reward in all the progress of this long warfare, which has extended over more than forty years, since the great Missouri compromise first betrayed the cause of freedom to its enemies. It has never failed to declare itself openly for human rights, no matter who might oppose or who might threaten. And when the outrages of more recent times began to astonish the world, it raised its voice in tones that could not be mistaken, and bore continual witness for the truth, even to the triumphant result. The words and principles of the illustrious man (President Dwight) who called Mr. Silliman and his associates to their places in the college—as he declared that ‘nothing but the influence of some commanding moral duty would ever induce him to live in a region where slavery was established’—doubtless sank into the minds of their illustrious pupils, and in their lives was perpetuated the earnest opposition to the wrongs of the system, which he had always felt in his own soul. These

honoured men fought the good fight in their day. They laid down their armour one after another, at the end, believing in God and in this cause with a joyful faith. And to-day we bless their memory for all that they did in the great work, and for all the inspiration they gave to us who have followed them; while we bless God that we have never lost the inspiration of their example, and that we can now rejoice in the results, alike of their prayers and labours and of ours. The peace of to-day—the harmony and prosperity of the future—are the glory of those who contended for the right in every form and place: and in no small measure they are the enduring glory of Yale College. The honoured man, whose life we are retracing now, passed away almost as the last one of his own company, and almost at the closing moment of the struggle. But, as we cannot help believing, he passed away to rejoice with those noble spirits who had gone before him to the reward of their faithful service, and to see only the more clearly than is possible to our human vision the great things that God has reserved for the future generations.”

Those who, in their pride and self-conceit, set themselves in opposition to the work of true philanthropy affect to believe that the friends of the freed-men must be weak and narrow in their views. Professor Silliman, in common with many veterans in the same cause, is a noble example to the contrary. He was the most eminent of American teachers of natural science. He established the *American Journal of Science* in 1818, and for thirty years it was under his careful supervision. Professor Henry says, “its establishment and maintenance under restricted pecuniary means was an enterprise which involved an amount of thought and of labour, for the expenditure of which he has well merited the gratitude not only of his countrymen but of the world.” The love of right, with expansive sympathies, gives a powerful impetus in every truly honourable career. To name the most consistent, energetic, and unwearied friends of the slave, amongst our own countrymen in the past is only to point to those who stand in the first rank of Englishmen. So it will be in the future.

HELP FOR THE INTENDED BAZAAR.

The British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society intend holding a Bazaar in London, in aid of its funds, either at the end of the present, or the beginning of next year. We earnestly solicit the aid of all the friends of the Society. Ladies willing to co-operate will kindly send their names or articles for the bazaar, addressed to the care of Dr. Fred. Tomkins, No. 102, Fleet Street, London. E.C.

The Freed-Man.

OCTOBER, 1866.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

"I have observed with satisfaction that the United States, after terminating successfully the severe struggle in which they were so long engaged, are wisely repairing the ravages of civil war. The abolition of slavery is an event calling forth the cordial sympathies and congratulations of this country, which has always been foremost in showing its abhorrence of an institution repugnant to every feeling of justice and humanity."

NEGRO ENTERPRIZE IN JAMAICA.

There are many persons in this country who would have us believe that the negro and the coloured race are incapable of entering into and sustaining the varied relations of commerce. That such a view is erroneous and made with a sinister end as far as regards the negro we do not hesitate to affirm. In Georgetown, Demerara, in the principal business locality you will find many negro merchants. In the United States of America you may find many active, intelligent, wealthy traders and merchants, both pure negroes and coloured men. In Jamaica the dispensation of "wire-cats," with accompanying cruelties, is scarcely at an end before we find coloured men themselves, alive to their

own interests, freighting a vessel with a valuable cargo, and sending agents in whom they have confidence to form commercial connections with this country.

A meeting of the members of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce was held at the Exchange-buildings on Thursday evening, September 13, for the purpose of receiving this deputation from a commercial association in Jamaica, whose object is to promote commercial intercourse between Jamaica and this country, especially in exporting the products and supplying the wants of the native agriculturists. The gentlemen who form this deputation are Mr. Charles Plummer and Mr. William Brydson, J.P. They were accompanied to Birmingham by Mr. Horne Payne and Mr. Estcourt, and were introduced to the Chamber of Commerce by Mr. W. Morgan, Solicitor, of Birmingham, who a short time ago paid a visit to the island. Mr. J. S. Wright occupied the chair. Amongst those present were Aldermen Sturge and Aston, Messrs. H. M. Blews, Edmund Sturge, W. Middlemore, H. Van Wart, S. A. Carpenter, G. Dixon, R. C. Barrow, H. Christian, A. Allbright, P. Thomson, J. Collings, J. W. Browne, F. Madely, W. Rollason, G. Hull, W. C. Morgan, H. J. Harding (Secretary), &c.

The Chamber of Commerce at Birmingham has rendered good service to Jamaica by the promptness and the kindly spirit in which it received this deputation.

The CHAIRMAN said there could be no question that the island of Jamaica was productive, for there was scarcely anything grown in the tropics which the island was not capable of producing. At the present moment they imported about £1,000,000 sterling annually into this country, and Britain exported to Jamaica upwards of £500,000. He thought there would be better days in store for Jamaica than they had seen during the last generation, and he held that it was something of a reproach to England that a country so favoured by nature, and capable of producing various articles necessary for substat-

ence, should be in the position in which they saw Jamaica at the present moment.

Mr. W. MORGAN, of Birmingham, a true and long-trying friend of the coloured race, who has visited the island on two occasions, stated that the island botanist, an officer sustained by the government, presented him with a number of fibres, some of a very beautiful kind, which grew in the island, and might be used in every possible manufacture into which fibrous matter could be introduced. That gentleman requested him on his return to England to endeavour to direct attention to what was produced, and might be produced, as a source of great wealth from the island of Jamaica.

At the Black River Mr. Morgan found a society consisting chiefly of small agriculturists, who were partly coloured persons, and some of them entirely black, the object of which society was to receive from the native cultivators the productions of the soil, and to act as agents in superintending the shipping and disposal of their products and conducting import trade. He found that the agriculture of the country in the smaller staples of ginger, pimento, arrowroot, and other things, was passing almost entirely to black and coloured inhabitants, and that while sugar and rum were being sent to England in diminishing quantities, there was a constant increase in the growth of the lesser staples. This he thought was a complete answer to the oft-repeated statement that the black inhabitants were not industrious, for where they had a fair opportunity in Jamaica, he had not seen a harder working body of labourers. But when this kind of persons were paid inadequately for their labour, especially in a country in which they were formerly slaves, the industry did not come out so palpably as when men were engaged in working their own estates. The society he found at the Black River gathered the produce of the country from the agriculturists who lived in the mountains, but who did not possess that amount of intelligence to enable them to carry on correspondence with people in Europe or the United States, with the object of getting an exchange for their produce. An association had therefore been formed at

the Black River, which had for its object the gathering together of this produce, superintending its shipment, and receiving back goods from other countries in exchange, and, in fact, to initiate a commercial system. When he was at the Black River there was £1,000 worth of produce, consisting of arrowroot, ginger, cotton, sugar, starch, cigars, pimento, coffee, &c., grown in the island, lying on the wharves ready to be shipped away. From this association the gentlemen forming the deputation had been sent to England, for the purpose of disposing of that produce and establishing an agency in London. He was anxious that there should be a larger importation of British goods into Jamaica than there had been, and he therefore trusted that the members of the Chamber of Commerce would give the deputation their co-operation and encouragement in the work they had in hand. Commercial transactions formerly had only been carried on between merchants and the white inhabitants of the island, and not with the black or coloured inhabitants at all. He urged, in conclusion, that there was great improvement necessary in the modes of cultivation, and in the refining of sugar, and hoped that the island, which at present was populated by 400,000, but which might afford a home for 4,000,000, would be able to increase its produce for the benefits of the community at large.

Mr. BRAYDON said the whole of his time had been occupied with the improvement of the island, and he therefore was prepared to form some opinion as to its capabilities, and the probable success if the cultivation were successfully carried out. During the time of the recent disturbances in Jamaica, he must say that he never saw greater activity displayed in the cultivation of the land than at the parish of St. Elizabeth. He had received letters since he had left that island which informed him that the production of ginger and coffee during the present year has been considerably above that of any past year. With respect to the growth of cotton he himself had experimented in that way, with a view of being able to speak truthfully to the fact. On the 1st of December he commenced picking, and finished by the

end of February. He brought the crop to England, and it sold at the highest price then realised, viz., 2s 3d per lb. Since then he had received information that the field was ready to pick again, so that he had had two crops within the twelve months. He was convinced that with proper management Jamaica was as well calculated to grow cotton as any other country in the world, and he thought a profitable source of revenue might be reaped from its cultivation.

The CHAIRMAN expressed his pleasure at the intelligent way Mr. Brydson had laid the question before them, and

Mr. PLUMMER said that since he had been to England he had visited Manchester and Rochdale, where he saw a large quantity of starch being used in the manufacture of cotton stuffs and prints. Now, in Jamaica, they could produce, from the root of the bitter cassava, more starch, of excellent quality, and at a low price, than was used in both the towns he had named. All that was wanted was capital to develop the fine natural resources of Jamaica, and to make it a prosperous and wealthy country. The inhabitants had shown more improvement during the last thirty years than many of the lower classes in other places. They were a very industrious and religious set, and had done a great deal to make the island prosperous. As a proprietor himself, he could assure them that the people laboured very readily when it was their interest to do so.

Mr. GEORGE DIXON pointed out the fact that in the neighbouring and smaller island of Cuba, where slavery existed, the exports and imports were far in excess of those of Jamaica, and wished to know from the deputation how this came about.

Mr. PAYNE, who was out in Jamaica recently, in connexion with the official enquiry, said, in answer to Mr. Dixon, that the results which had been referred to by Mr. Dixon were not to be attributed to any laziness on the part of the negroes, and he much regretted that that erroneous notion should have taken such wide and deep root. The present want of commercial prosperity in Jamaica was entirely due to the change from a system of large holding to small ones. Emancipation

and the equalization of the sugar duties in 1846, and many other causes, had combined to throw a large number of the estates out of cultivation. The negroes were enabled almost at nominal prices to purchase as much land as they required. The result was that vast masses were freeholders of from one to six acres, or tenants of a few acres, but in that case perfectly independent of the landlord, and they sometimes preferred it, because they could change their holdings as often as they found virgin soil more productive. Under these circumstances was there any ground for astonishment if they found employment on their own soil more productive and more agreeable than doing task work in gangs upon the estate? The condition of these small freeholders was rapidly improving. The Chamber would be glad to hear that, whilst travelling round the island in company with his friend Mr. Morgan, he found in the centre of it a colony of negroes, who without any prompting from the whites, had established a mutual lending society or bank, in which, in prosperous years, they paid in as much of their profits as they could spare, and from the funds thus accumulated they lent to their other members in time of want.

Mr. ESTCOURT, of London, said a sum of £2,000 would enable them to make advances for twelve months, and then the people would be relieved of their present difficulties, and it was not desired in the first instance to launch any large scheme, but only to supply an actual existing want of a suitable commercial agency.

Mr. DIXON moved that the best thanks of the meeting be given to those gentlemen for the trouble they had taken in explaining the wants of the island of Jamaica, and for the interesting information they had given. He felt sure the objects they had in view were so simple that there could be no difficulty in carrying them out. He was quite sure that they would obtain sufficient to enable them to continue their undertaking with such success that a little would grow into something large. Of the deep sympathy felt by the Englishmen for the coloured race, he could not doubt that the deputation would carry home with them the most gratifying assurance of the complete

sympathy of England for their future success and prosperity.

Mr. W. MIDDLEMORE seconded the motion, congratulating the coloured people on having their wishes so ably represented by the gentlemen who formed the deputation.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. MIDDLEMORE moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, and the proceedings terminated.

We attach great importance to the above meeting. It reflects the highest credit upon all connected with it, and especially upon Mr. Estcourt, and other friends connected with the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society, who were among the first and most strenuous supporters of the oppressed people of Jamaica. Whilst as a philanthropic organ, representing a benevolent society, our great aim is moral and religious, we cannot but rejoice when we see that measures we have strongly recommended are about to be commenced under such favourable auspices.

NEW ENGLAND LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

We have received and read No. 318 of the papers of this Society with pleasure. Let our friends at Studio Buildings continue to feel that in their struggles for freedom, in the most extensive signification of the term, they have the sympathy and the prayers of thousands of true British hearts. Congress and New England are, and will prove themselves, the real descendants of the men who bearded the despotic Stuarts in the struggles of the 17th century. Thank God the same spirit lives with our Columbia. It would be madness to allow the men whose hands are dripping with

the best blood of the nation again to dominate in the halls of the legislature without giving satisfactory guarantees for their *bona fides* and future behaviour. We have also a right to speak, for the blood of relatives was shed at Gettysburg and the Wilderness. We utter a voice for the silent slain.

"THE RIGHT WAY."

We continue to receive this admirable paper, published by Mr. William W. Thayer, Boston, Mass. For devotedness to the cause of freedom and the interests of the freed-men, for its lofty patriotism and fidelity, we believe it has no rival in the United States of America. We express our cordial esteem for friends with whom we have the pleasure of co-operating, although at so great a distance from the field of labour, and augur their ultimate success. Keep on!

NEGROES TORTURED.

General Howard has received voluminous reports concerning the cruelties practised by Mrs. Henry Abrahams, of King Williams County, Virginia, upon her servants. The matter came to light through investigation set on foot about a month ago. The reports show that on the 2nd of June a freed girl, named Martha Anne, aged seventeen, was brought to a hospital at Richmond. The surgeon states that there were upon her body seven ulcers, all the result of burns, and all produced within two or three weeks. The largest was nearly two inches in diameter. In addition to these, her entire body was almost covered with scars, some old, and some covered with recent scales, some the result of burns, and some the result of whipping. She had been so abused that she was scarcely able to give expression to an intelligent idea. The investigation made before the Judge Advocate at Richmond proved that

this monster, Mrs. Abrahams, whom half the lawyers of the city volunteered to defend, has within the last few years been the cause of the death of four of her negro servants. An extract from the report is subjoined:—

“Lucy Richardson, mother of the girl taken to the hospital, has been made blind of one eye, and has been scarred in the throat with a hot iron. Five of the children of the said Lucy Richardson, named Martha Anne and Mary Ellen, twins, aged sixteen, George, aged nine, Frances, aged eleven, and Robert, aged seven and a half years, have, on many different occasions, each of them been placed in a nude state before the fire, until their backs were actually broiled, and then whipped with a birch rod on the back until it was raw, when strong salt and pepper water was rubbed on, and they were whipped again. Frances died in February, 1866, from injuries received at the hands of the said Mrs. Abrahams, by being stamped upon. The children, while being tortured, had their feet and hands bound, and were bucked, to keep them from struggling or resisting. The house would be closed while they were being burned and whipped, but then their cries would be heard for a long way. They would often faint away, and Mrs. Abrahams would continue to strike them with a poker, saying ‘You’re dead, are you? I’ll make you catch your breath.’ After the punishment they could not lie nor sit down, and had to stand up a number of consecutive days and nights. Before the children recovered from their injuries, Mrs. Abrahams would scar them with hot coals, or with a hot iron. She never had a servant without scars from her hands, and never did a day pass that some servant did not receive torture.

“Sarah Daudridge, milkmaid, was told to get all the milk she could in time for a dancing party, and because she did not answer soon enough, Mrs. Abrahams tortured her to such an extent that she drowned herself in the creek.

“Eliza Hill was beat over the head with an iron poker, and pieces of flesh were cut from her head and face with a knife, by Mrs. Abrahams, until she became blind in both eyes. She afterwards died from these injuries.”

The evidence fully establishes numerous instances of assault with intent to wound, maim, disfigure, disable, or kill. Much of this cruelty has been practised since the fall of Richmond. Burning on the bare back with live coals of fire seems to have been a common punishment. Whipping was done with clubs, tongs, pokers, fire shovels, &c. Mary and Frances were twice taken to a pond, and half drowned.—*Washington Corr. Advertiser*, July 22.

[It is sad, indeed, to record such heart-sickening instances as those recorded above. But painful as they are to read they should be known, that the moral sense of mankind may be aroused against such atrocities. Slavery was the very quintessence of cruelty. It is not to be expected that the cruel spirit of the demon will vanish the moment that God’s providence has forced the rivets of the fetters and smitten asunder the chains of the bondman.]

WHAT BECOMES OF THE MONEY.

“We take great pleasure in inserting the following extract from a letter written by Capt. Sweeney of the Bureau in Eastern Arkansas. It shows to our contributors what grand results follow their benefactions. Hundreds of these self-sacrificing teachers are ready to enter the field; who will aid us in replenishing our treasury, that we may send them forth by scores and hundreds? There never was a time when money could more successfully be converted into stars with which to deck crowns than now, and never an enterprise in which hearty workers would win nobler trophies for Christ and the Republic.

“We had a very interesting school examination on Friday last conducted by Miss Carter, who is deserving of the greatest praise, and who is one of the most estimable of the good women the North has sent forth as angels of mercy and light, to lead those poor benighted souls to their God and everlasting glory.

“The proficiency of the children astonished every person who heard them recite, and quite a number of white folks were present.

“I sincerely hope you will allow Miss Carter to return to her labours at this place. She is very anxious to continue teaching the

school at this point, where she has laboured so hard, and so successfully.

"Assuring you of the highest respect and esteem, I am, dear sir, your obedient servant,

"HENRY SWEENEY,

"Capt. and Gen'l Supt. R. and F. for E.

Arkansas.

"Helena, Arkansas, June 30th, 1866."

THE COLOURED TROOPS.

The report of A. A. Gen. Foster, which accompanies that of Gen. Thomas, presents a schedule of all the coloured troops enlisted during the war:

On the 15th of July, 1865, the date on which the last organization of coloured troops was mustered in, there were in the service of the United States, 120 regiments of infantry. Numbering in the aggregate.....98,938
Twelve regiments of heavy artillery...15,662
Ten batteries of light artillery..... 1,311
Seven regiments of cavalry..... 7,245

Grand aggregate 123,156

The foregoing is the largest number of coloured troops in service at any one time during the war.

The entire number of troops commissioned and enlisted in this branch of the service, during the war, is 186,057.

The loss during the war from all causes, except mustering out of organizations, in consequence of expiration of term of service, or because service was no longer required, is 68,178.

Gen. Foster adds:

The reputation of the organization for efficiency, good conduct and reliability, has steadily advanced, and the reports of the officers of the Inspector General's department, so far as they have come to the knowledge of this office, are very satisfactory as to its present condition.—*Freed-men's Bulletin*.

THE MASSACRE IN NEW ORLEANS.

The late tragedy in New Orleans, terrible as it was, will be of the most salutary effect. Thirty years ago, slavery shot Alton for defending the right of free speech. Year after year, slavery insulted, threatened, and mobbed

Northern men for preaching the Declaration of Independence. For five and six years past, slavery has exiled tortured, hung, and burned Southern men for fidelity to the Union. But the sure mills of God grind slowly on, and slavery is abolished.

We have entered upon a new era. Already men are shot by stealth in the late slave States because they declare justice to be the best policy. Already school-houses are burned and teachers hunted away because they seek to enlighten the minds which slavery had darkened. Already the *New York World*, and the other lackeys of slavery denounce Southern men who were true to the Union through fire and flood, as "cravens and cowards." In Memphis, hatred of the principle of equal rights before the law massacres the most friendless and unfortunate part of the population; and in New Orleans, the advocates of the same principle, meeting to discuss the subject, are ferociously murdered. But still the slow mills of God grind on. The seed of equal rights will be watered, not drowned, by the blood of the sowers. It will surely grow into a harvest which no storm can destroy. It will bear its natural fruit of national peace and prosperity; and in the happy day of its ripening, those who sought to destroy the seed, whatever their station, whatever their temporary power, will be remembered as the murderers of Lovejoy and the assassin of Lincoln are remembered.

The President knew, as everybody else knew, the inflamed condition of the city of New Orleans. He had read, as we had all read, the fiery speeches of both parties. He knew, unless he had chosen wilfully to ignore, the smothered hatred of the late rebels toward the Union men of every colour. He may have considered the "Conservatives" wise, humane and peaceful. He may have thought the Radicals wild and foolish. He knew that the Mayor was a bitter rebel, whom he had pardoned into office. He knew that the courts had denounced the Convention, and he was expressly informed that they meant to indict the members. He could not affect ignorance of the imminent danger of rioting and bloodshed. Still, if, as he constantly asserts, Louisiana is rightfully in the same relation

to the Union that New York is, he had no authority to say a word or to do an act in that State except "on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive when the Legislature cannot be convened." Why did he presume, then, to judge of the authority of the Convention? What has the President of the United States to do with the manner in which delegates to a State Convention are selected. If his own assertion be correct as to the present relation of Louisiana to the Union, the President convicts himself of the most extraordinary and passionate act of executive usurpation and federal centralization recorded in our history.

He knew that a simple word to the military commander to preserve the peace at all hazards would prevent disorder and save lives. He did not speak that word. Assuming to plant himself upon the Constitution, which by his very act he violated, he telegraphed to the Attorney-General of the State. He threw his whole weight upon the side of those from whom he knew, in the nature of things, the disorder would proceed, and from whom it did proceed. He knew the city was tinder, and he threw in a spark. Every negro-hater and every disloyal ruffian knew from the President's dispatch that the right of the citizens to assemble and declare their views would not be protected. The Mayor's proclamation was a covert but distinct invitation to riot. He announced to a city seething with hatred of the Convention, that it would "receive no countenance from the President." It was simply saying, "The Convention is at your mercy."

And the mob so understood it. A procession of negroes carrying a United States flag was attacked. It defended itself; and the work which one word from the President would have stopped, and which he had the full authority to speak if he could speak at all, went on to its awful result. The rebel flag was again unfurled. The men who had bravely resisted it for four years were murdered under its encouragement, and while they were still lying warm in their blood, the President telegraphed that they were "an unlawful assembly," and that "usurpation will not be tolerated,"—words which he had no shadow

of authority to utter, except by the same right which empowered him to save all those lives; a right which he declined to exercise.

The President, who has undertaken by his own arbitrary will to settle every question of the war without consultation with the representatives of the people, says to the murdered men in New Orleans, "Why did you assume to act without obtaining the consent of the people?" The autumn elections will terribly echo that question. Surveying the Executive action of eighteen months, with its plain tendencies and apparent inspiration, seeing that it has left the President with no other party than the most vehement of the late rebels at the South, the Copperheads at the North, and the timid and trimming adherents of the Union party, while the great mass of sturdy Unionists in all parts of the country at the North and South, still maintain the ground they have always held, those Union men will write upon the back of every ballot they cast at the coming elections, "Usurpation will not be tolerated;" and upon its face, "Why did you assume to act without obtaining the consent of the people?"—*Harper's Weekly*.

JAMAICA.—Under the new Government the six official members of the council will be the Major-General commanding, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of Finance, the Secretary of Roads, and the Collector of Customs. Of these, the Colonial Secretary and the Secretary of Finance have been appointed from England. The council will also consist of six nominal members not yet appointed. It is stated that the office of Attorney-General will be conferred upon a gentleman not connected with Jamaica.

In the case of Provost-Marshal Ramsay, charged with murder, the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General of England have decided in favour of the views of the Advocate-General of the Island, that the office of Provost-Marshal being a military office, held by Mr. Ramsay during martial law, and in a district subject to martial law during a time of war, the acts done were done as Provost-Marshal, and therefore the justices, as a civil tribunal in the time of peace, are not competent to decide the question.

DESTITUTION AT ST. THOMAS-IN-THE-EAST.

At a meeting of the North Cornwall Association (Missionary), in Jamaica, on the 24th of July, the Rev. W. Teall, on his return from a visit to St. Thomas, gave a harrowing picture of the suffering and destitution of the people. "We heard enough," says a Jamaica paper, "to satisfy us that little is known of the sufferings endured, the barbarities practised upon the people of that unhappy parish. The people could hardly sit quiet as they listened to the accounts of burnt houses, destroyed fruit trees, suicide committed through fear, hangings, floggings, &c. Everywhere when Mr. Teall became known the people flocked around him and urged that a mission might be commenced amongst them without delay. It was painful to hear from the speaker that as he appeared in the different villages the people literally fled from him, a white man in the place being an object of terror." How can it be otherwise? We long to see something done for this wretched people. They ought not to be forgotten and forsaken.

GEORGE WILLIAM GORDON,

BY W. MORGAN, ESQ.

Of George William Gordon I will only speak briefly. His aged father, Mr. Joseph Gordon, was one of my first visitors. This venerable Scotch gentleman was possessed of a large income, and exercised great influence in the old days of Slavery. He had 9,000 slaves under his care at the era of emancipation. By his coloured housekeeper, a slave, he had eleven children, of whom George William Gordon was one. When his housekeeper died he married a white lady, and I fear his coloured children were somewhat neglected. However, the son who has become so celebrated possessed great energy of character, and made his own way in life. He entered into trade as a merchant in Kingston, and acquired large possessions. He became a magistrate, and a member of the legislature. In an evil hour he began to purchase and cultivate estates, which proved to be unprofitable, and caused great embarrassment and loss. At his death he was the nominal owner of estates extending to some

40,000 acres of land, but most of them were heavily mortgaged. "He took an interest in every good work which was presented to his notice. Keen in debate and fearless in discharge of duty, he was also gentle in temper, and incapable of cherishing the feeling of revenge. He testified against the evils around him, and obtained his natural reward—the hatred of all whom he condemned."

Among those whose public conduct he condemned was the late Governor of Jamaica, Mr. Eyre, whose name we have been lately told by Mr. Charles Buxton will be covered with infamy on account of his treatment of his political foe.

Mr. Gordon, being a member of the Independent Church at Kingston, was baptized at his own instance, at a comparatively recent period by the Baptist Missionary, Mr. Phillippo, on a public profession that his views on baptism had undergone a change. With his excellent and pious wife, an English lady, he was in the habit of devoting himself to the religious instruction of the people with whom, in his frequent journeys in the island, he might happen to be. He often conducted public worship. Not long before the close of his life he opened a place of worship in Kingston, and habitually preached there. These proceedings, so contrary to those of other gentlemen of his own rank, drew down much odium upon him. Like his Master, "he was hated by the world because he testified of it that its works were evil." Like Him, he had at length a brief imprisonment, and a painful ignominious death.

HENRY VINCENT, ESQ.

Henry Vincent, Esq., of London, has recently sailed on a visit to the United States of America. Mr. Vincent is a highly respectable gentleman, and one of the most eloquent orators in this country. He has always employed his powers in furtherance of the interests of freedom and morality. On what is now known as the American question, Mr. Vincent has been as true as the needle to the pole, and during the great American struggle his earnest utterances were heard throughout our country. We warmly commend him to the citizens of the United States.

Correspondence.

LETTER FROM THE REV. W. H. JONES.

To the Editor of the "Freed-Man."

Dear Sir,

I have spent several weeks in Kent and Sussex. In these counties the people know little about the Freed-men's Aid Society and its objects, but they give our lectures a patient hearing. The meetings have been well attended, notwithstanding the busy hop-picking season. We had an excellent meeting in the Wesleyan Chapel at Northam. The superintendent Wesleyan minister admitted us to his chapel. Mr. and Mrs. Hodges, and Mr. Edwards, superintendent of the Sunday School, rendered us valuable assistance. At Southborough we held a meeting in the parochial school. The Rev. C. Skrine presided, and expressed a warm interest in the objects of the Society. The collection was very good at the Primitive Methodist Chapel. The superintendent and second preacher gave us their presence and influence. At this meeting we were kindly invited by Mr. Richardson, superintendent of the Congregational Sunday School, to address the children under his care. At Heathfield the Rev. J. Ellson shewed us great kindness. Mrs. Ellson and the young ladies manifested great interest in our cause, secured a large attendance. The people responded most cheerfully and made a good collection. The Rev. W. G. Dodd occupied the chair at our meeting at Wadhurst, in the National School-room, and made an excellent speech. The Wesleyan ministers interested themselves in obtaining a large meeting. I preached at the Wesleyan Chapel, Staplecroft, to a crowded congregation, and gave lectures on the Monday and Tuesday evenings following. I find a kind reception everywhere.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours in the field of duty,
W. H. JONES.

[We thank all the earnest and generous friends in Kent and Sussex who have co-operated with Mr. Jones. He will soon move into another part of the great field, and commence operations with Dr. Tomkins in the Isle of Wight, Southampton and Portsmouth.]

TO HON. THADDEUS STEVENS.

The following lines of sympathy and trust were addressed to the veteran legislator by the talented coloured lecturer, Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper, on reading his plaintive speech in the House before the passage of the Constitutional Amendment.

Have the bright and glowing visions
Faded from thy longing sight,
Like the gorgeous tints of even
Mingling with the shades of night?

Didst thou hope to see thy country,
Wearing Justice as a crown,
Standing foremost 'mid the nations,
Worthy of the world's renown?

Didst thou think the grand fruition
Reached the fullness of its time,
When the crater of God's judgment
Overflowed the nation's crime?

That thy people, purged by fire,
Would have trod another path,
Careful lest their feet should stumble
On the cinders of God's wrath?

And again the injured negro
Grind the dreadful mills of fate,
Pressing out the fearful vintage
Of the nation's scorn and hate?

Sadder than the crimson shadows
Hung for years around our skies,
Are the hopes so fondly cherished,
Fading now before thine eyes?

Not in vain has been thy hoping,
Though thy fair ideals fade,
If like one of God's tall aloes
Thou art ripening in the shade.

There is light beyond the darkness,
Joy beyond the present pain;
There is hope in God's great justice
And the negro's rising brain.

Though before the timid counsels
Truth and Right may seem to fail,
God hath bathed his sword in judgment,
And his arm shall yet prevail.

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THE FREED-MAN.

RESTITUTION.

No event in our time has received a larger share of public attention than the "Outrage in Jamaica." The thrilling accounts of the cruelties practised on the helpless people were read by millions with feelings of mingled indignation and pity. The excitement was so general that the government appointed a commission consisting of men of great ability and large experience. They were accompanied by legal advocates, sent by voluntary subscription, to watch the proceedings of the royal commissioners, and to aid in the enquiry. The wrongs of the people were brought distinctly into light. Parliament endorsed the report, and the civilised world has had ample proof that the official representatives of the British nation have committed atrocities hardly surpassed in the ages of barbarism in any part of the world. Our current literature contains many a page of keen invective on the subject. Vast assemblies have listened to recitals that have called forth shouts of indignation, and in the pulpits of the land Jamaica has been the theme of eloquent declamation.

The practical result has been in some proportion. The Jamaica Assembly, after the selfish and unjust legislation of more than "a quarter century," has put an end to its own existence, having "no space for repentance." An autocratic government has been nominated to indicate that the island is not yet in a condition for the initiatory stages of freedom. Even this appointment is regarded as an advance on the former state of things.

It is anticipated that, whatever may have been the loss sustained and the suffering endured by the neglected negro population, the material interests of the island will gain immensely; trade and commerce will be placed on a more equitable and substantial basis; the state of the colonies will be better understood. In addition to these advantages, it has been determined in the spirit of patriotism to assert the right of the subject, and to give additional security to constitutional liberty, by bringing to trial the ex-governor of Jamaica, with some of his civil and military subordinates. It is said that twelve thousand pounds are raised or promised for his defence, and it is proposed to increase the

subscription from six thousand to ten thousand pounds for his prosecution. It is well understood that the object of the trial is simply to put on record a judicial decision that may afford protection to the people in our colonies, however remote and of whatever class or condition. The assertion of right in such a case is worth any sacrifice.

In the meantime we ask in sober sadness, what has been done for the relief, defence, or succour of the surviving victims of the outrage? *They have been cast into the shade!* It is only recently, and by the visit of the missionary, that we learn their real condition. Practically, they have received no essential help.

The question may be asked, What more can be expected to be done for Jamaica? What if these five thousand victims of cruel wrong receive no direct attention, will not the state of the Island be improved for the future? What appreciable effect can be produced on the commercial prosperity of the entire community by meeting the case of the black widows and orphans? Will it raise the dividends of any commercial company a single farthing? What is the continued misery of a wretched district in comparison with the settlement of grand constitutional points that may tell on the future history of England, like the acts of Hampden and Sydney?

In return, we may put questions of another order. Is there no danger that if the condition of these helpless sufferers be practically disregarded, the old leaven may taint the prosperity of the coming era? Of what avail are all the manifestations of indignant feeling in the glowing articles of public journals, in speeches addressed to Parliament or to the popular assembly, if they are not followed by acts of humanity and Christian kindness? Will not the most eloquent pleader in the court of law feel that half the force of his argument for justice to the oppressor is lost when pointed to the sable clients still left in misery and destitution? How would the story of the good Samaritan lose its interest, if we were told that leaving the wounded victim to perish, he went in pursuit of the "thieves," and contented himself with securing a mounted patrol.

The present state of the case we feel to be most painful and humiliating. We have attempted in these pages to state the claims of those who could make no appeal for themselves. It would be unsuitable in every way to continue this strain, if no help could be obtained. Our course of duty of late has been somewhat trying, but at the last moment we have a gleam of light. A Christian lady writes to propose a RESTITUTION FUND, and offers, as the first contribution, a sovereign from a widow in humble circumstances in Newcastle-upon-Tyne,—the fifth donation of the same amount she has given for the Freed-men. Surely in the widow's mite more is given than in all the contributions of the wealthy and the powerful. The way is open. Our valued correspondent says, "When in Great Britain Mr. Teall seemed quite pressed down with care and anxiety for the future of Jamaica." Well, he is gone "bound in spirit" to Morant Bay. He is not alone there. Mr. Parnter, the Wesleyan

minister, is a man of kindred spirit. We have before us a letter to Mr. S. Constantine Burke, in which he says, "I shall only be too glad to render you any help in my power to enable you to carry out the benevolent object contemplated by the 'Freed-men's Aid Society.' I shall be prepared, whenever you desire it, to furnish you with the names and number of persons who have been great sufferers by the reckless burning of houses and other destruction of property, and who are deserving any aid that may be proffered for their present painfully distressed circumstances." We can rely on these friends, Mr. Samuel Constantine Burke, Mr. Parnter, and Mr. Teall, to act with others as a local committee in Jamaica. The time is come when those who really care to do justice and to show kindness to the surviving victims of the military raid may prove their sincerity. If we can make RESTITUTION, the blessing of those who are ready to perish will come upon us. The opportunity should not be lost. The simple beginning at Newcastle is hopeful, for it shows that apart from all party and distracting questions there is a spirit of disinterested benevolence that will yet find practical expression. We trust all our friends will see that to interpose with help under the present auspices will be to realise the crowning satisfaction of their long struggle in behalf of Jamaica. Let us leave on the scene of desolation some permanent traces of British kindness that will prove to all that our philanthropy was no pretence.—W.

THE REVIVING OF HOPE.

For the first time we have to write of Morant Bay with feelings of relief and encouragement. A christian minister worthy of confidence and of the most cordial sympathy, has directed his steps to Morant Bay and adopted the station as his sphere of labour. We honour him for his zeal and compassion, and earnestly pray for his success. We take heart in the prospect afforded by his settlement. All the wealth and power of a nation cannot create the kind of agent needed for service of this nature. The firm faith, the practical wisdom, the tender pity required at such a juncture can only come from above. The right kind of Christian teachers *can* be supplied. The simple narrative of Mr. Teall will speak for itself. It comes in time to call for the practical help many are willing to afford, if they can only see a proper course pursued for the restoration of the people. We turn to those of our readers who have a clear eye, a warm heart, and an open hand. Here is a fair opportunity for doing good under the most interesting circumstances that can be imagined. We cannot raise the dead. Many who suffered innocently sleep in the dust. God himself has wiped away their tears. But in this deep seclusion—far removed from the active conflict of our times—are the living victims of outrage and wrong that we have shown to be without a parallel. Is not the time come to render vigorous and cheering help to those who can say after such wrongs, "We feel no resentment?" We raise no ecclesiastical questions; for the

moment we desire truce from political strife, and plead for the credit of England, and for the honour of the Christian name, that the wishes of these excellent men who are in the field may be met. Let us provide at once the means to build the schools and to afford some solace to these patient and suffering widows and orphans. Those who are really interested in the matter should go quietly and earnestly to work to supply the funds. The sufferers "cannot recompense" their kind helpers. There will be no great eclat in rendering the service—only those who feel the joy of doing good as beneath the eye of Him who came to heal the broken-hearted, will be moved to acts of prompt benevolence in a case of this kind. We can leave the matter with them, and though we have felt great sadness in the thought that the "outcasts" seemed to be forgotten, we begin to cherish the reviving of hope.

In a letter received by the Baptist Missionary Society, the Rev. W. Teall speaks of

A HEARTY WELCOME.

"On Friday afternoon I got to Yallahs where brother Palmer and wife were expecting me; and so, on Saturday morning, I arrived at my destination, Morant Bay, and was very kindly received by Mr. Parnter, the Wesleyan Minister, who entertained me very hospitably till I got a lodging. Having been thus located, I went out to look after the people. First I went to Mr. Killick's chapel, and found it in a very ruinous condition. There has been no service in it for a long time. The acting minister was hanged in martial law. The really handsome pulpit has recently been almost destroyed by sailors from a gun-boat. I next went to seek for Father Telford, a deacon and trustee, but he was from home, so I walked back to the Bay, and went into the Market-place in front of the burnt court-house and found some Baptist people, with whom I arranged to go up the valley on Sunday, they promising to send down a horse for me to ride. On Sunday morning, however, as no horse came, I started and went by Stanton to Spring Garden, and thus missed the horse which was sent by Morant Road. The first service was held in a class-house, which was saved from being burnt by a marine, who was about to fire it, but seeing a Testament on the table did not carry out his intention. The people had not been able to meet since martial law, and no song of praise had been heard there for months. The notice was very short, but soon the place was well filled and many could not get in. It would have done you good to have heard how lustily they sang for the first time after the late sad events. When the service was over a man named Clarke got up and said, 'Fambly! this is a happy day! We were without hope but God is good.' He wept as he spoke, and many faces were wet with tears of joy. After the service I took an egg and a bisonit and cheese, which Mr. Parnter's housekeeper had very thoughtfully put up for me, and then we went over to Stony Gut and had an open air service. I stood under the shade of a mango tree at the corner of Paul Bogle's burnt chapel. There was a large gathering by four o'clock and they seemed much affected. There were the widows of Paul and Moses Bogle, and the poor woman Livingstone, who was half-strangled in the chapel and then tied outside of it in the soaking rain for many hours. One man said to me, 'Minister, they used me very bad. They cut up my back, and shut me up for nine days and nights in the condemned cell. They burnt my house and everything I had: but I thank God, Minister, I don't feel any resentment. My breast is clear.'

"The previous day some officers from the 'Cadmus' had intruded into Stony Gut and alarmed the poor people with abuse and threats, and my presence was hailed by them with delight.

"The people are in great distress, having been robbed or otherwise deprived of all they possessed, and it will take them a long time to recover their position.

"June 21st.—Yesterday afternoon I rode up in the mountains to look at some places which are in the market, and to ascertain if they would be suitable for centres of stations, but found they would not do. On my way back I had a good congregation at Spring Garden, commencing the service when the people returned from their grounds about 5.30. I did not get back to the Bay till nearly eight o'clock.

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE.

"The people here generally strike me as being considerably lower in the scale of civilization than those at the west end of the island, and I hear that superstition is rife amongst them; there is, therefore, much to be done here, and whoever may be brought here will have a most arduous work. Still I think circumstances are favourable for the commencement of the Mission, and I shall, if suitable arrangements be made to support and help in securing chapels, schools, &c., be willing to undertake it.

"But if the Society wish to have a Mission in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and to have that Mission successfully prosecuted, they had better at once put aside the three years' theory and resolve to sustain the work to the extent which may be necessary. You cannot apply to a field like this the principles which may regulate your practice in those parts of the island in which our Mission has been long established: but you must make up your minds to a very considerable outlay to begin with, and to guarantee to your Missionary a sufficient sum to enable him to live, and heartily prosecute his work. What proportion of the needed amount of salary could be raised here is very uncertain. At first however, it would be very little, if anything.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION.

"The following things strike me as necessary to the successful working of this Mission:—

"1st. Rent, or lease, or purchase, or, if necessary, build a suitable house for the Mission family in a position central to the work to be done. I have offers of land from two or three persons for this purpose free of charge.

"2nd. Assist the people to put up such commodious but inexpensive chapels as, once erected, would not be beyond their power to keep in repair. I say *assist*, because, though the people could give but little, if any, money towards the erection, they could many of them give materials or labour, and they ought to do this to the full extent of their ability.

"3rd. Then as to the support of the Missionary, though at first the Society might have to provide nearly, if not quite, all, still, as the Mission got into working order, the people ought to be trained to give according to their ability to meet all the expenses of the Mission.

"4th. Schools might, I think, be secured without troubling the Society at all, as aid to commence them might be obtained from other sources, and they would shortly be on the same footing as the other schools of our body.

"Lastly, permit me to say that I think you should *lose no time* in forwarding such guarantees and instructions as the case requires, that the work may be entered upon without delay.

"May the Lord give heavenly wisdom to us all in this important matter, and may the result be glory to Christ in the social, moral, and religious improvement of the people in St. Thomas-in-the-East.

"The Committee of the Union in Jamaica having received the report of the above visit have unanimously requested Mr. Teall to occupy this new and important post. To this call he has promptly and heartily responded. No one in Jamaica could be selected better adapted to it; and Mr. Teall will have not only the warm sympathy and good wishes of his Jamaica brethren, but also of the Committee and his numerous friends in England."

WORK DONE.

The questions connected with the condition and prospects of the Freed-men have awakened earnest discussion in every form. Every step to improve the condition and to raise the character of the negro seems to provoke some controversy. To ourselves the course of duty seems to be perfectly clear. If we admit for the sake of peace and quietness, that a race treated as chattels for many generations has not attained to equality with those who have reaped the accumulated advantages of ages of civilization, it is the more needful to seek their intellectual and moral elevation. Admit that the negro is weaker than the Anglo-Saxon, yet an inspired apostle tells us, that "those members of the body which seems to be the more feeble are necessary; and those members of the body which we think to be less honourable, upon those we bestow more abundant labour." Suppose that the service of the coloured people is not quite of the same order as that of those who have received the highest culture, it is nevertheless indispensable. A sable friend of ours contends that the labour of the negro is just as essential to the world as the force of steam. "Take away steam," he says, with an air of conscious importance, "and how would you manufacture goods? How would you travel?" Steam in itself as melting vapour is not worth much, but it may be utilized as we all know, to move the world. Our American friends are directing their efforts to make the negro valuable in the best sense, on his own account, and for the advantage of mankind. Their common sense in the matter affords an example worthy of imitation. They "bestow abundant labour" on the Freed-men. As an illustration we give the following extracts from the report of our friend Mr. Walden of

FREED-MEN'S RELIEF IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

"The school year closes in July—the teachers returning North before the first of August to recuperate their health and strength during the vacation—therefore in writing of each year's work, we mean the school and not the calendar year.

"BEGINNING OF THE WORK, 1862-3.—During the summer of 1862, after the successes of the Union armies in Tennessee and west of Mississippi, the coloured refugees—'Contrabands' as they were termed—congregated at Corinth, Miss., Helena, Ark., Cairo, Ill., and some other points. On the 5th of September, 1862, Gen. Ord appointed Rev. J. B. Rodgers, Chaplain of the 14th Wisconsin Volunteers, 'Superintendent' of the Contrabands at Corinth—one of the first official acts in their behalf in the West. A number of coloured refugees had already congregated there, and others came in daily. On the Sunday following the above appointment, five hundred came to the camp; on the next day, eleven hundred more appeared; in about one week, the multitude of helpless beings gathered there, numbered about two thousand. A few days later followed the first Proclamation of Emancipation. As winter came on, the inmates of all the camps being poorly sheltered, miserably clad, destitute of food and the means to provide it, suffered incredible hardships. As their sufferings became known in the North, the sympathies of the humane were moved. Among the first to visit the sufferers at Cairo was Levi Coffin, the long-tried friend of the oppressed race, who in the days of slavery had fed at his own table more than three thousand of its fleeing victims. When rumours of the suffering among the Contrabands at Cairo reached him, he went there at his own expense, to inquire into their condition, and to relieve them so far as he had the means at hand. On his way thither, he fell in company with two of his long-time

co-labourers in the anti-slavery cause, Job Hadley and his wife, who impelled by the interest they felt in the coloured people, were going to Cairo with the hope that they might open a school among the Contrabands there. They were favoured in their good purposes and were the pioneers in the work of education. At this time there were above three thousand souls in the camp at Cairo, among whom there was great destitution. On the return of Levi Coffin to Cincinnati, his home, he laid the wants of the sufferers before a number of philanthropic persons, and as one result the *Contraband's Relief Commission* was organized. He continued his labours, and by correspondence and personal application, enlisted the sympathies of many persons in behalf of the sufferers, and in a short time, contributions of money and stores for their relief, were daily received. About the same time, the *Western Sanitary Commission* at St. Louis, organized to supply sanitary stores to the Western armies, became aware of the suffering that existed among the coloured people at Helena, Ark., and took measures for their relief. About four thousand Contrabands had collected there; a large proportion of them had come with the army of Gen. Curtis; the others from the neighbouring districts on both sides of the Mississippi. The following from the pen of Rev. J. G. Forman, Secretary of the Commission, gives the experience of these people at Helena, less than four years ago:—"Many of them were put to work upon the fortifications, and were employed by the quartermasters to load and unload steamboats and coal barges, and as teamsters, with the promise of wages at ten dollars a month. In these labours they were industrious and faithful, and their temperate habits and good conduct were worthy of the highest praise. All of them who could give any evidence of having been employed by their masters to aid the rebellion, received free papers from Major-General Curtis, who was always just and friendly to them, and willing to listen to their complaints. Unfortunately for these people, General Curtis was transferred to St. Louis, the latter part of the next month, to command the Department of Missouri, and was followed by a succession of brigadier-generals, who passed military orders withholding the payment of their wages, expelling them from their lines, and otherwise persecuting them, under which rule many were returned to their masters, and those who remained suffered untold hardships. With the indifference of the commanders to their welfare, the quartermasters neglected to keep full and correct pay rolls, and press-gangs of mounted orderlies were sent through the streets of Helena, who brought them to the levee and compelled them to work without wages or food till they sometimes fell down with exhaustion. Murders, rapes, and robberies, were committed upon them by the worst class of the soldiers with impunity, and the military commanders took no notice of these things. As winter came, these people, being poorly sheltered in huts, worn-out tents, and the most uninhabitable buildings, and very miserably clad, unpaid for their labour, and destitute, suffered incredible hardships, and died in large numbers. The hospital building assigned them was a miserable one-story house, surrounded by mud, where they were put under the charge of a contract-physician, who utterly neglected them, and in which they had no better accommodation than a straw bed on the floor, being without chairs, tables, stoves, cooking utensils, or any of the usual furniture either of a dwelling house or a hospital. The mortality in this hospital in December and January, 1862-63, was fifty per cent. of all who entered; so that the sick freed people often preferred death in any other place to going there."—This truthful representation of the sufferings at Helena, which an American cannot now read without a blush of shame mantling his cheek, is but too true of every other point where the despised Contrabands were then forced or permitted to congregate. The *Contraband Relief Commission* began operations late in November, 1862. In January 1863, the *Western Sanitary Commission* sent Miss Maria R. Mann, a most excellent lady, to Helena, with all the furniture and outfit of a good hospital, with sanitary stores and clothing also for the sick, the poor and the neglected. Before the close of January, 1863, the *Western Freed-Men's Aid Commission* was organized at Cincinnati, by a number of Christian men—several of them well-known ministers—for the purpose of combining with physical relief, mental

elevation. Levi Coffin became its General Agent, and by his efforts and the co-operation of others, it was enabled to do much during February and the early spring months, to relieve the wants of the suffering thousands then to be found in the several Contraband camps in the West. In April, 1863, the *Cleveland Freed-men's Aid Commission* was organized, and during the first three months of its existence, Chaplain J. R. Locke, detailed by Gen. Grant for the purpose, canvassed for supplies under its auspices. The stores thus collected were chiefly sent to the needy at Helena and vicinity. With the return of the mild season, attention was directed to the subject of education. The Freed-men were everywhere found anxious to have teachers and books; an intense desire to learn to read was all pervading among them. The Western Freed-men's Aid Commission sent three or four teachers to the camps on the Mississippi early in the summer; the Western Sanitary Commission sent three to Helena, Ark.; the United Presbyterian Society sent a like number to Nashville, Tenn.; the American Missionary Association sent a small corps to Corinth and Memphis. We cannot now give the chronological order in which these schools were established under these societies, nor does it matter. During the year ending Aug. 1st, 1863, comparatively little was done for the education of the Freed-men beyond inaugurating this important part of the benevolent movement in their behalf, though the experiments fully demonstrated their eagerness to learn and the practicability of a combined effort for their relief and elevation.

"SCHOOL YEAR, 1863-64.—The Indiana Freed-men's Aid Commission was organized in September, 1863, with its office at Indianapolis, and the North Western Freed-men's Aid, January 1st, 1864, with its office at Chicago. At the General Assembly of the Old School Presbyterian Church in May, 1864, a Commission was raised to institute a denominational work in behalf of the Freed-men. About the close of this school year, a convention of Freed-men's Societies was held (July 19th and 20th, 1864) at Indianapolis. Reports were made of their operations severally from the time of their organization. As by far the larger proportion of the collections and distributions reported were made during the year of which we now write, we present the following summary:

<i>Commissions.</i>		<i>Cash.</i> dollars.	<i>Stores.</i> dollars.	<i>Total.</i> dollars.
Contraband Relief,	20 mo.	30,000	50,000	80,000
Western Sanitary,	19 "	15,000	40,000	55,000
Western F. Aid,	18 "	26,000	75,000	101,000
Cleveland "	15 "	8,000	10,000	18,000
Indiana "	10 "	9,000	13,000	22,500
Indiana Friends Com.	9 "	23,000	10,000	33,000
N. W. F. Aid,	7 "	14,700	17,000	32,200
Grand Total,		D. 125,700	D. 216,000	D. 341,700

With this table before us we may estimate that the contributions of cash and stores to these societies for the year ending August 1st, 1864, amounted to not less than a quarter of a million of dollars. During this year the Western Sanitary Commission had six teachers and agents in the field; the Western F. A. Commission, fifty-six; the Indiana F. A. Commission, ten; the Indiana Friends' Committee, twenty; the North Western F. A. Commission, thirty-seven; total, one hundred and twenty-nine. Many of the schools in which these taught were at the Freed-men's camps and hence subject to the same changes. During the year the teachers laboured at Cairo, Ill., Columbus, Ky., Island No. 10, Memphis, President's Island, Camp Holly Springs, Fort Donelson, Clarksville, Providence, Gallatin, Nashville, Murfreesboro, Tenn., Helena and Little Rock, Ark., Goodrich's Landing, Milliken's Bend, Baton Rouge and New Orleans, La., Pawpaw Island, Vicksburg, Island 102 and Natchez, Miss., and in several coloured regiments and on a few plantations. The American Missionary Association had teachers at Vicksburg, Natchez and New Orleans; the United Presbyterian Society at Nashville; the National Freed-men's Relief Association of New York at New

Orleans and Vicksburg. Above one hundred and fifty teachers in all were sent, during this year, to the Freed-men of the Mississippi Valley. The scholars were constantly changing, because of one and another necessity, but the large proportion of them were taught to read—say from ten to twelve thousand. It should be noted that stores for the relief of the needy were sent to all of the above-named points, and distributed mainly through the instrumentality of the teachers. A large number of farm implements and garden seeds were forwarded to the more permanent camps, to encourage the people to efforts for their own support. Industrial schools were also organized in which the women were taught to sew and mend, and make garments. The numbers congregated in the camps were far greater, but the sufferings were proportionately less than during the first year.

SCHOOL YEAR, 1864-65.—The societies named above continued their labours during the year ending August, 1865, except the Contraband Relief Commission, which, towards the close of the winter, turned its work over to the Committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends. The Western Yearly Meeting of Friends created a Committee in September, 1864, and took part in the work in Tennessee. The United Brethren, with an office at Dayton, Ohio, projected a work at Vicksburg. The Pennsylvania Freed-men's Relief Commission directed their efforts in part to the growing wants of the West, locating their work in Tennessee. The whole movement was greatly strengthened this year by the co-operation of the friends of the Freed-men's cause in Great Britain, which was secured in a large measure by the visit of Levi Coffin to that country. He presented the necessities of the Freed-men, and not the claims of any one society labouring in their behalf, yet the friends, understanding his official relation to the Western F. A. Commission, made it the almoner of a large proportion of their contributions during his stay among them. The system instituted in Louisiana by Gen. Banks, relieved the benevolent societies of most of the work which otherwise would have been required in that state. The western work for the year, therefore, was located in Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Mississippi, with points in Louisiana opposite Vicksburg and Natchez. A few of the camps, where there were schools in 1863-4, had been broken up—otherwise the teachers were located at the places previously occupied and enumerated above. The Western Commission had eighty teachers in the field; the North Western Commission, eighty-one; the Indiana Commission, eight; the Western Friend's Committee, eight. The National F. R. Association, the Pennsylvania F. R. Commission, the United Presbyterian, the O. S. Presbyterian, the Baptist and the United Brethren Societies, the Indiana Friend's Committee, and the American Missionary Association, had together about seventy-five teachers in the West. (We have not the exact figures.) It is certain that more than two hundred and fifty teachers were in the five slave states named, during the school year, 1864-5, and most probably gave instruction to twenty thousand different persons, children and adults. Orphan Asylums were established at President's Island and Columbus, Ky., by the Western Commission; at Natchez, by the North Western; at Nashville, by the Pennsylvania, and at Helena, by the Indiana Friends Committee. The cash receipts of the Western and North Western Commissions during the year amounted to \$137,687 74 dollars, and their expenditures about 130,000 dollars, for all purposes. It is probable that the cash expenditures of the other societies would make the total amount in the West over 200,000 dollars; the estimated value of stores would approximate the same amount; in all about 400,000 dollars.

SCHOOL YEAR, 1865-66.—During the latter part of the previous school year, the Freed-men's Bureau was organized. One of its first measures in the West was to discontinue the "Freed-men's camps." As a result before the close of the school year, the work of the societies was confined mainly to the cities and larger towns, the centres of population and influence. On the first of August, 1865, the issuance of rations to teachers and agents was discontinued; then followed the surrender, to rebel owners, of the buildings previously used as school-houses and teachers' quarters; and before the close of the necessary summer vacation, all facilities of

transportation for teachers were revoked. In a few instances, Government buildings were set apart for school purposes, but at most points they were sold at auction, and the societies forced to rent houses at exorbitant rates. The expense of supporting teachers and schools was almost doubled, and of maintaining asylums largely increased. These changes will account in great measure for the diminished proportions of the work in the Mississippi Valley, during the year just closed, of which we now write. Last fall, the National F. R. Association, of New York, turned over its interests at Vicksburg to the North Western Commission, and except the retention of two teachers at New Orleans, withdrew from the Valley. The following societies have been labouring in the West during the past year, viz., the Western, North Western, Indiana, Cleveland, Pittsburg and Pennsylvania Commissions; the Friends, United Presbyterian, Old School Presbyterian, Baptist societies and Congregationalists, through the American Missionary Association."

It must not be forgotten that the work in America has reference to four millions of emancipated people. Dr. Rust says, "the hour is full of peril to the interests of the Freedmen; dark clouds gather around and warn us of the approach of the storm." We must not therefore be "weary in well-doing."—W.

RETURNING REASON.

The extreme bad taste of MR. EYRE's appeal from his official superiors, representing, as it happened, both of the great political parties, to a coterie of personal admirers, confirms the impression, that in judgment and temper he was extraordinarily ill-qualified for a high and responsible position. In a year remarkable for empty and mischievous declamation, the speeches at the Southampton dinner are entitled to the prize of unequalled want of wisdom. MR. KINGSLEY's doctrine, that a man's acts should be judged in a spirit of confidence, is the converse of the intentionally paradoxical phrase of gratitude for future favours. In ordinary life the past is subjected to judgment, while faith and hope may sometimes form a provisional substitute for a certainty which can only be realized hereafter. LORD HARDWICKE and LORD CARDIGAN are not the best witnesses to character on a charge of extreme severity and violence; nor could any after-dinner enthusiasm remove or mitigate the censure which had been unwillingly and authoritatively pronounced by MR. CARDWELL and LORD CARNARVON. Even if MR. EYRE had not been disavowed and recalled by the Government, the perpetration of bloodshed, however necessary and unavoidable, was not a proper occasion for festive triumph. As far as MR. KINGSLEY and his associates have any intelligible purpose, they must desire to vindicate the principle that human life and positive law, however sacred, are less inviolable than the duty of repressing anarchy and preserving the order of society. It might, in certain conceivable circumstances, which have assuredly not occurred, have been necessary to shoot, to hang, and to flog large numbers of insurgents, and to put their ringleaders to death without regard to the rules of evidence. Judicious and impartial Englishmen would have approved of salutary vigour, but only excited partisans could have thought that wholesale executions were an event of rejoicing. When a general burns a village to prevent its covering the enemy's riflemen, the measure may be consistent with his duty, but it is not customary to erect his statue on the spot.—*Saturday Review.*

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

GEO. M. WARE. All trace of the articles we want seems to be lost.

The Freed-Man.

NOVEMBER, 1866.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

"I have observed with satisfaction that the United States, after terminating successfully the severe struggle in which they were so long engaged, are wisely repairing the ravages of civil war. The abolition of slavery is an event calling forth the cordial sympathies and congratulations of this country, which has always been foremost in showing its abhorrence of an institution repugnant to every feeling of justice and humanity."

SPECIAL CLAIMS OF THE FREED-MEN.

There are three distinct fields of labour requiring aid at the present moment: the southern States of America, Jamaica, and Canada. Each sphere has its peculiar claims, and, we may add, its peculiar attractions. In the southern States of America the Christian educator is at the present moment doing the greatest work, as far as education is concerned, that the world has ever witnessed. Hundreds of thousands, not only of children but of adults, are being taught to read the word of God, and to drink in for the first time the draughts of a new life at the recently unsealed fountains of knowledge. In Jamaica the Christian missionary, undaunted and undismayed by the recent "reign of terror," is at his work again, leaning on a support which has never yet failed any true minister of Christ, and feeling that to give a cup of cold water, though it be but to one of the

least and most despised of his Master's brethren, shall not go unrewarded in the great day of decision and recompense. In Canada many thousands of black and coloured people have settled down in that country under the protection, at least what they hope to find the protection, of our beloved Queen. The Rev. W. H. Jones, our agent, is the representative of 100,000 of these black men, women, and children.

There is one marked feature in the great mission work undertaken by the Freed-men's Aid Society. It renders its aid to people anxious to receive and grateful to obtain its assistance. Dr. Judson said "it was a hard thing to convert a heathen." Why is this? Because the heathen in his darkness is unwilling to receive the proffered boon of civilization and the Gospel. It is just the reverse with the black man. He everywhere hails the benefactor who bears him material, educational and religious help as the needy and the perishing welcomed the gracious aid of the Saviour of mankind. It is sometimes asked what are the practical objects contemplated by the British and Foreign Freed Men's Aid Society? It is a question we are ever glad—yes, most anxious to answer. We ask for teachers and material help for the southern States, education for the freed-men of Canada, restitution, help and education for Jamaica. We call special attention to the appeal on the cover of this Number. We ask the noble women of England, whose hearts are ever open to the appeals of the ignorant and the wretched, for their kind co-operation. We are preparing for a Bazaar, and earnestly solicit aid in any

and every way for this special effort, cash to purchase materials and articles of every description. Send your help at once, addressed to the care of Dr. Fred. Tomkins, No. 102, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF JAMAICA.

We are happy to find that the attention of thoughtful men is being turned to the application of practical remedies for the evils that exist in Jamaica. During the month these questions have been freely discussed, and the literature of the subject multiplies upon us. An able article on Jamaica appears in the *British Quarterly*. Mr. Ludlow has written a most useful pamphlet, entitled, "A Quarter Century of Jamaica Legislation," published by the Jamaica Committee. Dr. Underhill, so long prudently reticent, has spoken freely on the wrongs of the negro, and at the Social Science Congress in Manchester the subject has received considerable attention.

The following paper, by JNO. GORRIE, Esq., Barrister-at-law, will be read with interest.

"In round numbers, the population of this most beautiful island consists of 13,000 whites, 70,000 coloured, and 350,000 negro inhabitants. The latter constitute the peasantry of the country, but many pure negroes may be found in the ranks of the traders, the small proprietors, and even among the professional classes. The negroes are sometimes spoken of and regarded as if they continued in the position of savages or demi-savages, but this view is almost too absurd to be combated. They live by labour, or by cultivating their own fields, they dress respectably, they go to market to sell their surplus provisions, they

own horses and carts and mules, they attend church, they speak the English language, they sit on juries; in short, if they are savages, it would be somewhat difficult to define the exact position of the English agricultural labourer, the Irish peasant, or the Highland crofter. The Jamaica colonists, from the earliest period, have claimed to be regarded as British citizens; and by a statute of 1st George II, c. 1, passed in the year 1728, this claim was formally acknowledged by Parliament. It was declared by that Act that all such laws and statutes of England as had been at any time esteemed, introduced, accepted, or received as laws of the island should be and continue laws of Jamaica for ever. All the inhabitants not slaves thus acquired and continued to enjoy those rights of personal security which are guaranteed to English subjects by the laws of the realm. When the Act of Emancipation was passed, the slaves at once became citizens, the law knowing no distinction of persons after the slave had been declared no longer a chattel, but a man.

"In treating of the mode of governing Jamaica, the only proper and legal principle upon which to proceed is to regard the negroes as English citizens equally with the whites, and to measure out to them their legal rights with even-handed justice. This may seem a very elementary principle indeed, but, elementary as it is, it has been systematically disregarded. If Provost-Marshal Ramsay had been properly impressed with these views he would not have ventured to order George Marshall, a coloured man, for instant execution after he had been cruelly flogged; nor if these truths had been properly appreciated in Her Majesty's navy would the inhuman sentence have been eagerly executed by three English sailors belonging to Her Majesty's ship 'Wolverine,' and their conduct have remained unquestioned and unpunished by their superiors as it has been to this hour.

"The first necessity in all well-governed communities is a pure administration of justice, and I would therefore lay it down as the preliminary step in the improvement of Jamaica, that—

"I. Justice in the petty courts ought to be administered by magistrates fit for the office.

"Unfortunately, the inhabitants of Jamaica have hitherto been denied this advantage. The justices are planters, managers of estates, bookkeepers on estates, or traders in the villages entirely under the influence of the planters. To illustrate the character of the magistracy in St. Thomas-in-the-East, where the late disturbances arose, the following facts may be mentioned which were all proved before the Royal Commissioners, and the evidence may be found in the volume laid before both Houses of Parliament. The magistrate who signed the warrant for the apprehension of twenty-five inhabitants of the mountain settlement of Stoney Gut, in consequence of their alleged participation in a petty disturbance, had himself been fined in his own court for assault shortly before, and it was clear, from the expressions used by the people, that contempt for the magistrate had a great deal to do with the refusal of the twenty-five men to accompany to prison the five policemen who were sent to bring them in. Another magistrate of the same parish had been dismissed from his office before the Commissioners arrived for flogging publicly a woman and her daughter after martial law had expired, and apparently for no other reason than to gratify his own brutality. It was proved before the Commissioners that the same person stood by and witnessed the slaughter of six untried prisoners by a black soldier of one of Her Majesty's West India regiments, although force enough was at hand to have prevented the soldier executing his murderous purpose. A third magistrate of the same parish authorised the use of whips made of wire and cord intertwined, for the flogging of large numbers of people who were only hastily tried by himself, and many of whom were never tried at all. The same magistrate caused several men to be flogged with from 100 to 150 lashes each, with the infernal instrument of torture which I have mentioned, before being sent down to Morant Bay to be tried for their lives. Thus mangled they were tried and hung. A fourth magistrate went out house-burning with a party of constables; a fifth was present and made no complaint when the soldiers shot a man in his own house without trial, and afterwards burned the house, turning the

widow and ten children into the woods. A sixth, when challenged for flogging a woman after martial law, excused himself by stating that he flogged several and that he was vexed. Of the custodes or supreme magistrates of other parishes, one appeared as chief witness, and took an active part against one of his own parishioners, who was put to death for making use of an unmeaning expression months before martial law: another proposed to take advantage of martial law in a parish one hundred miles at least distant from his own, for the purpose of putting down an association of negroes desirous of sending their own produce direct to England. It is unnecessary to multiply examples of this kind to show that the body of the justices who expound the law in the petty courts are unfit for their position, and this was the opinion of the best men in Jamaica itself.

"The appointment of stipendiary magistrates has been objected to because of the expense, but the administration of justice is one of the fundamental purposes of government. If we cannot spare money to administer justice, we had better spare the expense of soldiers to administer martial law, and leave the island to the people who possess it. The few stipendiary magistrates left in the island who were originally appointed during the apprenticeship system evidently enjoy the confidence of the people. Only one of them culpably involved himself during martial law by becoming the chief of the Maroons, and failing to keep them in due subordination. The Government ought to limit the functions of these magistrates strictly to the dispensation of justice. In connection with the appointment of a more numerous body of stipendiary magistrates, Sir Henry Storks, the late Governor, threw out the excellent practical suggestion that courts ought not to be fixed at towns and villages remote from the settlements, but that a system of circuits should be established by which justice might be brought home, as it were to the whole body of the people. Having mentioned the name of the late Governor, I cannot avoid expressing my regret that circumstances prevented his remaining in the island, as from the perfectly impartial manner in which he conducted the business of the

Royal Commission, it was apparent he was the true stamp of administrator for such a community as that of Jamaica.

"Having provided for a pure administration of the law, the next duty of the Government ought to be—

"II. *To adapt the land laws to the actual condition of the country, and the changes consequent upon the abolition of slavery and the abandonment of many large estates.*

"It would be impossible within the compass of this paper, to touch upon all the subjects which seem to require adjustment. It may be sufficient to mention especially the law of trespass. The late disturbance, if not solely occasioned by, was at least closely connected with, the land laws. The proprietor of the estate of Middleton, adjoining Stoney Gut, had found himself unable to continue its profitable cultivation, and for several years the negroes had been left to settle upon it very much as they pleased, paying rent for a nominal portion, but their lots not being fenced in or separated from the rest of the estate. A few months before the outbreak, the proprietor, who is one of the colonial officials, let the whole estate to a respectable negro, who, residing on the spot, might be able to make more of the settlers than the proprietor himself. The principal tenant began operations by applying the trespass laws to the negroes who had been accustomed for years to use the unenclosed pasture lands and plantations at pleasure. He seized the horse of one of the settlers, who in turn rescued his own horse when on the way to the pound, and for this he was himself prosecuted for trespass before the local justices, whose character I have already described. It is not difficult to realize the ill-feeling these injudicious proceedings would produce in the negro settlement so long undisturbed, and the excitement of the people on the day of the trial led to the first trifling disturbance, which being most injudiciously dealt with by the magistrates, led directly to the setting of the law at defiance and the fearful explosion at Morant Bay. It is unnecessary to add that the owner of the horse and nearly all his neighbours were executed. There is in existence a law of the island providing for the forfeiture of lands to

the Crown of which the land-tax is unpaid for twenty years. This does not appear to be put in force, but something more is wanted for the regulation of estates of which the cultivation has been abandoned by the owner, and where communities of persons have gradually sprung up claiming rights as purchasers from the proprietor or his agents, or by long-continued possession, the application of labour to the clearing of the bush, and uninterrupted enjoyment of their plots of land in the knowledge of the owners. The island can never become productive if, while the white proprietors abandon estates, the negro population are not permitted, under fair and judicious laws, to obtain possession of these properties for the purpose of bringing them into cultivation.

"III. *In the political administration of the island the measures of Government ought to be directed to the material prosperity of all classes, and not of the dominant class alone.*

Society in Jamaica is composed of very few elements, and there are sharp lines of distinction which render the work of an administrator not without difficulty. The planter, naturally perhaps, regards the prosperity of the island as solely bound up with the prosperity of the planting interests. His desires all run in the groove of getting abundance of labour cheap, and selling his sugar dear. In fact, the simple creed of the days of slavery still sticks to the planters of the present day, and when they had the control of the Government, they did not scruple to carry out a purely planting policy. The negro, on the other hand, does not see any perfection of human wisdom in working for 9d. or 1s. per day on the sugar estates, when he can be his own master, and earn more, besides keeping his family comfortably, on a few acres of land in the mountains. The desire of the negroes to acquire land is a proof of their advancement, and I would stimulate the desire and endeavour to gratify it. Such a tax, for example, as that upon horses, mules, and waggons, in a community where there are no public conveyances and where even very small settlers find it impossible to convey their produce to market without a horse and cart, is not only impolitic, it is galling to the people and can only be productive of evil.

The oxen and planting stock on an estate are rated much lower than the horses and mules of the small settlers.

The Colonial Government ought to charge itself with the encouragement of the class of small freeholders, urging them to produce as much as possible from their properties, and to introduce from time to time such new products as the market of the world seems to require. In the Northern States of America—in the State of Ohio, for example—it is the duty of a Government official to watch the introduction of new implements for the saving of labour, to report upon the attempts which have been made to introduce new kinds of grain, or fruit trees, vines or plants tending to enrich the people, to stimulate competition in the breeding of stock, and generally to encourage enterprise without interfering with the perfect liberty of the people to do as they please. If this is found to be beneficial in a country where competition is so keen, and intelligence so generally diffused as in the Northern and Western States of America, how much more necessary in a young community, composed of a race scarcely 30 years removed from slavery.

The main road around the island, so far as I saw of it, was in a tolerable state of repair; but it was almost destitute of bridges, and the uncertainty in travelling thus produced is destructive of all business. When Mr. Gurney, one of the Commissioners, went to Bath and Manchioneal to take evidence, it was my duty to accompany him as one of the counsel for the Jamaica Committee, and on our return the rivers were what is technically called "down," that is, flooded so as to prevent communication with Kingston. We were indebted to the courtesy of Lieutenant Brand for enabling us to return to Port Royal by the gunboat which he commanded, a mode of conveyance which is not open to the inhabitants generally, or, when available, not apt to be eagerly taken advantage of, so long as the remembrance of recent events is fresh in the minds of the people. The new Government have, therefore, to begin with providing means of permanent communication throughout the island, and I trust they will see their way to the sanctioning of some comprehensive scheme of railway communication.

"The mode in which the taxes are levied upon imports and exports appears to me to want entire re-modelling. There is actually an export duty upon sugar, the staple product of the island, although the same article has to pay a heavy import tax in this country. Several articles which enter into the ordinary consumption of the people are taxed, agricultural implements are taxed, a protective policy of the most injudicious kind reigns supreme. Not only does this dwarf what may be called the natural commerce of the island but it entirely prevents Kingston becoming the depot of merchandise for the neighbouring islands and the American continent, which from its position it is so well fitted to become.

"VI. *My last suggestion is that the Home Government as a measure of ordinary justice to all its sugar growing colonies, as well as to the population of the United Kingdom, ought to abolish the sugar duties, but the subject is one too extensive to be more than merely mentioned at present.*"

"Under wise governors I have no fear of the future of Jamaica. The people are anxious to improve their condition, and all they need is a fair field and just treatment."

In the same section of this department, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Treasurer of the Aborigines Protection Society, contributed a paper on the treatment of inferior races by Great Britain. Mr. Fowler thus summed up the case in his concluding remarks:—"Unhappily, we must confess that Great Britain has not shone in her treatment of subject races; and that the Emperor of the French, in his wise and just protection of the Arabs of Algeria, has set us an honourable example, which it is to our disgrace we have not imitated. The history of British rule too often displays what Lord Macaulay has eloquently called 'the most affecting of human spectacles, the strength of civilization without its mercy.' It is well worthy the consideration of the Social Science Association, whether anything can be done to secure the rights and privileges of the natives of our different colonies. Their lands should be respected, and, when required for colonization, acquired by purchase, or on fair terms. Proper officers should be appointed to look after their interests, and to protect them in

the enjoyment of their rights. Above all, every facility should be given to those devoted men who strive to bring them to the paths of Christianity and civilization."

The paper was followed by an elaborate document by Mr. C. S. ROUNDELL, Secretary to the late Commission in Jamaica, of which we quote the following peroration:—

"I cannot close this paper without referring to the verdict of opinion upon recent events in Jamaica. In what I have written, I have advocated the supreme exercise, at all times, and towards all—even the most lowly—races subject to our dominion, of a moral and humane national influence. But if indeed, as is alleged, there is one law for the European, and another for the African; if indeed, public opinion reverses the rule of Christian morality and acts towards the humble negro, not as it would act, or be acted towards, in the case of a civilized nation, then all I have written has been in vain. The capital question, then, before us at the present time is this: *Is the heart of the nation right in this Jamaica matter, or is it not?* Notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, I venture to think that it is right and sound to the core. I will go further, and even assume that those who err, err not so much from degeneracy from the old English spirit, as from ignorance of facts, culpable ignorance it may be, but still ignorance of the common facts which a Royal Commission has authoritatively established. Those facts are before the nation, and the ultimate appeal in the great national inquest lies, not to a few literary cynics, but to the warm heart, and rough but true instincts of the man of the people. If I do not read the national verdict amiss, I read in it a record of burning indignation, and shame unutterable at the deeds of blood which most unnecessarily were perpetrated against an inferior race during the hell-like saturnalia of martial law."

Mr. CONSTANTINE BURKE, of Kingston, Solicitor to the Jamaica Committee before the late commission, and

member of the late legislative assembly, defended the negro. "*The first step for the improvement of Jamaica,*" he said, "*would be to promote a sound and popular system of education, combining with that education, good practical training.*" If this were done he felt sure that great and good results would follow, "*provided great attention were bestowed upon the religious training of the people.* If the new Government which they were to have in Jamaica would take care of all classes of the inhabitants, the best results would follow; but *what they feared was that before long the old power and the old state of things would return. If this were so it would be most disastrous.*"

RECEIPTS FOR SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

	£	s.	d.
Dr. Epps	0	10	0
Per Mrs. Craft.. .. .	0	4	0
E. Wright, Esq.	1	1	0
Rev. S. W. Holt	0	3	6
Dividend on £60 from Agra and			
Masterman	15	2	0
Adams and Francis.. .. .	5	1	3
Dr. Epps	0	5	0
Rev. W. H. Jones	12	0	0
"	4	10	0
Dr. Epps	0	5	0
Rev. W. H. Jones	4	19	0
"	3	12	0
Miss Webster, Sheffield, a Parcel			
of articles for Bazaar.			

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THE FREED-MAN.

THE PENALTIES OF EMANCIPATION.

THE cost of the liberation of slaves is not confined to the amount of compensation, as in the West Indies—nor to the heavier expenses of war, and the sacrifice of human life, as in America; there are arrears of suffering, privation, and injury borne by the passive Freed-men of the extent of which no estimate can be formed. These penalties are inevitable. It is not possible in the nature of things that the ex-slaveholder should not in the great majority of instances retaliate on the unoffending and helpless victims within his reach when a clear opportunity arrives. We have abundant and painful proof of this in every part of the field under our observation. The teachers of the schools in Washington tell us that the more ignorant of the coloured people are afraid to leave the city. Mr. Teall, in his interesting letter from Morant Bay, given in the last number of the *FREED-MAN*, says: “the previous day, some officers from the ‘*Cadmus*’ had intruded into Stony Gut, and alarmed the poor people with abuse and threats, and my presence was hailed by them with delight.”

No person in Jamaica probably is better acquainted with its condition than Mr. S. Constantine Burke. He expresses his fears that “before long the old power and the old state of things will return. If this be so, it will be most disastrous.”

We should suppose that no one has had a better opportunity for ascertaining the real state of affairs in Jamaica than Mr. Forster, M.P., the late Under-Secretary for the Colonies. He has expressed his opinion that almost every white person in Jamaica would justify Ex-Governor Eyre in proclaiming martial law. All previous experience has shown that on the subsidence of anti-slavery excitement in England, the pro-slavery party have in various ways taken their revenge on the negro population. There is no just reason to anticipate that the present course of things will prove exceptional. We have seen in England the re-enkindling of the old hatred to the negro. It has received its inspiration from the party represented by Dr. Bowerbank. The

patient and forgiving spirit of the Freed-men will not avert the stroke to be inflicted when the time comes to give it with the safety the cowardly oppressor naturally seeks in gratifying his revenge. The demand for justice on the part of those who feel conscientiously compelled to bring Ex-Governor Eyre before the tribunal of his country, will, of course, increase the exasperation: every step will tend to fire the hostility of the party who identify themselves with Mr. Eyre as their admired representative. The people ultimately to suffer will be the unoffending race who are only the innocent occasion of the course taken for the vindication of right.

What, it will be asked, is the practical inference intended by these observations? Should slavery be perpetual? Is justice to be paralysed because of incidental suffering or evil? We have no such meaning. But we submit with the profoundest respect, yet with earnestness to which no words can give adequate expression, that the friends of emancipation are bound to look to the condition of the Freed-men, as affected by the course pursued in relation to their oppressors.

We cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that no steps suited to the crisis have been taken for the oversight and protection of those who are exposed to injury. We stand before the civilized world in this position. We have denounced the wrongs committed against the coloured people; we have shown that they have been systematically defrauded in the name of law, cheated in their bargains, deluded by fictitious documents in the pretended sale of lands, treated with cruelty and violence, and kept in ignorance that they might have no power of self-defence or the ability to seek redress. Some of the ablest of our literary men, and the most eloquent representatives in Parliament have held up to the scorn and condemnation of mankind the instruments of this cruel injustice. We know with undoubted certainty that the cheapest and best defence of the coloured people is the presence of a judicious and competent Christian teacher. His presence is "*hailed with delight*." Do we speak of peace, do we desire order and progress, have we the ordinary feelings of humanity, have we the highest aims of Christianity—how responsible then is our present position. Utterly empty and frivolous will seem all our professions, if after all nothing more is done for the welfare of Jamaica than the production of the report of the Royal Commissioners and some decision of a court of law. We do not however despair. There is yet a golden hour of opportunity, and it will be seized by all who really consider what the case requires. As we have frequently shown, the people who need Christian oversight are beyond the range of present missionary operations. A more enlarged and comprehensive course of action is demanded. The Jamaica question has been so hampered and perplexed by party discussions that many stand in doubt as to whether any serious effort is intended for the steady and permanent improvement of the people. There has been too much reason for suspense. But if the guides of public opinion will give proof of faith and practical earnestness, they will attach to themselves the right kind of sup-

porters. At this time there is peculiar tranquillity in the Island. It should be made at once the seed time for future good. "Let us build these cities, and make about them walls and towers, gates and bars, *while the land is yet before us.*"—II Chron. xiv. 7.—W.

PERSEVERANCE.

"THE recent accounts," says Mr. JOHN HODGKIN, "from calm, enlightened and practical American philanthropists, of various creeds and of different States of the Union, demonstrate that the *present juncture is one of critical danger*, not only to the lives of thousands, but (what is of still more importance, owing to the magnitude of the issue) to the very existence of freedom for the whole negro population of the South. Shall we, then, let the stone which has just reached, or all but reached, the top of the hill, roll back to the very bottom, like that of Sisyphus in ancient fable, for want of a little sustained effort." We are happy to see these forcible words from one whose name will give them weight. We fear that many, from the outset, have not sufficiently estimated the vast importance of the work. None of us indeed are, it may be, fully alive to the momentous nature of its issues. Yet we ought to have known that in the nature of things the task of training four millions of people, liberated under such conditions from slavery, and preparing them for all the responsibilities of freedom, was not to be accomplished at a stroke. Many benevolent persons, without serious consideration, spoke of the matter as one in which help only was required to meet a passing emergency. It has been deemed sufficient, in the annual assemblies held by different religious denominations, to give the subject a hearing for once, and to make a general contribution. We are, however, strongly impressed with the conviction that the question is one that should have the profoundest attention of the best men of our age. We leave out of consideration for the moment everything peculiar in the characteristics of the negro race. Enough, surely, has been said on that point. We look at the effect that must be produced on the interests of civilization by the proper treatment of these emancipated millions, and the consequences, on the contrary, that must inevitably follow from supineness and neglect. It is impossible that there should be the preservation of peace, the regularity of commerce, and the general stability of society, if this vast mass of people are left without judicious direction and proper help. It is as perilous as it is unwise to allow prejudice of any kind to blind us to the serious issues involved. Dr. McCOSH, who has just returned from America, made a statement in reference to the condition of the coloured race, at the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, at Bath, which we trust will be duly pondered. He said "their improvement must be a work of time, and a proper training must be continued till higher brain power, and intellectual capacity, and energy and perseverance of character, were made hereditary. At present, the coloured people were not only willing to receive instruction, but were enthusiastic about it; and if the present time was not

embraced to improve them—if *they were allowed to continue in ignorance, they would speedily sink into habits of idleness and degradation, from which it would be almost impossible to remove them.*”

These just observations, to men of foresight and reflection, will convey the most impressive warning. The condition of the Freed-man in a state of ignorance is one of terrible exposure. As a slave, he was protected as the property of his master. Now he is subject, in many districts, to personal injury of every kind, without the power of obtaining redress, especially if he has not sufficient intelligence to avail himself of legal protection. This defenceless condition is driving thousands of Freed-men in the South to crowd into the towns for mutual defence, who might otherwise develope the material resources of the country in well-directed and profitable labour.

Dr. Plumer, formerly a defender of slavery, in a letter to a friend, dated “Pottsville, Pa., October, 1866,” says: “Here we have several millions of people, who came amongst us savages, and sunk in sottish superstitions, and who have never had habits of self-reliance, turned loose as in a day. Their case ought to enlist the sympathies of all good men. It is urgent and pressing.

“I am sad when I think how they are perishing. . . . A distinguished gentleman in the South, a native of Pennsylvania, said within a month that he did not doubt that 500,000 negroes had died the last twelve months.

“The political problem respecting these people I leave to others; but let the humane and pious consider and act on their case. They were brought to this country, held in servitude, and made Freed-men without any act of their own. They are in the main an inoffensive race. Cannot something be done for their spiritual good?”

Under slavery these coloured people would never have been trained “to habits of self-reliance.” Our obligation is the greater to afford the means of instruction to fit them for their altered position. Not to do this is surely to undermine the social fabric and to bring the crash that sooner or later must come, from the hollowness of the structure. The hope of America is to be found in the men who are alive to this danger. Mr. Beecher, in a recent address to the citizens of Brooklyn, said: “Some contend that the negro is inferior, not by position only, but by nature, and that nothing can redeem him. But there is a great party of freedom who believe in the susceptibility of that poor suffering people to education, and they are determined that they shall be educated. They believe that we owe the negro a debt of gratitude for his good conduct during all the war, and that debt they mean to pay by secured liberty and civilization. They believe that education and perfected citizenship are indispensable to national prosperity, and that *the abuse of four millions of human beings is a crime that cannot fail to corrupt the moral sense of the nation, and with it the secret and source of its power.* We educate the blacks for their sakes and for our own sakes; and we hold that no trust ever has been devolved upon us more sacred or more responsible than this of taking the Freed-men out of their degradation;

and by proper steps of civilization, education, and enfranchisement, lifting them into full equality and citizenship."

If, then, we understand the question, it must grow upon us, and deepen the sense of its importance. We shall feel under moral necessity to *persevere*. As yet, the number is comparatively few who see the matter in its momentous bearings; this only renders the duty of patient continuance the more imperative.

FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH.

Whoever may faint or grow weary in the work of raising the millions of Freed-men, those who have devoted themselves to the work of their instruction shrink from no difficulties and turn aside from no danger. Though many who first entered the field of labour have closed their career in an early death, and all have encountered perils and endured privations, the teachers returned from New England to the work after a brief recess with renewed ardour. The spirit of the southern planters in many places unhappily remains unchanged. The *Darlington (S. C.) Southerner* writes :

"This school, after a short vacation, has re-opened with a large increase of teachers and students. Several 'school-marms,' fresh from philanthropic and liberal-minded New England, have appeared on the scene; and the educational car, crowded to its utmost capacity, is to be pushed without delay to the summit of the 'hill of science.' Not only from the village, but from the plantations for miles around, negroes, little and big, are seen in the morning, hurrying, book in hand, not unwillingly to school. Nurses and house-girls and errand-boys are at a premium. We have some school-master friends who say it would delight them to see the white people manifest as much interest in the education of *their* children.

"We wish that we could, without hesitation, say 'God speed' to this enterprise. Were it, even in part, in other hands, we might have confidence. As it is, we fear, with reason, that it is a movement fraught with mischief to black and white. It is very possible to be honest and well-meaning, and yet do incalculable harm."

The Editor tries to fix the blame of the New Orleans riot on "school-marms." The United States Government Commission of Enquiry at New Orleans has made its report; and it is clearly proved that the negroes at the Convention were peaceable and unarmed. The following touching narrative shows the danger to which faithful men are exposed and the spirit in which they endure to the end.

"The pastor of the Coliseum church, Rev. JOTHAM W. HORTON, had been requested to open the Convention with prayer. Moved by the warmest christian sympathy for the Freed-men, this young New England minister had gone to the South with his wife, to give his best energies to their welfare. He was a man of sincere piety and a large heart; pure as a little child, self-denying where duty was concerned to an extent that often made him suffer, and so peaceable that though repeatedly insulted, and even once fired upon, and though conscious that he was fatally marked by malignant disloyalists, *he would never go armed.*

"After taking leave of his wife, Mr. Horton proceeded in the cars, from his residence in Carrolton, to the city. Ever apt to look hopefully on the worst prospects, and slow to suspect evil of his fellow-men, he had felt no fears of injury for this day, beyond perhaps a forcible seizure and commitment to the parish prison.

"The hour arrived for the opening of Convention, and Mr. Horton entered the hall, and stood up to offer prayer just as the clock struck twelve. Strongly and fervently his words came up, breathing petitions for the peace of his country and the deliverance of the oppressed. God heard him, but with that prayer His servant's work ended, and then He gave him for a little while to the cruel wrath of his enemies, that He might make that wrath praise Him. Immediately on the sounding of the stroke of noon from the city clocks, and simultaneously with the opening of Mr. Horton's prayer, the armed police filed out of the several stations, three hundred strong, and marched towards the Institute. Some of them entered the hall during the prayer, a mob in the meantime rapidly collecting round the door, and hardly had the good man uttered the closing 'Amen' when a miscreant fired a bullet at his head.

"There could no longer be any doubt of the intentions of the officers and the mob. The latter assailed the windows and crushed in at the doors. 'Kill him! kill him!' they yelled. 'Shoot every cursed Yankee in the house!' Just then all the bells in the city began to toll. It was the pre-concerted signal of slaughter, and now the horrors of the day began.

"The disloyalist ruffians rushed in with pistols, knives and clubs, and commenced their appointed work of murder. Resistance was hopeless. The Convention broke up in the wildest confusion, some of its members falling dead, and many mortally wounded in the hall, while a few who could, fled. The Union men saw that they were doomed. Instead of protecting them and arresting the rioters at the firing of the first shot, as with their force they could easily have done, the police headed the attack, and there is reason to believe that one of their number fired the first shot.

"Mr. Horton received five balls in his body, and fell. These balls were fired by policemen. Not satisfied with their work, they seized him, battered his head with their billies, stabbed him, kicked and dragged him over the pavements to the first station, the mob following behind, cursing, beating, and trampling him with their shoes. Thrusting him in a cell, he was left mangled and senseless.

"Meantime the shopkeepers of the city had closed their stores, and strolled about, gratified spectators of the fiendish carnival, greeting the murderers of Horton and every squad of policemen that passed them dragging a bleeding loyalist, with shouts of 'Good! good! Kill the white nigger.'

"Around the Mechanics' Institute and in the adjacent streets upwards of one hundred negroes lay weltering in their blood, and the dead carts drove by loaded with warm corpses and bodies of the wounded still writhing with life, all tumbled indiscriminately together.

"In one of these carts the mangled Horton was flung after lying awhile at the station-house, and under a stifling load of dead and wounded negroes, his stomach crushed in by a blow of a heavy plank, he was taken to the Marine Hospital.

"Furious with the taste of blood, the police and their fellow Thugs raged up and down some of the streets of the city, calling out the names of well-known loyalists, declaring their intention to slaughter every Northern man in New Orleans. In the midst of the excitement and carnage, however, the bayonets of Federal troops appeared, and further murder was prevented. The mob dispersed, and the blood-stained streets, and battered windows, and muffled groans from distant hospital-wards, alone testified to the horrors of the 30th of July.

"As the hours of that bloody day passed, the wife of Mr. Horton waited at her home, five miles distant, for his return. She looked long and anxiously to catch a glimpse of his approaching along the familiar street. He did not come, and her anxiety grew into alarm. To add to her terror, a breathless messenger arrived at her residence, and warned her that she would not be safe there that night, for trouble had happened at the State House, and the Secessionists were searching for all the Unionists in the city and suburbs. Hastily summoning the negro servant, she told her to bar the doors and windows, and with a few hurried preparations then set off for the city, to learn the fate of her husband.

"Having formerly boarded with a Mrs. E——, she took her way first to her house, and made known her anxious errand. She was told of the riot and massacre and at once feared the worst. Several young men who boarded at the house volunteered to search for Mr. Horton. They returned late in the evening, but could give her no news save that he had been badly wounded. They dared not communicate their own convictions of his fate.

"Only the darkness of the dangerous streets and the restraint of friends prevented the almost distracted woman from going forth that night to continue the search herself. As it was, the night brought no sleep to her eyes, and as soon as it was morning she started on her sad errand.

"Information had been received through the city papers that Gen. Baird, the military commandant, had released all who had been arrested and confined by the police, giving the name of her husband among the rest, and stating that he had returned home. Acting on this representation she went alone to Carrollton, but only to return by the next train. He was not there. Without waiting for breakfast, she set off for Gen. Baird's head-quarters, a young Methodist clergyman, Mr. Henry, one of Mrs. E.——'s boarders, insisting on being her company.

"No sooner did Gen. Baird see Mrs. Horton, and knew who she was, than he expressed much surprise that her husband had not been seen, and told her he had ordered his release. Perhaps she would find him at the City Hall. To this place she immediately went, but she searched in vain. He had not been there. She then hurried to the first police-station, determined to wring from the brutal officers a confession of what they had done with her husband. Entering the office, she forced her way within the rails, and asked of the clerk what had been done with her husband. The man declared that 'preacher Horton' had been sent by him to Charity Hospital, and she at once hurried thither. Again she was disappointed. He had not been seen there! (The truth was, the cart which carried Mr. Horton's body had stopped there, and had been sent away, as it appeared to be occupied only by blacks.) The horrible idea now suggested itself to the afflicted woman, that her husband had been conveyed away with a load of dead bodies, and had been buried alive; but, as a last resort, she determined to visit the Marine Hospital. This was in a low and distant part of the city, and devoted entirely to negroes, and she could not have believed he would be carried there by his worst enemies, but at a friend's suggestion she sought the place, still accompanied by Mr. Henry.

"Arrived at the gate, she was refused entrance, but catching a glimpse of Dr. Harris, the head surgeon, whom she knew, she called to him, and asked if her husband was there. Dr. Harris could give her no positive assurance, but immediately ordered the servant to admit her. Forgetting her weariness in her joy that her long quest had at last succeeded, the faithful woman bounded up the steps, and without waiting to be directed, rushed in among the patients, found out her husband, and sank exhausted upon his bosom. What a spectacle! The form she loved a bruised and helpless mass of flesh and blood, his head swollen to the size of two, his left arm useless and his right shattered and mangled. He moved perpetually about with the restless, nervous gestures of a dreaming infant. So badly trampled and beaten was his head and face, that his eyes were blinded, and a painful retching, produced by the injuries to his stomach, obstructed his breath and speech. But through all the anguish and darkness of his wreck he knew his wife. That she should have recognised him is a miracle to all who do not understand the inspired sagacity of a wife's affection.

"'Wipe my face, Emma,' he gasped, as if she had been bending over him ever since he fell.

"Worn and broken-hearted the poor woman sat down by her husband's side, and tried to strengthen herself for the task of soothing and comforting his last hours, for she knew too well that he could not live. Nineteen long hours she had searched for him, and now to find him thus!

"Few comforts were to be found in that hospital, though the attendants seeing her distress,

evidently meant to treat her kindly. Up to this time the wounded man had lain in the warden's room, but on the next morning, which was Wednesday, he was removed to a more airy apartment. The operation of trepanning was then performed on his head, though with little hope of permanent benefit. When this was over, and the burden upon the brain was thus relieved, the sufferer looked up and repeated,

“ ‘When I can read my title clear
To mansions in the skies,
I'll bid farewell to every fear,
And wipe my weeping eyes.

“ ‘Should earth against my soul engage’—

“Here weakness prevented him, and he whispered to his wife, ‘You finish it.’

“He slept a good deal, but seemed always conscious of her presence, frequently putting up his restless hand to touch her face, and remind himself, in his blindness, of her loved features. When he talked, it was of his unfinished work, his convictions of the justice of the cause in which he fell, his anxieties for his wife left alone in a cruel world, and of his enemies and murderers always forgivingly, as if they knew not what they did. At different times, too, he spoke of the riot, relating facts and incidents as I have set them down.

“It afflicted him much to leave his wife penniless. He had had a little money in his pocket when he came to the Convention, but that, with the gold studs in his bosom, had been plundered by some of the ruffians who took part in mutilating his person.

“Thus he lingered until the sixth day after his injury. When the morning of Sunday, the 5th of August, came, he remembered that he had an appointment to exchange pulpits with a coloured brother in the city, and said, ‘Emma, we must send word to Brother Miles that I can't come. I don't feel quite well enough to preach.’

“As time went on his mind began to wander, and he fancied himself in his own pulpit. He invoked the Divine blessing; he gave out a hymn and sung, wounded and suffering as he was, his wife, who wept as she thought of the melody of his once fine voice, joining him at his request, half choked by her tears. Then he prayed with her, sung again and preached, taking for his text, ‘Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.’ After these exercises he expressed his wish to close with the Lord's Supper, and immediately began the beautiful ceremony. His wife, anxious to gratify him, skilfully aided with such meagre conveniences as were at hand, to carry out his touching fancy. He partook with her what seemed to him the symbolic bread and wine. ‘We both drink from the same cup, Emma,’ said he. Another hymn, a benediction, and the sufferer began to grow weak, as if indeed his work was done.

“‘I am going now, Emma,’ he whispered. ‘I'm sorry you can't come with me. In the fall you'll come.’

“Then there were no more connected sentences, but incoherent syllables of prayer, and whispers of saintly hope,—‘In the vale—the vale—home yonder—good-bye,’ and at six o'clock on that Sabbath evening the gentle-spirited HORTON fell asleep in Jesus.”

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MR. BRYDSON.—Your copy of the *FREED-MAN* shall be sent to Jamaica.

The Freed-Man.

DECEMBER, 1866.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

"I have observed with satisfaction that the United States, after terminating successfully the severe struggle in which they were so long engaged, are wisely repairing the ravages of civil war. The abolition of slavery is an event calling forth the cordial sympathies and congratulations of this country, which has always been foremost in showing its abhorrence of an institution repugnant to every feeling of justice and humanity."

A CRY FROM THE GOLD COAST.

Since our last number we have received much encouragement in relation to the intended bazaar. Many skilled fair fingers are at work for our coming sale. We have also been enabled to despatch a valuable bale of goods for the relief of the sufferers in Jamaica, and hope speedily to send further aid. A strong appeal is now made to us from Africa itself. From time to time young Africans come to Europe for education, and upon their return they find the native women, on account of their utter lack of suitable training, quite unfit to become helpmeets to them in life. The girls and young women are docile, and if religiously educated, would become the most powerful auxiliaries in the civilization and conversion of Africa.

Mrs. Moseley, the widow of the late chief justice at Cape Coast, has taken up this work, and having united her influence with ours, we have the greatest

satisfaction in presenting the case of Africa to our readers. Let our kind helpers who are at work for the bazaar, which we now find cannot be held till the beginning of the year, remember that they are at work not only for Jamaica and the United States, but for *Africa itself*. A lady who might have been disposed to produce but *one* article will now, perhaps, kindly send *three*.

We invite attention especially to the case of Africa. Mrs. Moseley says, "The anxiety of the now reigning young christian king of the Cape Coast and his chiefs, many of whom are personally known to me, and showed me no little kindness and sympathy in a season of deep sorrow and bereavement, is great for the establishment of a Christian Industrial School in their town, and affords much ground for encouragement to me in undertaking the work. The king has promised me his support and influence in carrying it forward when once commenced; he has corresponded with me frequently on the subject."

Mrs. Moseley has favoured us with the following letters from the king and the native chief Quamina Arquah, both of whom are personally known to her.

Cape Coast Castle, West Africa,
Oct. 11, 1865.

My dear Mrs. Moseley,—By my deputation I have received the present of a handsome family Bible you have made to me. My best thanks are due to you for the benefit, and I shall ever esteem the favour as the best of gifts. I thank you also for the good wishes evinced in your letter accompanying it. Anything that comes out of your hand I will gratefully accept, and you will find in me always a friend. The Lord bless you; and me may he strengthen, guiding me with His

counsel, for his mercies' sake.—With best respects, I remain, yours very sincerely,

(Signed) JOHN AGGERY,
King of Cape Coast Castle.

May 11, 1866.

My Dear Mrs. Moseley,—Your favour of last month convinces me that my individual well-being as a Christian not only lies next to your heart, but that you are, too, really interested in the government which I have been called by God to administer over my own native people. I appreciate the spirit in which you express your feelings, and I cannot thank you enough for the good wishes manifested therein. Would that we had for a representative of the British Government here a man of the same stamp as your late honoured husband, the most lamented and dear friend of Cape Coast and its inhabitants. May the Lord be pleased to bring about a better state of things, who ordered light to rise from primeval darkness. We pray and hope for the best. The Christian Industrial School you so wish to establish for poor native women and girls we do much need, and you may depend upon my support and influence when it is opened, and will always find a true friend in me; and may God shine upon and bless your noble efforts for our poor benighted land and people.—With my best Christian regards, believe me, my dear Mrs. Moseley, yours very faithfully,

(Signed) JOHN AGGERY,
King of Cape Coast Castle.

Cape Coast Castle, June 12, 1866.

My dear Madam,—From the good mind and ardent love you entertain for Africa and her poor helpless people, I am persuaded you feel quite as much as we do the sad neglected condition of your poor native friends, whom you kindly commended, before leaving them, into the hands of the great Being who cares for the needy and oppressed. The sons and daughters of poor unhappy Africa seemed doomed to suffer injustice and oppression, and cry out to kind friends in England to help, for they cannot but be in deep lamentation for evils existing in their protectorate, and are like Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted. There never lived

on the earth a more humble, obedient race of people than the Fantees (natives of the Gold Coast). Indolent and ignorant they may be, but for submitting to unheard-of oppression they are unequalled in the world. Tell a Fantee man that the governor ("the great white man that lives in Government House"), the Queen of England's representative, wants his wife, his children, his gold, and immediately the wish would be gratified without a murmur. It is not, therefore, well to oppress such down-trodden people who are most loyally inclined, peaceably disposed, and only ask to be treated justly and reasonably as human beings possessing immortal souls equally with the white man; not merely mules and machines, incapable either of feeling or enlightenment. Whilst your dear husband was here, the people found that they had at last got a white man who would do them justice and good. The memory of him will never perish from amongst us. Would we could have another judge who would follow in his steps, for now, the shepherd being smitten, what do you, my dear madam, suppose must have become of the sheep? Truly they are scattered and finding no place for shelter. I am sure this country will be most happy to see you out here again, and your dear friends all around be proud to welcome you back to establish the school for us poor natives and our families. I trust God will give you health and good office, and every opportunity of doing his work on behalf of us and our children, whom you take so much interest in; and you may rest assured, my dear madam, I shall never forget your kindness, and shall take care to answer all your letters until you come back. May it be very soon. Entreat good "white English friends" send you back and teach us all good things. All the chiefs whose names are in the address send their respects, and wish you good health and come out soon. I fear I say too much, but I beg you to try all possible to help your needy African friends. May the Lord bless and crown your efforts with success, and send us good relief.—Believe me, my dear madam, your ever faithful servant.

Chief QUAMINA ARQUAH.

We have before us a communication

of Major J. T. Brownell, late of the Gold Coast Artillery. This excellent officer writes,

Mrs Moseley, the widow of the much-beloved and respected judge who was stationed at Cape Coast, and greatly esteemed and regretted by all, and especially by the native population, has, I am happy to find, come forward and offered her services in establishing an infant female school at Cape Coast. I have had the honour of Mrs. Moseley's acquaintance before and since the death of her beloved husband, and a more sincere Christian, one more highly educated and energetic, and more devoted to the cause of education, I never knew.

During Mrs. Moseley's residence at Cape Coast she was much beloved by the natives, and her departure for England was greatly regretted, and since that time she has been in constant correspondence with the king and chiefs of Cape Coast, who are most anxious for her return to continue the good work which during her stay she had begun.

From my own experience, I can safely say there will be no opposition offered by the native parents in the formation of such a school. I am sure they will be delighted to send their children to the school, and will render all the assistance in their power towards its support. I make this assertion, having had the supervision of a small school myself on the Coast, and I then found the parents anxious that their children should attend, and they made no objection to their being led in the ways of righteousness and to the knowledge of the true God.

We have had an interview with the Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, the Hon. John Carr, whose knowledge of Africa extends over a quarter of a century. The Judge is deeply interested in the work Mrs. Moseley is doing so earnestly, as well as in the general work of benevolence now being prosecuted on behalf of the coloured people. He has promised his continued influence and liberal pecuniary support.

Articles for the Bazaar may be sent to the Rev. John Waddington, D.D., 9, Surrey Square, Old Kent Road; to the Office of the Society, 102, Fleet Street, London, E.C.; Dr. Fred. Tomkins, Library Chambers, 3, Tanfield Court, Inner Temple; Mrs. P. Taylor, Aubrey House, Notting Hill; Mrs. J. B. Brindley, College Hill, Highbury; Mrs. Burr, 11, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, W.C.; Miss Ludlow, The Firs, Wimbledon; Mrs. Moseley, 24, Upper Berkeley St., Portman Square; Mrs. Ellen Craft, 12, Cambridge Road, Hammersmith; Mrs. Tomkins, 3 Manse Terrace, Church Rd., Stoke Newington, N.; Mrs. Estcourt, 1, Lady Margaret Road, Kentish Town, N.W.; Mr. Joseph R. Lower, Tunbridge, Kent; Mr. William Tuck, Milsom St., Bath; and to any member of the Council or Committee of the Society.

HELP IN BATH.

We are much obliged to our valued friend Mr. William Tuck, of Bath, for his kind appeal on behalf of the Bazaar in the "Bath Express" of the 27th October. Mr. Tuck appeals to the benevolent ladies of Bath for their help towards the Bazaar proposed to be held in London, the beginning of next year, by the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society, in aid of its funds; more especially at the present time, as the Society is anxious as far as possible, to relieve the distress in Jamaica. Mr. Tuck calls attention to the deplorable condition in which hundreds of innocent persons have been placed, a large proportion of whom are women and children, now widows and orphans by recent events in that island. Mr. Tuck adds that he shall be happy to take charge

of any contributions for the object, and forward them to the Society.

We present the grateful thanks of the Committee to our valued friend, for his voluntary and prompt co-operation, and ask the friends of the Society to make similar appeals through the press, or as their own judgment may suggest in other parts of the country. All contributions, whether in articles or cash, will be acknowledged in the **FREED-MAN**.

THE RESISTANCE TO BE OVERCOME.

The forces arrayed against the emancipated millions of the negro race are more formidable and persistent than many of their friends imagine. The restoration of the Freed-men to a state of security, peace, and social progress, will not be effected without a long and arduous struggle. It is our duty to consider the difficulties of the task, and to take a correct view of the obstacles to be removed.

The hereditary enemies of the Freed-men surely calculate on the time when the energies of the Abolitionist or philanthropical party will relax. They know that the storm of excitement will subside into a dead calm. The political spasm will be followed with perfect collapse. They watch their opportunity and in the interval of comparative apathy regain their power and revenge themselves on the helpless people for their temporary check. The history of the anti-slavery movement abounds with examples of violent reaction. The Jamaica Assembly enacted the most cruel and oppressive laws. When their atrocity was sufficiently marked the British public were roused and the unjust legislation of the planters was refused the sanction of the crown. There was little practical amendment, however. The members of the Assembly returned to their odious work, and framed other laws equally oppressive, and ultimately gained their object. The result, we know, is to be found in the misery and degradation of an uninstructed population, and the decay of one of the most beautiful and productive islands on the face of the globe.

What solid ground have we to expect permanently an improved state of things? When the sad intelligence of the outrage in Jamaica was received, we felt relief in the persuasion that deplorable as were the excesses committed they must lead to a change that would ultimately compensate for all the wrongs endured. The power of the pro-slavery plantocracy is broken for a time. A wise and upright governor has been appointed, who will have the aid, it is said, of a council formed of a better class of planters from the neighbouring islands. In the meanwhile the spirit of society in Jamaica remains the same, and its unconscious influence evidently affects even Christian missionaries located at Kingston, and other districts. Public opinion in favour of right must be of slow growth until a free press can be sustained by an intelligent and reading population. The more impartial and just the acts of the governor, the more likely he is in this state of things to be isolated and hindered for want of moral support.

In addition to direct opposition to the efforts made for the advancement of the Freed-men we must take into account the inert force of those who wearied by excitement, imagine that effort is useless, because they have failed themselves to remove the obstruction. "It is all in vain," they cry, when practically they have made no serious attempt to do the work. All their real activity is directed against the cause they were supposed to maintain. There is nothing new however in all these opposing influences, no strange thing has happened to us. Whatever the strength or multiform character of the resistance, it must be overcome. There is a power in good to master evil if we occupy the right position and avail ourselves of the divine sources of help.

We must have an *adequate motive*. Preliminary service may be rendered from various motives of mixed and inferior order and we are to accept it cordially, but to accomplish the noblest task nothing less will avail than the philanthropy that springs from pure and vital Christianity. This alone can invest the cause of the Freed-men with an interest that will give unfailing zest to the work in which we are engaged. The brightest examples of such philanthropy we find in men like

Wilberforce, Buxton, Judson, Carey and Knibb.

There must be *calm and invincible determination with a single aim.*

Real strength in a work like this comes at the moment of extremest weakness, and victory springs from defeat. In his last public speech in England, Knibb said, "Twenty-one years ago, when I landed in Jamaica, there were only four missionaries connected with the denomination to which I belong. During the first seven years everything appeared dark and gloomy with respect to freedom.

Immersed in those scenes of cruelty which often filled my heart with anguish, I closed them by beholding one of the deacons of my own church stretched on his back and flogged for praying in my own house; and as soon as that scene was transacted, *I made the resolve calmly and deliberately, that I would watch every movement, and seize the most favourable opportunity that Providence should present, to undo the heavy burthens, and to bid the oppressed go free.*" We shall find a similar steadfastness of purpose in all who are called to such service. They may be struck to the earth, but they rise in strength that renders them invincible.

There must be the force arising from consistency. There is in every just cause a test of sincerity. In the case of the injured people in Jamaica the proof of a true regard for right and freedom was in the kind and judicious relief of the thousands of widows and orphans who were known to be bereaved, homeless, half naked and destitute. Wanting in that practical manifestation of unfeigned philanthropy, every other step must be shorn of its moral influence. To do them justice the planters of Jamaica were prompt and generous in making recompense to the sufferers of their own class. They raised a subscription immediately, and after restoring the property destroyed, had six hundred pounds as a surplus. There has been a humiliating contrast in the treatment of the injured families of the Freed-men which we have no heart to describe. The infamy of the arrest and execution of Mr. Gordon, like the leprosy of Gehazi, will cleave to Governor Eyre for ever. Nothing can prevent him from taking his place in the ever-

lasting pillory of English history; but what shall be said of us who have condemned the barbarities inflicted in the heat and fury of the military raid, if we allow the surviving victims to pine from hunger and sink to the grave by a lingering course of destitution and suffering, which true humanity would have stopped in a single day. Ex-Governor Eyre is certainly amenable to justice. His acts ought to pass through the closest and most solemn scrutiny. But if we are to submit him to the ordeal, let us not enter the court under the reproach that comes to us in the sighs and tears of the patient and perishing people of Manchioneal and Morant Bay. We have an example to set in this matter before the civilized world.

Finally, we want the power of close combination.

The forces arrayed against the Freed-men are too great to be overcome single-handed or by the most strenuous efforts of a particular denomination. We do not forget or undervalue the services of different sections of the Christian Church in Jamaica. Earnest and self-denying men have been found in various communions whose labours have been continued under the severest trials. We would strengthen the hands of every faithful minister and teacher. There is neither place nor necessity for any new ecclesiastical organization, but practical co-operation is essential in rendering them effective support. Acting alone no missionary society is equal to the work. All need to be re-enforced. It is a diversion and a disadvantage for their agents to contend against oppression and to agitate for the redress of grievances. Time is lost, money wasted, and local irritation produced that greatly impedes their proper work. If good men will associate in the spirit of enlarged benevolence to succour the weak, to protect the defenceless, and to exercise a vigilant and kind supervision, the necessity for a periodical tornado of public agitation may be prevented. A Jamaica planter is not of necessity grinding intolerant, exclusive and oppressive. With forbearance, conciliation, combined at the same time with an inflexible regard for equity, we may yet witness the co-operation of all classes for the common good.

When it is known that the friends of the Freed-men have no party aims in view, and no political influence to seek, that they are the friends of Jamaica because they are the friends of humanity, when it is seen that they have a fixed and unwavering purpose to exercise vigilance with discrimination, to report what is good, as well as to expose what is evil fearlessly yet with candour, the best of our own countrymen in the Island will work with us. We shall yet find our way to the conscience and heart of right minded men at home. The proper course of action will open before us. "It behoves us to remember," said Earl Carlisle, "that the pathway to great achievements has frequently to be hewn out amidst risks and difficulties, and that preliminary failure is even the law and condition of the ultimate success." It is for true philanthropists in the mother country and in Jamaica to determine in the spirit of unity and of faith, that a steady course of practical and systematic work of instruction and help shall be pursued, and the world will reap the benefit in their own time and in many succeeding generations.

LIFE IN THE MOUNTAINS OF JAMAICA.—An article under this title, copied from *Chambers's Journal*, appears in the *Jamaica Gleaner*. The object of the writer, is to show that the people of Jamaica, with the exception of the Europeans, are all ignorant and dishonest. "So it is," he says, "throughout the length and breadth of the island. The predial excursions of the negro stultify the efforts of the poor white man to realize a living by his industry, and neutralize the power of the white gentleman to form a permanent home for his family in Jamaica." The white gentleman is much to be pitied in such a case—but "what a man soweth that shall he also reap." If he would have helped to give religious instruction to the people, with industrial training, he would have found a very different community, especially if he had set them a good example. It is not too late to begin. The broken negro dialect, ought years ago, to have given place to correct English. It is a standing memorial of educational neglect. In our next number we may give a specimen of the higher civilization of Jamaica from the correspondence of Lieutenant Brand.

OUR FRIENDS IN NEWCASTLE.

There is something so healing and refreshing to the spirit in the outflow of quiet and genuine benevolence, that we are unable to express our sense of its manifestation in our esteemed friends in Newcastle. The package forwarded so promptly for the destitute people at Morant Bay, has been carefully sent to its destination. The sewing machine, kindly provided by the same earnest co-workers will be used for a short time by the missionary's daughter, now in England, so that she may be able to train others. Here then is the gentle beginning of a true Christian Sisterhood. We are quite sure that the example will not be lost. It will be a relief and source of grateful satisfaction to many who have simply glanced over the pages of the *FREED-MAN*, to do something in earnest. The work of social renovation will gradually unfold, if the mothers and daughters of England will only unite in prayer, and in steady effort for its promotion.

THE ST. THOMAS-IN-THE-EAST REBELLION.—We understand that the Government, having been instructed by the Colonial Office to institute inquiries into excoases said to have been committed by certain civilians during the suppression of the Rebellion in St Thomas-in-the-East, have instituted legal proceedings against them, which will be brought before the Circuit Court, at St Thomas-in-the-East to be held on the 18th of November; and that Mr. S. D. Lindo, Solicitor of this city, has been engaged on behalf of the prosecution.—*Jamaica Paper*.

THE CONDITION OF JAMAICA.—The following is an extract from a private letter just received from Jamaica:—"Nothing can be more extraordinary than the change that has come over the black people. Strife has ceased among them, and court after court the magistrates in petty sessions have nothing to do. . . . As yet the new Government is not inaugurated, nor do we as yet know anything about it. Our present Governor, Sir J. P. Grant, appears to be a man of marvellous caution and prudence; he seeks neither counsel nor advice, and keeps his wisdom to himself. The Executive Council was dis-

banded on the 15th of September, and the work is being done by the same clerks, with Mr. Irving at their head, who is styled the Acting Financial Secretary. It is said we wait the arrival of Mr. Rusholme to set the machine in motion. In the meantime everything goes on with a degree of propriety and regularity that is beyond comprehension: and we cannot help saying that the finger of God is in it.—*Birmingham Daily Gazette Nov. 1st, 1866.*

POOLE, DORSET.—Our friend, the Rev. W. H. Jones, delivered a lecture at the above place on Tuesday, November 13th, 1866, taking for his subject, "the present state of affairs in America, and the prospects of the four millions of freed slaves in that country." On the same evening he addressed the children of the Sabbath Schools of the town, illustrating his address, for the amusement of his young and interested audience, with a powerful magic lantern. The attendance and collections were good. Thanks to our friends.

BOURNEMOUTH.—On the 14th ultimo a meeting in aid of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, was held in the Congregational church Bournemouth; the Rev. Nicholas Hurry presided. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Jones and the Chairman. The Committee is under great obligations to the reverend gentleman, whose consistent advocacy of the cause of human freedom and the abhorrence of the oppressions of slavery are consonant to that Gospel of which he is so efficient and devoted a minister.

SHANKLIN, ISLE OF WIGHT.—On November 5th, Dr. Fred. Tomkins addressed a highly respectable assembly in the Institute of the above beautiful town. The Rev. G. W. Southouse, M.A., the Rector, was in the chair, supported by the Rev. Mr. Hole. The lecture was listened to with deep attention and much interest was awakened on behalf of the colored people. A number of ladies are engaged in working for the forthcoming Bazaar. The meeting was addressed by the excellent Rector, the Rev. Mr. Hole, and the Rev. W. H. Jones, from Canada.

LIEUTENANT BRAND has addressed a letter to Mr. Charles Buxton, M.P., which the friends of Mr. Buxton, with reason, suggested must be a mere hoax. Such, however, turns

out not to be the case. Mr. Brand replies to a temperate and courteous letter by Mr. Buxton, with a wild farrago of abuse. Both letters are so disgusting that we shall not allow a sentence from them to pollute our pages.

THE Rev. W. H. Jones has just returned to town as we are going to press. We speak in grateful terms of the kindness of friends too numerous to mention, at Poole, Bournemouth, Waterloo, Christchurch, Cross-in-Hand, Wadren, Hailsham, Rotherfield, Burwash, Rye, and Winchelsea, at which latter place the Mayor took the chair. Our best thanks are presented to the clergy, ministers, and gentlemen of these several localities.

It is a significant fact, showing the great change in public sentiment within a few years, that two colored men have been elected to the Legislature of Massachusetts; Charles L. Mitchell from Ward Six in this city, and E. G. Walker from Charlestown, both intelligent men, who will well represent their constituents.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society is placed under great obligation to the Peninsula and Oriental Steam Packet Company, for the response recently made to an application for free freight for the articles which may be contributed for the relief of the poor sufferers in the island of Jamaica. J. M. Lloyd, Esq., the Secretary, writes: "My Directors desire me to say that they will be very happy to forward free of freight the package containing articles for the relief of the poor people of Jamaica, referred to in your communication, and they wish me to add that they would be glad if you will let them know from time to time when you have a further package of the kind ready for transmission." We have already despatched one package sent by Mrs. Richardson, of Newcastle. We now ask for further aid for the poor despoiled sufferers at Morant Bay and elsewhere. We need not specify what is required, if our humane friends will bear in mind that these people were by the atrocious wrongs of their persecutors deprived of their all. Communications to be addressed to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, 102, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

We invite especial attention to the Advertisement of the Jamaica Agency. The friends of the negro in this country will rejoice that business men have resolved to aid the small producers of Jamaica in disposing of their sugar, cotton, ginger and other staples, at a fair price. Dr. Underhill has, in the past, remitted £1000 to these peasant farmers, as the price of small parcels sold for them. Mr. Ludlow, in *Good Words*, and on the Committee of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, has urged upon the attention of the public, the importance of encouraging habits of industry among the Freed-men of Jamaica. We hope the Association will be a success.

CAPE COAST FEMALE NATIVE SCHOOL.

We have great pleasure in acknowledging, on behalf of Mrs. Joseph Moseley, the following donations to the above object.

Amount already published ...	£295	3	0
His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury (2nd don.) ...	5	0	0
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THE FREED-MAN.

VIEWS ON THE CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE FREED-MEN.

BY DR. MC'COSH.

WE have the highest satisfaction of presenting to our readers the testimony of Dr. Mc'COSH in a more complete form than we were able to give in the last number of the **FREED-MAN**. The following is the statement as contained in the report of the annual conference of the Evangelical Alliance held in Bath.

"Every reflecting mind sees how the late war was made to turn, not so much by the wisdom of man as by the providence of God, round the question of slavery and emancipation. It is true that the Northerners did not start the war on the avowed ground of freeing the slave, but on the principle of Union. But all along there was an immense body of people, being, in fact, the Evangelical Protestants, to whom I have referred as being our best friends, who prayed and expected that the war would deliver them from their national sin and disgrace. And the war could not be ended as long as it was a mere question of union. There was defeat after defeat, and the suspension of one general after another, till at length that great and good man—the greatest public man of his age—instigated and supported by the people, and moved by his own loving heart, issued his Abolition Proclamation, and has ever since held a place in the hearts of the people second only (if second) to their great Washington, and among our race will go down through all generations as the greatest man that ever lived. When he was massacred they said, "They have shot our best friend on earth, and left us only this comfort, that they cannot shoot our better Friend up in heaven." From that day—I mean the day of that memorable Proclamation—the best young men of the country rushed to the contest in greater numbers than ever, and pious fathers and mothers devoted their best-beloved sons with a feeling of joy ("That day," said a mother to me, "in which my sons told me that they were about to join the army was the proudest in my life.") to a cause they believed to be sacred; and great generals were trained for the work; and the black man took his place alongside the white man in their thickest battles, and the God of battles decided that the great reproach of the country should be wiped away for ever.

People are ever asking here whether the United States are settling down. But let me tell them that the people of that country have no intention of *settling down* in the sense in which those who put the question use the phrase. They are a living and a moving people, and they advance like the currents of the sea, wave upon wave. An age ago we in this country gave twenty millions of our money to set the slaves free in our colonies, and we let things *settle down*; we looked no more into them; and this past year we have been amazed to find that, while we slept, the embers which we had left burst into a conflagration. *The Americans may learn a lesson from what befel us in Jamaica.* They have given more than we have done for the same cause; they have given, not only hundreds of millions of treasure, but the blood of their best sons. And now, as an imperative duty, they must see that all this is not spent in vain. God forbid that there should be more blood spilt; but they cannot shrink from securing that these coloured people whom they have emancipated, be educated and trained to industry. I confess to you that I have fears as to the destiny of that race. The Anglo-Saxons, ever ready to advance themselves, have not been so successful in advancing other races. In this country we cannot as yet boast of what we have done in the West Indies, at the Cape of Good Hope, in Australia and New Zealand, or even among the Celtic Irish (though I admit we can in regard to the Highland Celts), for the elevation of the people subdued by us. The Americans have certainly made little progress in raising the condition of the Red Indians, who can be taught to read, who can be taught Christianity, but cannot be trained to habits of agricultural industry, and are, in consequence, diminishing in numbers (they numbered formerly, I believe, 900,000, and they are now only about 350,000). Is the same fate to befall the black race in America? I was grieved to find not only worldly statesmen, but old-school orthodox theologians, predicting that in a century the negro race will disappear in America, and looking on the prospect with complacency!

I was at pains to inquire into the capacities of the coloured people. I watched them, I conversed with them, I cross-examined those who knew their state thoroughly, I worshipped with black congregations, with no white person present but myself, and perhaps a friend or two accompanying me, and I visited black schools at Washington, in Virginia, and at Baltimore. I am sure that I have personally examined, in all, between 500 and 1000 scholars belonging to this race. It is my professional business to study the human mind, and I think I can estimate the capacities of young people; and I am here to testify that the young people brought into schools, in the year that had elapsed since the close of the war, had made as much progress in acquiring elementary learning as persons of the same age in England, Scotland and Ireland, could have done in the same length of time. But it may be asked, Do you really mean to say that they are equal to us in intelligence? I reply on the instant, that I make no such assertion. In certain qualities they are equal to us:—in memory—I may add in music; in quickness of apprehension, and readiness at catching your

meaning ; in learning the elements of instruction, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic : in all, in short, that can be learned by young people under fourteen years of age or so, they can match us. They are certainly not inferior to us in docility, affection, and gentleness. I believe it is a fact that, during all that terrible war, when the strongest passions were excited, there was not a single case of a slave massacring his master. Some of them have capacities of a considerably high order. I have heard a black doctor of divinity preach as clear and judicious a discourse as I have heard in my own country. But surely no one would expect a race which had been found in a savage state in Africa, and been kept in an enslaved state in America, to be equal in reflective powers, in shrewdness, and in power to resist sensual indulgences, to a people which had for ages been in a condition of freedom, and in the full enjoyment of education and Christian culture. I maintain that the coloured people are not at this moment so inferior to the whites as the Britons and the Germans were inferior to their conquerors when the Romans subdued our forefathers, even the forefathers of us, the British and Americans. The elevation of this long down-trodden race must be the work of time, and of a process of training continued age after age, till higher brain power, and intellectual capacity, and energy and perseverance of character, are produced and made hereditary. But all this, if ever it is to be done, must be begun now. At present the coloured people are not only ready to receive instruction, but are enthusiastic about it. According to the latest official information with which I have been favoured by the Inspector of Schools from the Freed-Men's Bureau, there must, on the 1st of July last, have been at least 125,000 pupils under an organized system of instruction. The schools are sustained by benevolent associations, under superintendence of the Freed-Men's Bureau. It was acknowledged to me by the Southerners, that though after the war the Freed-Men betook themselves to large cities and perished in thousands—it is said, hundreds of thousands—they have this last summer been labouring industriously, commonly on plantations of their old masters. I was told that they were fast learning the value of the dollar ; that they were most anxious to purchase property, where small pieces of land could be had ; and that they were depositing considerable sums in the Savings' Bank chartered by Congress last winter. The planters who profess to know their character, did indeed tell me that this taste for education and attention to work will not continue. My answer was, that if it exists this year, I do not see why it should not be found next year, and I added, if there be a risk of the existing zeal subsiding, the more need you have to seize the present opportunity. If the present time is not embraced, if the coloured people are encouraged or allowed to continue ignorant, they will speedily sink into habits not only of idleness, but of profligacy and infanticide, from which it will be all but impossible to reclaim them. I spoke of these things freely to the President of the United States (who graciously granted me an interview), to senators, to judges, to Southern ministers of the Gospel, and people, as I had opportunity.

In particular, I urged the brethren of my own communion, as I met with them, that, as the Presbyterian Church had always been noted for the interest which it had taken in education, so they should move with all their energy in favour of the extension into the South of a thorough system of education for blacks and whites; I said whites, for there are portions of the whites there as ignorant as the blacks. The reply of the Southerners often was, that they could not work with the Yankees; upon which I said, "Then work for yourselves; but, with or without the Yankees, let these black people be educated, that they may be a blessing to you." I showed them that if the coloured people need the intelligence and capital of the masters, the masters equally need the labour of a people accustomed to their climate. I told them plainly that if the Southerners opposed all that the Northerners did, and did nothing themselves, the South would inevitably be exposed to greater evils than had yet come upon it. It was with ineffable pleasure that I was able to express my persuasion that the great body of the Southern people did seem to feel an interest in the physical comfort of the black people; and my decided conviction that, with an educated people, black and white, these Southern States would prosper more than they had ever done in former times, when they had been hindered in their very industry by the incubus of slavery. Any fear that I may have of the coloured people dying out in America, does not arise from any native incapacity in the race, but from the prejudice of the whites, which may lead them to neglect their duty. Happily, the best people in the New England States and in the Western States, and not a few even in the Southern States, are alive to the crisis; and let us see that we do not in our ignorance, and to our own injury, throw ridicule on those who are at one and the same time the most enlightened friends of those formerly in slavery, and the most disposed to live on terms of amity with the people of this country."

DR. Mc'CosH has placed the friends of the Freed-Men under special obligation by this important testimony; but we must ask him and the higher class of Christian thinkers to which he belongs, to go a few steps further. If he will glance over the pages of the FREED-MAN, he will find that we have been struggling, sometimes almost alone, to retrieve the character of our country, in reference to the treatment of the coloured race. How sadly true it is that "in our colonies we let things settle down and *looked no more into them.*" Our great anxiety in relation to Jamaica is to prevent the repetition of this sluggish and fatal policy. The tone of Dr. Mc'CosH assures us that he is not prepared to accept the present state of things in our colonies as final. The work of restoration is confessedly one of the greatest difficulty. It might well be spoken of as an impossibility, but that we know that co-workers with God do not shrink from difficulties that would stagger other men. Jamaica *must* be raised and we must keep at the work, however long and arduous, until the moral wastes are re-

claimed. We ask then the aid of Dr. Mc'Cosh, and of all like-minded men, who with him feel the force of personal conviction in the matter. Men who merely act from a kind of *effete* and traditional philanthropy will not apply themselves in earnest to the momentous task. If our American brethren learn a lesson of warning from us in the case of Jamaica, surely we may derive equal profit by the example set before us in those who are alive to the crisis in their own country. There is the growing conviction in America that nothing is more essential to the national safety and progress than the sound and thorough education of the Freed-Men. Mr. Beecher recently said, in a meeting to promote this object, "If, as it has been said, civilization is destructive to inferior races, then there is something in the civilization that makes it so. It is neither the cold of winter nor the heat of summer that kills the plants in the garden, but it is the coming together of the heat and cold in the spring. Civilization, instead of being a destroyer, should be a shield and the defender of life in the beginnings of weak nations. As with nations, so it should be in the operations of society upon ignorant and weak people in bringing them to understand the duties of civilization. I take the broad ground that there is not a human being who is not susceptible of development. In a community like our own, where all nationalities are thrown together, some are educated with more difficulty than others, but none are incapable of education. On the broad ground I propose to educate the ex-slaves; they now appear before us as men and as citizens. I claim education for them, not because they are black, not because they have been slaves, not because they have suffered so much, but on the broadest ground of humanity and right. This is a birthright which no man can withhold from his fellow without bringing down upon himself God's frown and condemnation. A thorough education of the Freed-Men is the only way in which we can do our work philosophically so that it will stand. All other things are but instruments helping to this result, *expediently doing for a day what should be done for all time*. "Give the slave his liberty, a right to himself, and his wages, that is enough." Another says, "Protect his civic rights; make him equal before the courts." Another says, "Give him land." All these appeals are good. Yet with all these guaranteed he may still lack the great root from which true freedom grows, the vivifying power which gives to every man his surest protection and value—education.

There is in this work the motive of duty, and that of affection, which is sometimes more touching. We must look upon this race with something of that kindness with which we ought to regard our children. "*They are our wards.*" Would to God we could hear these words again from the lips that uttered them a year ago. God speed the day when there shall be around the whole globe no savage, no barbarian, no semi-civilized, but one great homogenous human family, so advanced that we can read with eye and heart that one sacred word, "BROTHERHOOD;" and glancing higher, can read the more glorious words, "THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD."—W.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

SUBSCRIPTIONS and Donations will be acknowledged next month.

The Freed-Man.

JANUARY, 1867.

THE APPEAL FOR THE CAPE COAST.

We invite especial attention to the touching letter of Mrs. Moseley for the intended schools in Africa, which appears in our present number. We also earnestly solicit our young friends to respond to her Christian and eloquent words. Many, we are happy to say, are at work for the coming Bazaar, and from different quarters we are receiving aid and encouragement. An efficient Ladies' Auxiliary has been formed at Tunbridge, whilst friends are at work at Bath, in the Isle of Wight, in the North, in many places in the home counties, and in London. A few large donations from the wealthy would greatly aid us at the present time; but we are sure that all our friends will agree with us when we say that we attach the highest value to the aid, the sympathy, and the *prayers* of the thousands.

We are thankful, especially when we receive donations from foreign friends. Through the kindness of a noble and valued member of the Society, we have obtained the aid announced in the following letter:—

Londres, 12 Decembre, 1866.

Monsieur,

Monsieur Schoelcher m'a donné avis de votre Bazar pour venir en aide à nos frères d'Amérique, aurait lieu au mois de janvier.

Veillez Monsieur accepter le don d'un Republicain français à ces frères.

Je vous prie de recevoir mes salutations fraternelles. Votre devoir,

CRESPELLE.

Are there no more daughters of noble and beautiful France, which at so early a period learned to hate slavery and to love liberty, that will help us in this our work? When our honoured friend, the Hon. C. C. Leigh, was in this country, he visited the continent and formed many coadjutors in various ranks of society. An influential meeting was held in Paris, and efficient aid sent to the United States. It is impossible for one voice or one hand to reach all who would be disposed to help in this work. We are therefore of necessity compelled to cast ourselves upon the benevolent activity of our friends. It will be pleasant to receive help from all quarters. At a recent meeting in London, held on behalf of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, representatives and advocates for our common and grand object met from different parts of the metropolis, from Germany, from the United States, from the Cape Coast, from Canada, from the British American Provinces, and from Sierra Leone. Surely it is a "good and pleasant thing" when christian philanthropists from various parts unite in this divine charity of clothing the naked and helping by counsel and instruction the poor and the ignorant.

We call attention to the following, as it will inform our friends where they may forward articles for the bazaar. Our lady readers will learn with pleasure that one of the Royal princesses

has made two beautiful articles and presented them to Mrs. Moseley as a gift for the African part of our work. We shall be glad to receive the names of persons willing to co-operate with the ladies who have the matter in hand.

THE BAZAAR.

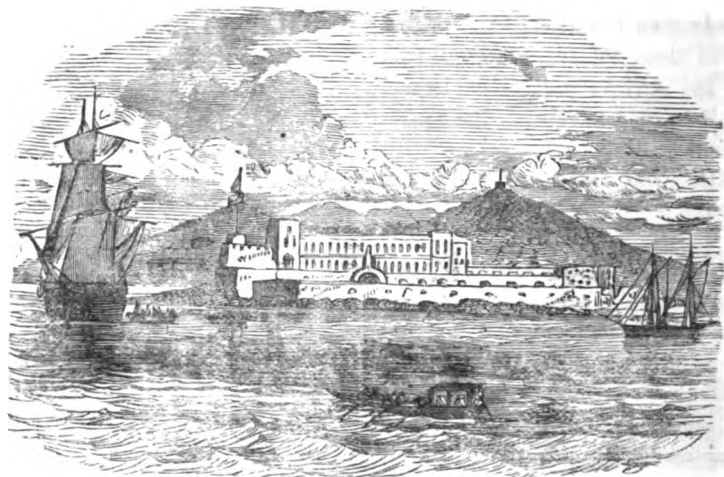
It is intended (D.V.) to hold a Bazaar, in the month of March, 1867, in aid of the funds of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society. Part of the proceeds will be devoted to the establishment of a Native Christian Industrial School in Cape Coast Castle, West Africa. The Committee earnestly solicits assistance either by articles for the Bazaar, or donations in aid of its funds.

Articles for these objects will be gladly received at the Office, 102, Fleet Street, E.C., or by the following ladies and gentlemen:—

Rev. John Waddington, D.D., 9, Surrey Square, Old Kent Road; Dr. Fred. Tomkins, Library Chambers, 3, Tanfield Court, Inner Temple; Mrs. P. Taylor, Aubrey House, Notting Hill; Mrs. J. B. Brindley, College Hill, Highbury; Mrs. Burr, 11, Queen Sqr., Bloomsbury, W.C.; Miss Ludlow, The Firs, Wimbledon; Mrs. Moseley, 24, Upper Berkeley Street, Portman Square; Mrs. Ellen Craft, 12, Cambridge Road, Hammersmith; Mrs. Tomkins, 3, Manse Terrace, Church Rd., Stoke Newington, N.; Mrs. Estcourt, 1, Lady Margaret Road, Kentish Town, N.W.; Mr. Joseph R. Lower, Tunbridge, Kent; Mr. William Tuck, Milsom St., Bath; and by any member of the Council or Committee of the Society.

FETTER LANE CHAPEL.—On December the 12th a meeting was held, in connection with the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, in the above place of worship. The Rev. G. Harper, the minister of the chapel, presided. The meeting was addressed by the chairman, by Dr. Fred. Tomkins and Dr. John Waddington, as a deputation from the Society; by the Rev. W. H. Jones, from Canada, who sang some of the patriotic hymns of his coloured countrymen; by the Rev. C. Denison, of Philadelphia, and by Dr. Mary Walker. The presence of Dr. Walker was greeted with rounds of applause, and her address was most interesting and effective. The excellent and gifted lady possesses a countenance beaming with brightness and intelligence, and which seems to smile at every point. In addressing her audience the usual formula at opening was emphatically reversed, so that instead of saying "Ladies and Gentlemen," her opening words were "*Gentlemen and Ladies.*" After speaking for some time on the general question of the Freed-Men in the most appropriate and neatest diction, Miss Walker proceeded with—"Now I will tell you a story." The way in which this was said was inimitable, and suggested a troop of merry children gathering round the lady in Christmas merriment, listening to some wonderful stories of "Santa Claus" or the "Christ Kindlein." We must apologize to our readers for referring to this lady's costume, but it did strike us as far more suitable and becoming than that worn by the unfortunate procession of skirts which we saw not long before, sopped in water and slush from Hyde Park corner to Chancery Lane. We have no doubt but that Dr. Mary Walker is actuated by feelings of the highest benevolence and regard for her sex in the example—though it may be regarded as eccentric—which she is presenting to our fair and noble countrywomen.

NOTICE.—"Jewels in Ebony." In a few days will be published, in royal 16mo., under the above title, incidents in the life of Sojourner Truth, the Rev. W. H. Jones, &c., by Dr. Fred. Tomkins; and of Toussaint L'Ouverture, by Mrs. Childs, of the United States. British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, 102, Fleet Street, E.C. Price 1s.



CAPE COAST CASTLE, WEST AFRICA.

A PLEADING WORD ON BEHALF OF THE POOR LITTLE NATIVE CHILDREN ON THE GOLD COAST, WEST AFRICA, TO THE CHILDREN IN CHRISTIAN ENGLAND.

BY MRS. MOSELEY.

MY DEAR CHILDREN, most of you that know anything of geography, and the relative position of countries as shown upon the map of the world, will have heard of the continent of Africa. Now what I desire, in the few words I am about to speak to you through the pages of the **FREED-MAN**, is to tell you something of the native people and poor little children who dwell in that far distant land, and amongst whom I lived during the year 1862; and received so much kindness and affection from them in many ways that it made my heart very grateful, and when I came back to England I felt I must try with God's help to do something in this christian country to warm up other hearts on their behalf and to beg them to send out the Bible and money to build a large school room where these natives might come to be taught to know and love the only true God and His dear Son Jesus Christ, who came down from heaven equally to bleed and die for the black people as well as the white ones, and though it is quite true that the little Cape Coast children have very dark skins and wool-like hair, yet God has given them bodies and feelings the same as ours, and *souls* too that never can die, and that Jesus says He has room for them also by-and-bye, with Him in that bright and better land of joy and holy love, if they serve and obey Him on earth: and it is to teach them about this kind and compassionate Saviour and Friend that you have been led to believe in and love that I wish so much to go back to them, and then they will hear more about what the "good great Book," as they call the Bible, contains, and this they are looking forward most anxiously soon to be realized: and so great is the eagerness of some of these little native children to hail the arrival of the day when they hope to see me return with "nice books," that I hear they always go down to the beach when the mail steamer from England reaches Cape Coast every month, to see if I am on board, and my cargo of books and pictures from "white children;" and when they find it is not so yet, their poor little hearts are very sad and their mothers, who write to me each month tell me they say "oh, why good white children so long not send poor black children Great Book about God's good things." But I am very thankful and happy to say that many kind grown-up people and children have already helped me both with money and books for my dear little native friends, and as soon as some others

give me for them what they can spare, I trust to return and build the school rooms for them; and then you shall all in England hear from time to time, as God spares me, the power of the progress of my English happy Protestant school in Cape Coast, and its scholars; for I can tell you, from personal experience and observation, that my little native friends have plenty of intelligence, quickness and understanding, and that on the Gold Coast there are very sensible bright-minded girls and boys, not at all like monkeys, as many English children think, or have been taught by ignorant people to suppose they resemble, and their aptness in acquiring knowledge and eagerness for instruction, is both great and encouraging; and the gratitude shewn by those of them whom I visited at their own homes and who often came to see me to learn a little reading and writing, was very touching to witness. Both from ministers and kind Sunday school teachers, you have no doubt often heard about the poor heathen in foreign countries, and what missionaries have done whom God has sent forth from time to time, to labour for Him in India, China, and numerous Isles of the wide ocean as well as Africa, and though many of these portions of the globe are so beautiful and attractive as to scenery, lovely flowers, magnificent trees, (grand and tall beyond any we have in England or that you can imagine) plants, fruits, and birds of varied brilliant plumage flying about in all directions and almost tame in some parts. Yes, all these and many other wondrous beauties of creation abound in these distant lands and are as you will understand very charming to the eye of an English person when first setting foot in the tropical regions. The sunsets too are so glorious; and then from the great clearness of the atmosphere, when the stars and moon appear they seem as large again as those that we look upon in England, and they shine out with such brilliancy as to astonish and delight one and make one think of that verse in the Psalms, "Praise Him sun and moon, praise Him all ye stars of light," and which in their silent majestic eloquence they seemed to echo; but ever and anon amidst all these beautiful works of our Great Creator, and bright things

of the outer world, there exists a deep cause of sadness and grief for an evil which is constantly presented before our eyes, and making our hearts bleed and ache to their innermost depths to witness; and it is the neglected pitiful condition of its native people, most of whom, except a small band of men, women and children who have been taught to know and love Jesus, are yet sunk in superstition, idolatry and ignorance, and in their blindness, poor things, bow down to worship wood and stone. Is not this grievous? I assure you it made me feel so very sad and sorry for them, and for the dishonour such heathenism puts upon the name of the one true God and His dear Son, was more grievous still to think upon and behold from day to day; and it seemed to cast a shadow over all that was so attractive in nature. When I went out to take a walk with my dear husband, and that at every turn our eyes were feasted with the sight of lovely flowers, and trees, and birds, we could not but sorrow to think that most of the poor natives dwelling amidst such fair scenes did not recognize or worship the great and glorious Being that made them all for their and our enjoyment, but only looked to stocks and stones. And now my dear children, it is to this point especially I desire most to direct your attention; and I ask you in thoughtful pity and sympathy to consider the sad condition of the greater part of these poor little native girls and boys who know not the true God and Jesus Christ; so they must be poor indeed, must they not? For if men, women and children, of whatever country, nation, or rank, possess not the knowledge and love of Christ they can only be poor, but with Him, whatever their earthly station and country may be they are *rich*, *rich now*, and *rich for all eternity*. Now if any amongst you, and I trust the number is not small, have found Jesus each for himself or herself, what should you desire and do next? why surely you would wish others to find Him and be happy too; and in this you will prove your gratitude to the kind loving Saviour that has bought you with His own precious blood. Get then your heart set upon doing some work from love to Him, and if you cannot tell exactly what to do at first, go and pray to Him about

it, and ask Him to tell you what to do. I once heard of a little girl who longed to do something for the poor heathen children, because she loved Jesus; she became very ill and sick, and a kind teacher brought her some oranges, and instead of indulging herself by eating them she begged her mother to get her the value of them in money at some shop, and then she gave the pence to the missionary society; was not that a nice thought; and cannot some little child who hears this story, which is quite true, "go and do likewise." A few pence will purchase one or two copies of the New Testament, and if sent out to Cape Coast Castle to two little native children, or elsewhere, it may please God to bless His own Word to their hearts and make them happy rejoicing, free, christian children, and though you may not in this world perhaps know of the fruits of your efforts for Jesus, you will know by and by when He comes again, and then what joy it will be for you in Heaven to find some of these amongst the angel band, and that you spent your pennies in sending out Bibles to teach them the way thither, instead of indulging your own inclinations in buying foolish toys and perishable things. Another way too, you can shew your love to Christ, is by prayer and a consistent life. If Jesus is in you like the good graft put in the bad tree, you will bring forth good fruit. If for instance a girl has been peevish and unkind to her school-fellows, she will begin to be kind and loving; if she sees any of her companions neglecting prayer or reading the Bible, she will say "do pray," for Christ loves to hear and answer our prayers; or if she sees anything wrong she will tell them of it gently; if there is a naughty girl, very probably, she may tease her for turning good, but all will soon see that she is an altered girl; for she has a new life in her; Jesus is her life and she will live on His life and get strong in His strength. But now before I close my account of my little African friends, I must try and describe to you the situation of Cape Coast Town that you may find it upon the map of Africa, and then you will see what a long distance that country is from England, and that ships and vessels have a voyage of many thousand miles to make before they reach those shores; and then as

soon as the mail steamer anchors in the Roads, for the surf is so tremendous along that coast that no large ships can approach within two or three miles of the Castle, then the great gun is fired from the fort at the top of the hill, and every person, both English and native is on the look out, and the latter hurry down in great numbers to the beach, push off their little canoes to the British mail steamer, and bring both passengers and the letter bags in safety back to the shore, and then when all the letters and parcels are received from friends in England, what pleasure and delight it gives, and the gifts and remembrances from "white lady and gentlemen" are taken from house to house and shewn to everybody with such demonstration of satisfaction and glee. Cape Coast Castle is situated between the Ivory and the Grain Coast, and includes the Gold Coast, so called because much of this beautiful pure metal is found there, both in mines and in its soil a few inches below the surface, and in the trade that is carried on between England and those shores, gold dust forms a considerable feature, and in the missionary hymn, which you often I daresay sing, you remember it speaks of "Africa's sunny fountains as rolling down their golden sands." The native girls and little children are often employed in collecting gold from the streams and even puddles by the road-side left by the rains, which are very heavy at certain seasons in these tropical countries and wash large particles from the hills behind the town, and sometimes they earn several shillings a day from selling the gold they gather in this way.

The rain in that climate is very different from what we have here, and often lasts for many days and nights without ceasing and such season is called the "Monsoon," and is not a very healthy one for English people, who are apt to take fever and cold from the damp, and are obliged to be very cautious and keep their windows and doors closed very tightly; but the natives do not mind it, and I have often been amused in watching the little children without umbrellas or anything on their heads walking about when the rain was actually falling in sheets of water around them, and making such a noise in its descent upon the roof of the house as to prevent me from

hearing any conversation that was going on in the room at the time. But when the clouds once begin to disperse and the rain ceases, the sun bursts out in such glorious splendour, and all the trees, plants, flowers, that have been so refreshed seem quite to sing out and rejoice again in its glad beams with all other created beings, and appears like a new world, and this bright happy renovation and change, my dear children, is what we hope and pray at no far distant day to see in regard to the spiritual condition of these poor natives; we want to see them emerged from the dark gloomy clouds of superstition and idolatry, released from the bondage of error's chain, and Satan's cruel grasp, and brought out into the bright beams of the Sun of Righteousness and only true liberty, happiness, and freedom of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Several of these poor natives in Cape Coast are beginning to desire this now for themselves. Will you then, who know what it is to possess this light and knowledge, refuse to help them to obtain it also? Ah no, let us all, dear children, in the different paths God has been pleased to call us to labour in below, try to aid others on their way to heaven, first by example, and then by giving all we possibly can to send the sweet story of a Saviour's love to all parts of the earth, "till like a sea of glory it spreads from pole to pole." I may perhaps at some future period send you some further account of Cape Coast and its natives, but I must conclude this paper now, and will close it with just a few words about a dear little native child who interested me very much and often came to see me and spend many hours in the day, and whom I became very fond of, and she much attached to "white lady" as she would always insist upon calling me. She could only speak a very little English, but was so bright and intelligent that she learned very quickly to understand what I said to her, and would repeat after me simple texts from the Bible, and little easy hymns; when she discovered by my face that I was pleased to hear her try to say them nicely she would clap her hands together (which the native children often do, as I have seen done by the little ones in Spain) to express her joy. "Clara," for that was the name of my tiny friend, was scarcely five years of age, but

her parents being both christian persons, they had bestowed good instruction on her as far as her tender age could receive it. But our mutual drawback was not being able to speak but a few sentences in each other's language, as hers was Fantee, which is difficult to be acquired by a European without much study; however, little Clara very readily caught my meaning through the aid of signs and the few words she knew; and I managed to understand what she intended to convey to me, so that we soon established a very firm mutual friendship. Her great delight when she came to see me was to feed our birds and water the lovely flowers and plants in the balcony, which grow so luxuriantly in that country, and were the only ornaments I cared to have in our rooms; and when she had tended all these and her feet grew tired with running about, she would bring a mat (which are made from the fibres of the cocoa-nut trees which grow on the Gold Coast, and very prettily and cleverly woven into baskets, mats and sundry other things by the native women) and then placing it by my side, and putting one little soft ebony hand in mine so confidently, she would point with the other up to the skies by which she meant to ask me to teach her about Jesus, and she would continue to repeat after me texts of Scripture until her large dark eyes closed, and after a short sleep would awake again only to beg "white lady," for she would not call me by any other name, "say more English hymn," and thus my happy intercourse with my little Clara and other native children and friends, went on until God was pleased to call us to part, at least for a time; and this was a sore trial to us all, and when I was compelled to tell my little favorite that "big English ship was going to take me away to England," her grief was very touching, and for long she would not be comforted and would sit tearfully by my side for hours, holding my hand and saying, "what little Clara do? white lady go away, who tell her English hymn, and about Jesus; me must go too, in big ship to England." But as this could not be accomplished, I endeavoured to give her all the comfort in my power, and said "I hoped to return to her again after a short time if God spared my life, and then she

should come and learn more nice hymns," and taking her upon my knee I tried to make this dear little warm-hearted child understand how much better Jesus would take care of, and love her than ever I could, and that she was one of his own lambs and He was her kind Good Shepherd, and would always guard and keep her safely in His fold, and for me until we might meet again in Cape Coast, and then I added in reply to her pitiful exclamation,— "Oh, what me do?" which made me often weep to hear her say, "Listen to me for a few moments and I will ask you to do something that will make us both happy while I go away for a little time." And what do you think this something was, dear children, that I begged little Clara to do? Can you guess at all? I daresay the elder ones amongst you can. Well, it was this I asked of my little friend, to take her mat (for I must tell you, in order to be better understood, that the native children in these warm countries do not sleep on beds as children in this colder climate do, but each has a mat which is laid down every night in her own corner which is considered as her own part of the room, and there each child sleeps until daybreak at five o'clock as soundly as a girl or boy does in their snug bed in England)—so the mat being the especial property of each, and where the Christian little ones kneel to pray after getting up in the morning and before lying down at night to rest, I knew she would take in what I meant to convey by the mat, and I said, "Will my little Clara take her mat and kneel down sometimes in the day and ask Jesus to take care of Clara's 'white lady,' and little Clara too, and then soon perhaps Clara will see 'big English ship come back with white lady,' and such nice books and Bibles, and kind messages from little white children in England to Clara and all good native children in Cape Coast." So after a while this thought seemed to impart much quietness and comfort to my little friend, who still, I hear does not forget her "white lady," and to pray daily for her, and is one of those whom I alluded to before who always goes down to the beach when each monthly mail steamer arrives, to see if her "white friend" is on board.

And now, my dear English children, if I

have been able to engage your interest and sympathy on little Clara's behalf, and for all the other poor native boys and girls in Cape Coast, how will you aid me to take back soon again God's message to them? I shall leave you to answer this for yourselves, only once more reminding you that if you love and prize your own great blessings in this happy christian land of ours, and have been led to know Jesus as your Saviour and Friend you will not be satisfied until you have done something for His sake to bring other little children to love and serve Him too. God bless you my dear children; perhaps some day I may tell you more about the Western Coast of Africa and its natives.

Believe me your affectionate friend in Christ,
S. C. MOSELEY,

24, Upper Berkeley Street,

Dec., 1866. Portman Sqr., London.

P.S.—I have some collecting cards, if any little girls and boys feel inclined to take one each and gather in any small sums for the School fund, or any little articles in useful and other work will be very acceptable to take out to the native children to show them what English white fingers can do to teach their poor little black sisters and brothers how to be useful and industrious too.

TONBRIDGE.—On Tuesday evening, the 27th ult., a meeting convened by the local committee was held at the Town Hall. Dr. Tomkins and J. H. Estcourt, Esq., attended as a deputation from the parent institution. Joseph Isard, Esq., was called upon to take the chair. After prayer by the Rev. J. B. McCrea, M.A., and a few pertinent remarks of his own, the chairman called upon the gentlemen deputies to address the meeting, when the objects and claims of the Society were lucidly and ably enforced. Messrs Edward Smith and Charles Pugh moved and seconded a vote of thanks to Dr. Tomkins and Mr. Estcourt, who in responding passed the same compliment on the worthy chairman. The meeting, though small, from a public misapprehension that the objects were political, was nevertheless of a cordial and representative character, and augured success for the movement. A good collection was taken up.

GOVERNOR GRANT ON THE STATE OF JAMAICA.

On the 16th of October ultimo, Sir John P. Grant opened the Jamaica Legislature, in the hall of the former Legislative Council, on which occasion he delivered an address, of which we subjoin the text. We commend it to the attentive perusal of our readers.

"His Excellency the President said, that before the Board proceeded to business he would make a few observations. On former occasions, as Hon. members are well aware, there was much formality in opening the Sessions of the Legislature. Amongst other things, there was a set speech written and delivered by the Governor, and to which there was a formal reply made. He was sure that the Board would think with him that such was out of place now under present circumstances. He was sure it would be more pleasant to him to sit amongst them, and spend some time with them in deliberation; and he was also sure that he would feel much instructed in their deliberations. There was a good deal of work before them, but it would be their duty to endeavour to get through it with as much ability as they could. There were some measures which it was necessary to introduce and have passed at once, because they related to matters which, in consequence of the abolition of the former Constitution, could not be dealt with without the process of legislation. He must confess that almost every department in the colony required great reform, and, he must add, immediate reform. There was no department which required more reform, and none, perhaps, which presented so many difficulties in the way of reform, as the legal department. The present legal administration of the island, to speak in plain terms, was extremely bad. He hoped he might be pardoned for saying so, but in his opinion such was the fact. He would give a case: A poor negro has a debt owing to him for ten guineas. He cannot proceed to recover it without coming all the way down to the Supreme Court. When it was considered how difficult travelling was here, he was sure they would confess that travelling down here from perhaps a distant part of the island for a simple debt was a great hardship. But the

matter did not end here. The poor man would have to employ a gentleman learned in the law, and it could not be supposed that the gentleman learned in the law would undertake his case for nothing. But supposing even he did employ such a gentleman, although he might file his suit he could not get an appearance for four months afterwards. He was therefore persuaded, that in a case where the poor negro had to sue for a debt of ten guineas or about that sum, there was no justice for a poor man. In common matters it was not so bad, but it was bad enough. He was deluged with petitions day by day from this class of people. Another ground of complaint is, that they frequently have to proceed to great distances from where they reside to the place where the court sits, and after arriving there, no magistrates were there to form a court. These subjects of complaint, as the Colonial Secretary might recollect, were brought to him. They may be true or not, but nevertheless the complaints were made. Another subject to which he would refer was that of having people kept in a lock-up, or some such place, for months, where they should have been kept only for days, on account of the want of magistrates to adjudicate the case. He did not blame the magistrates, but he blamed the system. Things being so, he would repeat what he had said before, that in the generality of cases—he would not say in great ones, but in the mass of minor cases—he thought that the poor man suffered great hardship; and that in instances where he had to sue for a debt of ten pounds or so, he had no justice at all. He did not make these remarks by any means in the way of complaint against any individual, or against the magistrates, but only to bring before the Board what he thought the true state of things in this regard at present. It was a saying, that a much abused man has good points. If this be so, then Jamaica has good points, for she has been much abused on all sides. For his part, he did not think we deserved all that had been said of us. He believed that they have been rather hard upon us. His Excellency then referred to sixty years ago, when the movement was made to have the slave-trade abolished. Amongst other things, he said that

we would find that it was a subject on which there was great complaint made and fault found on one side; and for two generations people of the nearest minds, generally on other subjects, took different views. And because one side complained of the matter, they were found fault with. But certainly the great complaint against us was that we were behind hand, while at home they had progressed. Indeed we were a century behind hand. Even thirty years ago, what man could have gone to any statesman, of any side, and get him to talk about the principles of free trade? If he understood it at all, he would in the end think him mad. And so it was with all things at all times. But he would cease now to talk of our grandfathers and fathers, and come to ourselves. With regard to the judicial system, and especially the present system with regard to the suing for debts of the amount to which he had alluded, he would not retract one word. But, as he had said, the blame was not to be laid on individuals. It was the same in England in his time, and not many years ago. But these things were remedied—here they have been allowed to go on without improvement. He would ask the gentlemen then to advance. It would not be right, perhaps, to follow everything that was done in England. There might be things done there which would be unsuited to us. In that case we would stand by our own measures. But at home there were many things suited to the colonies. He would therefore ask them to put themselves abreast of those at home and not be behind them. It was only thirty years ago that in England it was found necessary to attend to the reform of legal administration, and therefore we need not be too much alarmed at our own deficiencies, while it was our duty to remedy existing defects. He hoped that too much was not expected of this house. We can only enact laws with a view to progress, and remove obstructions to progress; but it is the people themselves who must progress. His Excellency then mentioned that there were several laws which were prepared, and would be submitted to the Chamber, but he would only speak with regard to two; and those related to the police and the local Courts. With regard to the police,

he thought all will allow that the force was in a deplorable state. Nothing surprised him more than to learn, that on the occasion of the lamentable outbreak, only four miles from where the Courts were held, only four miles from one of the principal stations, there were preparations being made against law and order, without any one in authority knowing of it. If there were anything like a police, anything like such a police as he would now propose, such a thing never could have burst out without some opportunity being afforded for precautionary measures. He would mention a circumstance which occurred to himself. Some short time ago a little disturbance was apprehended some short distance from town, and he asked the inspector of police, who happened to be in front of his door, how many men he could take out with him in case of emergency. The inspector replied he had only twenty-two men, and of those he could only take out eight, because if he took more they would do more harm than good. What a state of deficiency such a force must be in, must be apparent. It was therefore contemplated, under the new law, to pay the men well, and make them do their work, and perform their duty well. With regard to the Petty Courts, the endeavour would be to assimilate them to the parochial Courts at home. As a matter of course, all these things cannot be done without money. Taxes must be raised; and looking at the estimates, there were many deficiencies to be met. He did not like to refer to the past, but he must confess he did not see how the necessity arose for the expenditure which caused the deficiency. He made every allowance for the expenditure incurred in such things as the keeping of roads, &c., but besides that, there was a large current deficit from year to year. He did not speak of last year, but the year before last there was 25,000*l.* of true deficit. Last year, as a matter of course, there was more expended than was calculated on, on account of certain deplorable circumstances, and he did not know yet what money was required for the deficit in 1865. But there was no doubt that recourse must be had to taxation. Certainly there would be something done by way of retrenchment, but he did not think that would

be much; and, besides, the effect of retrenchment would not come on immediately. Taxation has never been thought a pleasant thing, and no doubt it will not be thought so now in this instance; but when the present state of the estimates were taken into consideration, recourse to taxation cannot be avoided. In like manner, as taxation was unpleasant, so was also retrenchment unpleasant to those to be affected by it; but he trusted that the necessity would be seen for both. There was one measure to increase taxation, which would be introduced, to take effect immediately; and although the amount which may be raised by it will not be sufficient to cover all deficiencies, yet it will be the means, no doubt, of considerably increasing the present revenue. In this matter, and all others which may be submitted to the Board, he relied on them for their support."

Review.

The One Man Power v. Congress. Address by Hon. Charles Sumner at the Music Hall, Boston, Oct. 2. 1866. 8vo. 24 pp. Boston. Wright and Potter, State Printers, 4 Spring Lane.

We acknowledge the kindness of our loved and valued friend, the author of this address, for the copy we have received from his hand. We give the title, etc., of this pamphlet in full, as our members of parliament, and others who wish to understand the great controversy now going on between Congress and Andrew Johnson, should study these pages. The topics under which Mr. Sumner discusses this question are the following:—

The two parties to the controversy—Irreversible guarantees must be had—No unnecessary delay—A last opportunity—The presidential policy founded on two blunders—The One MAN power—Giving power to ex-rebels—The President inconsistent with himself—

How the president fell—Personal relations with the President—The presidential madness—What remains to be done—Impartial suffrage must be secured by the nation and not left to the states—Our present duty. On personal relations with the president, Mr. Sumner says—

It was at this time that my own relations with him commenced. I had known him slightly while he was in the Senate; but I lost no time in seeing him after he became President. He received me kindly. I hope that I shall not err, if I allude briefly to what passed between us.

I was in Washington during the first month of the new administration, destined to fill such an unhappy place in history. During this period I saw the President frequently, sometimes at the private house he then occupied, and sometimes at his office in the treasury. On these occasions the constant topic was "reconstruction," which was considered in every variety of aspect. More than once I ventured to press upon him the duty and the renown of carrying out the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of founding the new governments in the rebel States on the consent of the governed, without any distinction of color. To this earnest appeal he replied on one occasion, as I sat with him alone, in words which I can never forget: "On this question, Mr. Sumner, there is no difference between us. You and I are alike." Need I say, that I was touched to the heart by this annunciation, which seemed to promise a victory without a battle. Accustomed to controversy, I saw clearly that if the President declared himself in favour of the Equal Rights of All, the good cause must prevail without controversy. After expressing to him my joy and gratitude, I remarked still further, that it was important that there should be no division in the great Union party—that there should be no line run through it, on one side of which would be gentlemen calling themselves "the President's friends," but that we should be kept all together as one seamless garment. To this he promptly

replied: "I mean to keep you all together." Nothing could be better. We were to be kept all together on the principle of Equal Rights. As I walked away from the President that evening, the battle of my life seemed to be ended, while the Republic rose before me, refulgent in the blaze of assured Freedom, an example to the nations.

Correspondence.

Our space will not allow us to present all the letters we have received from kind and benevolent friends who are working for the Bazaar. We have however much pleasure in printing the enclosed, which we trust our respected correspondents will excuse.

A Friend from Street, Somerset, writes:

I have found several ladies willing to make a few things for your Bazaar and they are at work every week upon them. I shall be glad to know when it is to be held and when will be the last day that they can be sent in. I shall be obliged by an early reply as I want to get a paragraph inserted in a local paper on the subject. Wishing you every success,

I remain,

Yours truly,

WILLIAM S. CLARK.

Tonbridge, 18th December, 1866.

..... I am glad, to be enabled to inform you that at a meeting at Mr. Isard's this afternoon, our lady friends gave evidence of energy in the movement. They have organised a sewing circle, and resolved to send out agents to beg goods of the drapers and money from other gentlemen, to procure the material. Several ladies, not present at the public meeting, have moreover pledged themselves to contributions. The idea of a pecuniary advance by the central Society was strongly repudiated.

My son, a lad of ten years of age, is desirous of contributing an elegant inkstand of the mosaic Tonbridge Ware manufacture.

Probably you will have direct communication with the secretary to the Ladies, Mrs. Floyd, the wife of the Wesleyan minister. Don't be surprised if the ladies far outstrip us

of the male sort, in their diligence and success. Ladies are proverbially good talkers, and if their hearts can be laid hold of, they make good workers also.

With sincere respects,

I am, dear Sir,

Yours obediently,

JOSEPH B. LOWER.

My Dear Sir,

On last Lord's day I occupied the Wesleyan pulpit at Hart Grove, on the Shaftesbury Circuit; the chapel morning and evening was densely crowded with very attentive hearers.

On Monday evening, I delivered a Lecture on behalf of the Freed-men; long before the time appointed for the meeting to commence, the chapel was crowded to the overflow. Job Rose, Esq., occupied the chair, and cheerfully endorsed our cause, the people responded nobly and gave us a good collection. Tuesday evening, December 11th, I lecture in the Temperance Hall, at Sturminster, Newton. T. Hancock, Esq., has kindly consented to take the chair.

On Friday next, I speak (D.V.) for our cause in the Congregational Chapel at Cranmore. The people everywhere express great sympathy for the Freed-men.

Yours cheerfully,

W. H. JONES.

THE FIRST ACT OF CONGRESS.—A telegram from New York, dated December 15th, announces that Congress has granted the suffrage to the negroes of the district of Columbia. We hail the announcement with much satisfaction, convinced that the Freed-men will make some of the best voters in the country, far better than the ignorant and uncared-for population of the Old World, cast in such numbers upon the shores of the New. The negro is not to be compared with the Irish rowdies of New York, who dashed out the brains of little negro children and then flung them into the dock. He is a peaceful industrious, and intelligent citizen.

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THE FREED-MAN.

ABOLITION OF TRIAL BY JURY AT SIERRA LEONE.

EARL CARNARVON in August last said in his place in Parliament—"If any colonist suffers from injustice, whatever may be his class, his condition, or his colour, he has a right to redress at the hands of the colonial minister in this country." The statement of his lordship is just, and if acted upon firmly and with strict impartiality it will give stability to colonies which at this moment are threatened with many evils, if not with disintegration from practical injustice in their administration,

The simple facts of the case of Sierra Leone demand special attention on the part of all interested in the African race. In the *Sierra Leone Journal* of Dec. 24th, 1866, we find a copy of the Ordinance passed November 16th, after the consideration of a single hour, constituting "the Supreme Court of the settlement of Sierra Leone." The following articles deprive the colony of trial by jury in civil causes:—

"Art. XI. That in any action at law in the said Supreme Court, when the parties, plaintiff and defendant, in any such action shall join issue on any matter of fact, the trial of such issue or issues shall and may be by one or more of the Judges of the said Court without a jury; and the decision of the said Judge or Judges in every cause or action tried without a jury, shall be of the same effect as the verdict of a jury, and shall be taken and adjudged to be, and shall be recorded as, the judgment of the said Supreme Court; and the proceedings upon and after such trial, as to the power of the Court or Judge, the evidence, and otherwise, shall be the same as in the case of trial by jury.

"Art. XIII. In any action tried in the said Supreme Court by and before any Judge thereof in which the damages assessed by the said Court or any Judge thereof shall be less than one hundred pounds, the said Court or such Judge is hereby empowered either to refuse costs to the plaintiff, or to reduce such costs to any amount he may deem proper."

A correspondent of the *Journal* in denouncing the act of the Council says:—

"In the midst of a general peace, with commerce and civilization advancing,

trial by jury is wrenched from the African, and the pillars of the constitution lie prostrate in the dust.

"According to an ordinance passed by the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone on the 14th day of last month, in the short space of one hour, without the usual notice to the public, *trial by jury in Civil Actions is at an end in that colony.*

"Two judges appointed by the Crown are to be the Arbiters in place of Jurors, and after eighty years of tutelage and instructions, the African upon his own soil is hurled back to his primitive position of darkness and mental imbecility.

"What then has England exhausted her treasures for? For what has a squadron, fanned by the breath of humanity, so long guarded the shores of Africa? For what have Wilberforce and Buxton struggled, and Brougham given his youth, his manhood, and his age? I answer, all for nothing. Eloquence, humanity, life itself, have all been offered up in vain: the native of Africa stands in as powerless a position now as he did eighty long years ago."

The injustice is traced to the appointment to the Governorship of Sierra Leone of one "who in another land had awoke the open hostility of the African race in the West Indies. Dominica petitioned the Colonial office for the recall of Major Blackall, and that happy island having been after a time relieved of his government, in an unhappy hour he was transferred to Sierra Leone. He entered upon his new task with a foregone conclusion predominant in his mind, namely, a hostile feeling towards the African race generally."

If this be a correct statement, Governor Blackall must certainly be disqualified for the duties of his responsible position. Groundless hostility to the African race in an African colony is sure to blind his understanding and to pervert his judgment, and like Governor Eyre he may find himself in the "crater of a volcano" caused unconsciously by his own judicial acts.

It would seem that the decisions of the court at Sierra Leone have not commanded the respect of the Judicial Committee Privy Council in England. In three instances of recent appeal cases they have been set aside as of no validity. It is unfortunate that at such a juncture they should assume a kind of legal infallibility.

The Europeans at Sierra Leone are said to be altogether indifferent to these acts of the Legislative Council. They seem to have lost regard for the rights secured in the stormy past for the subjects of the British Crown. We are happy to find that the African residents of the settlement are more alive to their duty and have sent the following protest:

"The Right Honourable the Earl of Carnarvon, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c. &c. &c.

"My Lord,

"We, her Britannic Majesty's loving and loyal subjects of the colony of Sierra Leone, for ourselves and on behalf of numerous other subjects of the said Colony, beg leave to approach your Lordship for the purpose of re-

spectfully but firmly protesting against the confirmation of an Ordinance entitled 'An Ordinance to make further provisions for the Administration of Justice within the settlement of Sierra Leone and its Dependencies,' which passed the Governor and Legislative Council on the 16th November, 1866, as Ordinance No. 4 of the said year.

"The very onerous and distinguished position in which it has pleased our Most Gracious Sovereign to place you with respect to this and other important British Colonies whose welfare, from the goodness of her heart, we believe, she deems intimately connected with the peace and glory of her reign, assures us that any confidence which we, her dutiful subjects, may repose in you cannot be misplaced, especially when it is based, as in this instance, upon your sense of, and esteem for the ancient constitutional rights of British subjects; and we therefore proceed, with great reliance on your sincere anxiety for the tranquillity and honour of her Most Gracious Majesty and her Government, to submit to you the following reasons for protesting against the confirmation of the Ordinance here referred to, reasons which we believe you cannot but unhesitatingly pronounce to be just and in keeping with the undoubted principles of the British Constitution.

"We beg to state, firstly, That, contrary to the long-established practice here, a practice strictly in keeping with the rights of British subjects—to make known their objections to any public measure by means of petitions to the Legislature or through their own representatives—no notice whatever was given to the public here that an Ordinance of such vital importance—altering, in fact, the constitution of the Colony—was so much as intended even to be introduced into the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone.

"Secondly, That not even the *unofficial* members of the Legislature knew anything about this Ordinance until the very day it was passed, one some minutes before he entered the Council-room, and the other not until he had taken his seat at the Council Board, when a copy of the Ordinance was handed him, so that *even they* were prevented, studiously it appears, from being able to express any sentiments unfavourable or otherwise to this Ordinance, or to acquaint the public that there was such a measure under contemplation.

"Thirdly, That before some of the members of the Legislature had time to read for themselves the contents of this Ordinance, it was proceeded with and passed—passed at one sitting—passed in less than an hour, and *after ONE reading ONLY*.

"Fourthly, That as British subjects we are entitled by the British Constitution to know what are the measures introduced into or before the Legislature of the Colony, vitally affecting our rights and interests and the rights and interests of the community; and it is the right of the inhabitants of this Colony, her Majesty's loving subjects, to be afforded time to make such representations as they desire, under all circumstances, before such measures have been passed or have been finally disposed of by the Legislature.

"Fifthly, That in consequence of the non-notification of there being such an Ordinance to be dealt with by the Legislature, the hurried and unconstitutional manner in which it was passed, and the time between its passing and the departure of the mail conveying it for confirmation, the general community has been absolutely debarred from giving publicity to their decided sentiments against the 11th clause of the Ordinance especially, and from petitioning against the abolishment of trial by jury in civil actions for which this clause provides, and stating their reasons for doing so, a circumstance which, considered in itself, apart from the other condemnable circumstances connected with the passing of this Ordinance, could not, we respectfully submit, but cause you to recommend the non-confirmation of this Ordinance, and our Most Gracious Majesty at once to approve of your recommendation, until a reasonable time shall have been afforded us, as British subjects, to lay our complaints and objections respecting it before the Imperial Government.

"For the foregoing reasons, My Lord, we now unanimously and absolutely protest against the confirmation of this Ordinance, until we, among numerous others of her Majesty's loyal subjects in this Colony, shall have had sufficient time to make known, in a legitimate manner, their sentiments concerning it to her Majesty's ministers, and to point out the intolerable wrong, the gross injustice, which will be done to the inhabitants here were such an Ordinance, such an alteration, in fact, of the constitution of the Colony to receive her Majesty's sanction; and we very confidently rely upon your lordship duly to lay this our protest before her Gracious Majesty, or those of her ministers whom it may concern; and to give it all the support to which your high sense of justice and impartiality tells you it is entitled.

"We have the honour to be, and to subscribe ourselves,

"Your Lordship's very obedient humble Servants,

(Signed) T. W. HUGHES, T. J. MACAULAY,
CHRIST. TAYLOR, WM. LEWIS, sen.
JOS. JARRETT, WM. COLE,
J. B. PRATT, and 46 others.

"The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon, &c. &c. &c.

"Freetown, Sierra Leone, Nov. 21st, 1866."

WHY SHOULD I WORK FOR THE BAZAAR?

The stability of the Freed-Men's Aid Society and the determination of its future course will much depend, under the blessing of Providence, on the earnest, personal and collective efforts of all our friends for the Bazaar. We know that many are actively at work; and it may be that there are even more occupied quietly than those whose exertions are reported to us. We hope that not one of our readers will be wanting in this important movement. Let it be said of

each of the mothers and daughters of England, "*She hath done what she could.*" This will make all the difference in the ultimate result. We can suppose that some fair worker, with skill and taste, may look on her treasures at home and say, "Why should I work for these people? Why should I diminish my collection of drawings, or of articles that interest my friends, for the sake of the negroes?" If any young friend of ours puts the question, even in half-earnestness, we can soon furnish the reply. We ask for something from your elegant and valuable store because you will help on a work that will meet destitution deeper and more extreme than any you have personally witnessed. You will instruct the ignorant, clothe the naked, wipe away the tears of the orphan, and cause the heart of the widow to sing for joy; the blessing of those that are ready to perish will come upon you. Is there any blessing in this world richer and sweeter?

2. We ask your kind co-operation, because it will enlarge and refine your own sympathies; it will give a grace and tenderness to your disposition that is in itself an ornament to character more beautiful than the most costly gems.

3. We invite you to this work that you may enter into the sisterhood of the kind and the good. No association is more honourable, and the time may come when you will find it yield to you the purest satisfaction of life.

To make the object a success, however, we urge more than personal effort, and ask you to exert all the influence in your power to enlist the service of others. Every person of intelligence and worth has a circle of friends in which some may be moved to friendly effort by a pleasant and earnest word. Some who are alive to the importance of the object will not write a note without a line to say *Remember the Bazaar*. Let us then all work in faith, and whilst we make no parade of our own work or contributions—let us strive to the utmost to *make known the object*; and press all that we can to take tickets and to come to the Bazaar.

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH ON JAMAICA.

At a Missionary Meeting held recently in Oxford, Mr. GOLDWIN SMITH (who occupied the chair) made the following observations on the negro race in connection with Jamaica, that will be read with interest:—

"Sir Samuel Baker, the great African traveller, tells us we must not presume to talk of negroes; nobody has seen negroes but himself. I suppose nobody has seen men but those who have visited the wild regions of Central Asia—the seat of primitive man. I, among many others, have seen the negro, not in a state of unnatural degradation, but in that which is the natural state of human beings—a civilized society—and there I have seen him, where he had the chance, an intelligent and prosperous man. Sir Samuel Baker says that the negro's intellect does not grow after fourteen. We shall see when the three negroes who have been elected for Massachusetts come to take their seats in Congress. But I think we have seen it already in the case of Frederick Douglas

and other educated negroes who have given an earnest of the capacities of their race. The yearly sum spent on the established clergy in Jamaica, as I learn from the pamphlet of my friend Mr. Roundell, the late Secretary to the Royal Commission in Jamaica, was above £30,000; the sum spent on education was only £2,000. No wonder the intellects of the negroes did not grow. You often hear the same complaint, of early quickness and subsequent failure, made against the Irish as against the negro child. Both have been placed under great disadvantages. No doubt it takes generations to expand the shrunken brain of an uneducated race, and to place it on a level with races which have been long undergoing education. And so it takes generations to civilize. It took many generations even to half-civilize our Saxon forefathers, and yet we should say that it would have been a mistake to give us up in despair. It could hardly be expected that the negro, kidnapped by the slaver in his native woods, would be civilized all at once by the lash of slavery, even though it were twisted with piano wire. Therefore, the missionary must not despond if he sees but a slight progress in his own day, provided that he sees any progress at all. Civilization, like all the great works of Providence, moves slow. God could make it move fast if He pleased, but for reasons inscrutable to us, He chooses the other way.

“Assuredly it is not open to the planter party in Jamaica or to the planter party anywhere, to say that the negro is not a moral being; for they treat him as the most morally responsible of all moral beings, and punish his offences with a severity which they would not think of using in the case of men of their own race. If the negro is not a man, to hang him for sedition is as irrational as it would be to kill a horse for the same crime. The negro is said to be incurably ferocious and brutal; and treatment of him which is certainly ferocious and brutal, is justified on that ground.”

Mr. Goldwin Smith next proceeded to explain the course of events in St. Domingo, charging upon the French revolutionary party the guilt of the deeds there done; and then showing how, during the recent civil war in America, and the overthrow of slavery thereby, all the prophecies of the outrages the freed negro would commit have been falsified. On the other hand, he said, the Freedmen are being constantly murdered by the whites; and, the other day at New Orleans, a regular massacre was organized by the white authorities of the place. He next referred to the impending legal proceedings against Mr. Eyre:—

“Those proceedings are not to be taken in the interest of the negro, or to avenge his wrongs. They are being taken in the interest of all Her Majesty’s subjects; to vindicate the law against lawless violence, to assert the principles of public liberty, to uphold the sanctity of human life, and to wipe away a great stain from the honour of the country. The negro peasantry of Jamaica were, in their simple way, loyal to the Queen, and, though not enlightened in politics, disposed to be submissive subjects of the Crown. ‘I found the inhabitants, one and all, animated by the same spirit of warm loyalty, considerate kindness, and

generous hospitality.' Such is the description given by Governor Eyre himself, to the Assembly of the reception he had met with in his first tour through the island from those whom he and his party now describe as a set of tigers, to be kept in control only by the terrorism of the gallows and the lash. But they were suffering from oppression, or at least from denial of justice. The new Governor, Sir J. P. Grant, speaks in the strongest terms of the iniquity of the tribunal, before which cases between master and servant were brought, and of the complete practical denial of justice to the peasantry. At the same time they were suffering from other causes set forth in that most temperate, as well as benevolent and instructive, letter of my friend, Dr. Underhill, for which, if he had been in Jamaica the other day, he would certainly have been hanged."

Speaking of the riot at Morant Bay and its suppression, Mr. Goldwin Smith said :

"The vast atrocities which in the first wild paroxysm of alarm were imputed to the negro, and which formed a pretext for the most dreadful severities, such as drinking the brains of a slain white mixed with rum, were afterwards disproved, and so were the alleged outrages upon women. On the other hand, the worst atrocities imputed to the whites unfortunately cannot be disproved, for they are attested by the damning evidence of their own reports. An English colonel boasts of having, as a refinement of cruelty, forced his wretched prisoners to hang each other. He tells you how he put up a prisoner at four hundred yards as a mark for his riflemen. And then he says that nothing can endear a man to the Established Church so much as a campaign in Jamaica."

He then pointed out the improbability of the negro being actuated by a ferocious disposition. "In fact, if the negro had been as ferocious as the Red Indian, he would never have been made a slave." Nor can the negro be more idle than our own labouring classes in feudal times were said to be, for whom the regular prescription in those days was the lash and branding iron. If the planters of Jamaica had followed the wise action of the planters of Barbadoes, they might have enjoyed equal prosperity, and the negroes have been as obedient and useful. In conclusion, Mr. Goldwin Smith thus nobly vindicated the duty which we owe to subject and inferior races :—

"As it is with men so it is with races. Some are either less gifted by nature, or more backward from untoward circumstances than the rest. But the part of the more gifted or more forward race, as of the more gifted or more forward man, is to help the less gifted and the more backward, not to exterminate them. By helping them on they help us and advance their own character in the highest sense; and that these exertions of benevolence may take place seems to be the reason why Providence permits such great inequalities in the world. Curious doctrines for a Christian nation are afloat. The great organs of our national morality tell us that the subject races are destined to melt away beneath the rays of a higher civilization. These are the sort of people, I suspect, against whom, in the garrotting season, we provide ourselves with life-preservers, lest

falling in with them in some lonely place, we should melt away beneath the rays of their civilization. These principles, if you look at them, mean, in fact, the unscrupulous dominion of strength over weakness, which in the end, would be the overthrow of all civilization. The negro being at present the lowest and most despised member of the community of man, the application to him of the physical force doctrine is morally the thin end of the wedge; but the thin end of the wedge always is thin. Perhaps, however, under his dusky skin he may have gifts which education will bring to light, and which, when brought to light, may form in their way a valuable addition to the common store of mankind. At all events he has the humble gift of being able to work in those regions better than the white man: and by virtue of that gift he seems destined to be the principal inhabitant of a large and fruitful portion of the earth. Christianity assumes the unity of the human race, and its constant aim is to make one great community of man. To prosecute that aim among the people of the West Indies the Baptist Missions go forth. That task is appointed to them among the Churches. When divisions of Christendom are healed, as healed some day they will be, the work, if well done, will be gratefully acknowledged and recorded by the whole united Church."

STREET, SOMERSET.

On Wednesday evening, 9th ult., a crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held in the British schoolroom, to listen to addresses from F. Tomkins, Esq., M.A., D.C.L., and J. H. Estcourt, Esq., who came as a deputation from the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society. The chair was taken by J. W. C. Clothier, Esq., who first called on Mr. Estcourt. That gentleman made an earnest appeal on behalf of the poor blacks in Jamaica. He said that we had boasted long enough about the twenty millions we paid to emancipate them, but what did that money go for? To compensate the *planters*, for the wrongs they had inflicted upon the slaves in past years. He then referred to what the Americans had done. In four years, they had emancipated four and a half millions of slaves.

The Chairman then called on Dr. Tomkins, who sketched the objects of the society as being to assist, in every possible way, the 4,000,000 of freed negroes in the Southern States, 100,000 of our coloured countrymen in Canada, 350,000 in Jamaica, and the untold millions on the continent of Africa—all men of the same blood as ourselves, who had

hitherto been downtrodden, oppressed and despoiled; who, clasping their hands in agony, had looked up to us with the appeal "Am I not a man and a brother," but who we may hope would now stretch them forth in the might of a new-gotten freedom and be raised by our aid, to the same standard of humanity as ourselves. If they were a lazy people he would not say a word for them, for of all things he detested laziness; he never knew a people more ready to work when assured of the fair reward of their toil. He said when he was at Roanoke, all the able-bodied negroes were fighting in the Northern army, but he found the old, infirm, and crippled ones quartered in this island had an acre of land allotted to each, which they had cleared and prepared for seed, without knowing where the seed was to come from. They had also built themselves huts, and as a proof of the industry they bestowed on the soil, those plots of land, which when given them were not worth \$5, had been so improved by their labour as to be worth from \$60 to \$80. The lecturer concluded with an earnest appeal. A vote of thanks was moved by Joseph Clark, Esq., and seconded by Mr. W. S. Clarke. The meeting then terminated.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received the communications addressed to Lord Alfred Churchill and ourselves by the Rev. A. A. Isaacs, incumbent of Christ Church, Leicester. It must be obvious that as Editor of the *FREED-MAN* we have nothing to do with the private correspondence of two gentlemen in the Island of Jamaica. If Mr. Plummer and the Hon. John Salmon were to agree to submit their correspondence for our consideration, we should have then to consider whether its publication would be relevant to our object or interesting to our readers.

All communications in connection with the *FREED-MAN* to be directed to the office of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, 102, Fleet Street, E.C., where they will meet with immediate attention

The Freed-Man.

FEBRUARY, 1867.

THE FREED-MEN AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

We have long abstained from anything like strong comment on the conduct of Andrew Johnson in relation to the millions of Freed-men in the United States, over whom he is called unfortunately for them to rule. The hand which smote down their great friend—the martyred Lincoln, elevated a man who has proved to be anything but their protector although occupying the highest position in the nation. Mr. Johnson does not love the black man, will not sustain him in his new rights, will not regard him as a “man and a brother.” This is his great offence as a ruler, and leads to all the wrongs of which he is chargeable and all the

scandalous and cruel oppressions and murders which the worthless among the late slaveholders perpetrate daily.

Negro murder, the burning of negro schools, even the sale of negroes on the ground of some alleged offences, take place in the late slave states constantly. All this the President takes no means to prevent. In some cases, as in the murders of New Orleans, much of the guilt rests upon him personally. He endeavoured by his agents to weaken the hands of Gen. Howard, the head of the Freed-men's Bureau, than whom no truer christian, no wiser administrator, no firmer friend of humanity exists. It has been said of the President, and said with truth, “Southern disaffection looks up to him as its head, and bases its hopes on the sympathy of the man who ought to be its most stern and decided opponent.”

There is a species of meanness which we cannot but despise in Mr. Johnson's treatment of the negro. Are they not members of the great trans-Atlantic family over whom he is called to rule? Admit that they are ignorant and vicious for the sake of argument, though we maintain the contrary. What should we think of a father of a family who having, an ignorant, deformed and perhaps vicious child, instead of instructing, of pitying and protecting the poor unhappy little one, joined the members of his household in deeds—daily deeds — of the most cruel oppression and wrong. But this is Mr. Johnson's conduct. He is, and we write the sentence with infinite pain, the enemy of the poor, the enemy of the nation and the enemy of God. What the end of such a man will be it is easy to

divine, like the dreadful betrayer of the Saviour, he will in due time go to his own place. The poor negro has to pass through a very Egypt of oppression and darkness, to cross sea and desert before he find the land of promise. But God is wise and good, and it may be seen, as it has indeed ever been seen in the case of those whom God designs to favour that "sweet are the uses of adversity."

As the friends of these people we deeply deplore the wrongs Mr. Johnson does them; but we have confidence in the wisdom and the management of the great republican party. The duty of all true anti-slavery men is manifest. To urge on our work unceasingly, either in co-operation with those who are like-minded, or in our own particular sphere, confiding in that Divine aid which the great Master never withholds from his true and faithful servants and in the help of those who are not likely whilst the need continues to turn a deaf ear to the cry of oppression. It is under these circumstances and with these feelings that we appeal to our friends to aid our Society.

THE INTERNATIONAL MEMORIAL CHURCH.

We invite the attention of our readers to the notice of the above projected building, to be erected in honour of the good Abraham Lincoln. The idea is to erect a place of worship in which ministers of the Episcopalian, Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist denominations—as well as those of the Society of Friends—from the United States, may conduct service during one part of the Lord's

day, or in the week, and ministers from the United Kingdom on the other, in addition to the stated minister. It is hoped that by this means Christian men and men of influence may be brought into contact from both sides of the Atlantic; that from this intercourse there may result fraternal conferences on matters affecting the vital interests of both nations, and the progress of true religion. Believing as we do that the great American nation are one with us, though disparted by the wide Atlantic, that our work in the great family of mankind is identical, and that every means should be taken to promote peace on earth and good will toward men, we heartily wish the enterprize God-speed. We understand that a general appeal will be made for this great object throughout the country.

DISTRICT SUFFRAGE BILL.

This bill is a great advance upon all previous legislation in Congress. It is the first step that has been taken towards the establishment of political equality without distinction of color or race. It is the first practical adoption by the nation, through its representatives, of a principle which we cannot doubt will become universal through the country, and ultimately, though this result may be afar off, throughout the world. The bill as finally passed is as follows:—

Section 1. "That from and after the passage of this act, each and every male person, excepting paupers and persons under guardianship, of the age of 21 years and upward, who has not been convicted of any infamous crime or offence, and excepting persons who may have voluntarily given aid and comfort to the Rebels in the late Rebellion, and who shall have been born or naturalized in the United States, and who shall have resided in the said District for the period of one year, and in the ward or district in which he shall offer to vote three months

next preceding any election therein, shall be entitled to the elective franchise, and shall be deemed an elector and entitled to vote at any election in the said District, without any distinction on account of color or race."

Sections 2 and 3 provide for the punishment of officers who should refuse to receive the votes of persons entitled to vote, and of any person who should interrupt or disturb them in the exercise of their right.

Section 4 requires the courts in the District to give this act in special charge to the grand jury at the term next preceding any election.

Sections 5, 6, and 7 provide for the preparation, publication, and use of proper lists of voters.

Sections 8 and 9 are for the prevention and punishment of bribery at elections.

RE-ORGANIZATION AT THE SOUTH.

The unsatisfactory condition of affairs at the South is established by the reports of the military commanders stationed there.

On the important fact touching the treatment of the freedmen, the testimony is positive and unfavourable. An idea is now held that South Carolina has done itself honour by the fulness of its provisions for justice to the coloured people. Gen. Sickles, however, reports that in some districts of that State the freedman is dependent upon the presence and protection of national troops for "security for life, limb, or property." A prevailing indisposition to prosecute, and a failure to punish offenders (when negroes are the sufferers) is imputed to the local authorities; and an extraordinary State enactment is cited under which militia officers may "disperse, suppress, kill, and destroy any company of freedmen or others who shall be lurking in any suspected place where they may do mischief." From Kentucky, Gen. Davis reports an increase of lawlessness since the triumph of rebel candidates at the election. Gen. Wood, writing from Mississippi, shows that laws remain in force prohibiting freedmen from purchasing real estate, and that only freedmen who have obtained a special license are permitted to bear arms. The inferior local authorities, too, are slow to

proceed against rebel offenders who usually escape unpunished. Gen. Sheridan, referring to affairs in Texas, speaks yet more positively. "There," the general remarks, "the trial of a white man for the murder of a freedman would be a farce." And, while a great outcry is raised when a single white settler is killed by Indians, "over the killing of many freedmen in the settlements nothing is done."

Again: Arkansas has been singled out as by comparison a reconstructed State. It sent loyal men to Washington last winter, and has seemed to be largely impregnated with Northern influences. Encouraged probably by the position assumed by the President, and the greater degree of boldness which distinguishes the tone of Southern politicians on national affairs, the rebel element in Arkansas has asserted its right to rule. Gov. Murphy is not an extreme man, as the manner in which he presented the pending Constitutional Amendment to the local legislature, for ratification, proved. Apart from him, the State Government is once more in rebel hands. The three members of Congress elect were chosen because of the support they gave to the Rebellion; the State offices, with the exception of the Executive chair, have been assigned to conspicuous rebels; a large majority of the Legislature belong to the same class; and all the counties, save three, have given their minor local offices to men who have waged war against the Government. The Union men of the State propose to meet in convention to petition Congress for a grant of the same powers which were intrusted to them three years ago, when the work of reconstruction on its present basis was undertaken. The men who co-operated with Mr. Lincoln then ask now for power to begin anew, with the light of recent experience to guide them. The mere issue of the call for a gathering to petition has aroused the ire of the rebels in the State Legislature, who have talked of legislation to aid the governor in suppressing the movement. forcible suppression, after the style in vogue at New Orleans, is hardly likely to be attempted. And the Unionists, we presume, will make themselves heard at Washington.

North Carolina seems no nearer *bona fide*

reconstruction than other parts of the South. The election of an ultra-secessionist, Judge Manly, to the United States Senate, illustrates the predominant temper of the Legislature. Ex-Gov. Holden—one of President Johnson's appointees—declares in the *Raleigh Standard*, of which he is the editor, that the Provisional Government experiment has been a failure; that "the President was deceived; and his provisional governors were deceived;" that "all hope that existing Southern organizations will concur in measures necessary to restore the Southern States to the Union is at an end;" and that "there is nothing left but to re-organize the Southern States." For this conclusion, the represented States may not be fully prepared. But the expression of such an opinion in such a quarter is a sign of the times not to be overlooked; while the facts we have collated may help to familiarize us with the outlines of the southern position.

WHAT CONSTITUTES VAGRANCY IN THE SOUTH.

It will be remembered that immediately after the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment, abolishing slavery by the Southern States, the provisional governments organized therein, passed vagrant laws, as they were called; or, more properly, laws to serve as a substitute for the slave code just surrendered.

The action of these laws is well illustrated in the following case, the official record of which is to be laid before Congress at an early day:—

Rev. Wm. Finchen, a coloured missionary, who was preaching to the people of his own race in Pike County, Ga., and who has a salary of thirty-five dollars per month, paid by the Georgia Equal Rights Association, which receives its funds from Northern benevolent societies, was arrested as a vagrant, and sentenced to the chain-gang for twelve months.

He has now been in the chain-gang about six months. When arrested and convicted he was in receipt of his salary; was independent in circumstances, and was doing much good as a member of the gospel and teacher. His case was carried from one court to another,

and his conviction was affirmed by the highest courts to which the case went—the court holding that the North had no right to send money South to pay for such service, and that such a support was so precarious as to make one who was dependent upon it a vagrant.

According to the Southern definition, a vagrant is a "coloured man," intelligent enough to take care of himself without the aid of an owner; and good enough to be a meek follower and effective teacher of the Christian religion.—*Leavenworth, Kansas, Bulletin.*

THE SOUTHERN CHURCH AND THE FREED-MEN.

"The excellent advice of Dr. Mc'COCK to his ministerial brethren in the Southern States of America, as reported in the last number of the *FREED-MAN*, seems to have been utterly lost on them. The Presbyterian General Assembly, held recently at Memphis, was anticipated as one of great interest. A final decision was to be given on the question of the "Relation of the Freed-men to the Church." It was hoped by the friends of the Southern Presbyterian Ministers that their decision on this momentous question would be so just and satisfactory as to demonstrate their special fitness for the work of raising the Freed-men, and that in consequence the Associations for this purpose in the Northern States, would be superseded. The result has not justified this expectation.

"The eyes of the whole church," said one of the members, "the whole country, and, in fact, the whole world, are upon this Assembly, to see what it is going to do about these four millions of people among us." The discussion was continued from day to day. The report is too extended for our pages. The spirit of the debate may be gathered by the following extracts:

The Rev. MR. GRADY, of Virginia, said They should give the Freed-men, as they have always given them, access to the house of God, and invite them to bring forward their children for baptism. The opinion that we are all one, is susceptible of very different constructions. *What do we understand by*

equal? Does it mean that we should invite the coloured brother of the Church into our own pews? Should he (the speaker) invite him to his pulpit? If so, when he has come out of the pulpit should he be told that the kitchen is his place, while he (the speaker) retires to the parlour. The distinction between religious and social equality was a line of demarcation extremely difficult to draw, since the one which is sought for must ultimately bring about the other, which is repugnant. He would say to the Freed-men, wait a little longer and we will make provision for you. Society is now throughout the land in a state of transition, and any legislation at this time would be precipitate.

DR. ATKINSON, (one of the "few noble") said: For the sake of the freed people immediate action should be taken by the church. It was for the sake of saving souls. The Church had already seen evidences of the danger of the Freed-men relapsing into heathenism. Before the war and the changes that were wrought by its result, it was possible for the master to require his servants to attend divine worship, and it can now be said, to the credit of many of them, that they exercised this authority for good. Now the condition of things is different, and as they are no longer permitted to require it it becomes the duty of the Church to induce, by every possible means the Freed-men to the performances of religious duties. *He ignored the idea that the sons of Ham were intellectually an inferior race and incapable of filling the offices of the Church.* He also dissented from the view that the descendants of Ham are incapable of rising, in proof of which, he cited the instance of Roberts and others, who had distinguished themselves for their literary attainments and erudition. The present difference and social distinction between the races is not greater than that which, in the days of our Saviour, existed between the Jews and the Gentiles. *We have but one appeal, and that is to God's word, and here we find no discrimination.* He was as much opposed to the abolition of social distinctions as any one, except when such distinctions stood in the way of the Gospel.

DR. BAIRD said that with DR. ATKINSON

he held that there is neither bond nor free, that we are all one in Christ Jesus. But we are one in *Christ Jesus*. *The difficulty in the way of making them deacons and ministers is not that they are coloured men.* It is that they are ignorant men. The number of vacant churches, and the amount of the destitution is appalling. We ought to require the coloured people to meet together, and our elders should lead them in their devotions. The Evangelist must go abroad and organize churches among them. We ought to invite them to share the fellowship of our churches with us; but there is a fundamental difficulty in the way of giving the coloured man equality in our courts. Before he can be admitted to equality, he must be acceptable to the church. *There is this difficulty arising from the structure of society, as God has organized it, to prevent a race so different from our own, from being admitted to ecclesiastical equality.* But we must license ministers among them; not ordain them, but license them, if they are able to exercise their gifts to edification. Under the right of exhortation, common to all churches, you may license coloured people to preach to coloured people, but he would not put the right of jurisdiction in their hands, because of this insuperable obstacle in their way, they could not be acceptable to the whole church. We should merely make local preachers of them, to exercise their gifts under the supervision of church courts. *As to the churches, if they were organized into separate churches, he was not prepared to give them ordained officers of their own colour.* Such men could not be acceptable in our judicatures. But he would have separate organizations for them, if they prefer it, under a board of supervisors.

DR. ANDERSON regarded the plan of having the ruling elders conduct religious services for the blacks, as impracticable. The experiment had been tried. The synod of Virginia urged its elders to preach to them; but their labours had been inoperative. The great difficulty is not to get the ministers, but to get the congregations. If they will not come to hear the ministers who are ordained to preach to the whites, will they come to hear ruling elders talk to them? Dr. Baird had

referred to the constitutional objection—he could not be ordained, because unacceptable. Why! the test of incompatibility was the judgment of the congregation that gave him the call. He must be such a minister as a church is willing to call. He was utterly opposed to advancing the Freed-men to a position of social equality, but he wanted to take such steps as would *attach them to us*.

Ultimately the assembly adopted a series of resolutions, of which the following is the fifth:

“Resolved, that whilst nothing in our standards, or in the Word of God, prohibits the introduction into the gospel ministry of only qualified persons of *any race, yet difficulties arise in the general structure of society, and from providential causes, which may and should restrain the application in the church of this abstract principle*. Holding this over the assembly recommends that wherever a Session or Presbytery shall find a coloured person who shall possess suitable qualifications, they are authorized to license him to labour as an *exhorter among the coloured people, under the supervision of the body appointing him*.”

Caste is therefore established under the solemn sanction of this assembly. The deliberate resolution is adopted to make an utter distinction in the Church of God, between those who have a white skin and those who have a black one, and to shut out from all the officers of the church the latter, no matter whether they have been called of God, or how well qualified they may be in other respects. The simple question of colour is to determine whether a man is to be admitted to the ministry, or even to the office of ruling elder. The resolutions go still farther. They effectually prevent the organization of a single church composed of coloured people alone, anywhere in connection with the Presbyterian body represented by this assembly.

It is evident therefore that these Southern ministers as a body have learnt nothing from the terrible conflict, and the frightful calamities they have witnessed. They stand as they did before, judicially blinded. If the negro had no more capacity than these divines have shown in the Memphis Assembly, we should

give up the attempt to ameliorate his condition as hopeless. In the light of the great event of emancipation, with four millions of Freed-men drifting from their ministry—they frame these detestable resolutions—professing at the same time to “*attach*” to their fellowship the people they so openly despise. They cannot grasp the principle taught in the Word of God, that would lead them to recognise without distinction the broad claims of humanity, so they flounder on in prejudice, and pride, to their own degradation. They cannot discern the plain path to safety, strength, prosperity and honour. But the more intelligent of the Freed-men are not so stultified and bewildered. They are beginning to find out that by the support of an organ, thoroughly honest and independent, yet fair and generous, they can to a certain extent form public opinion in the future. The call for two hundred additional copies of the FREED-MAN for this month, from Jamaica, is a significant circumstance. Let the Freed-men only assert their moral manhood—begin to read and think for themselves, master all the questions involved in their present condition, and the divines of the South will be left high and dry, unless they devise some other mode of attaching the Freed-men to their churches. We are to be favoured it seems, with a deputation from the General Assembly of the South, to consist of Rev. M. D. Hoge, D.D., Rev. B. M. Palmer, D.D., and Rev. J. L. Girardeau. They are coming to Europe to explain their particular views, and wishes, and to receive such contributions as may be voluntarily offered, for the promotion of their schemes. It is well therefore to know in advance, something of their antiquated and odious policy, with respect to the Freed-men. Mr. Ramsay, of Jamaica, who has escaped the trial for the charge of murder, feels somewhat hurt that the Governor has relieved him of his official duties. He may with the same propriety come to ask the expression of our sympathies.—W.

AN ELEGANT set of furniture has been sent to Jeff. Davis from Norfolk, Va. He has received no testimonials yet from Andersonville!

WHAT ONE WOMAN DID.

At the outbreak of the Rebellion, a Northern born woman of firm Union principles lived in Alabama. Her situation was so critical that her husband sent her to her friends, promising that he would not take up arms against his country. During the whole four years of the war she was unable to hear from him, until on returning to Alabama, she learned that he had fallen in the first battle of Bull Run. She then resolved in her desolation to devote herself to the welfare of the freedmen, by becoming their teacher. The Christian Register tells the story:—

"Often was she hooted at, and even stoned, in her walks to and from school, by rude boys or the students of an academy in the town, though the sad veil of her widowhood drawn closely around her might have invited pity instead of insult. The good woman who protected and lodged her, was persecuted and shunned because she sheltered 'a Yankee schoolmarm.' Insult, danger, complete isolation, and hatred, Mrs.———could bear unmoved, till they threatened her only white friend. Then she took refuge in a black man's home. Finally an order from President Johnson threatened the removal of the Freedmen's Bureau from the town. The officer in charge warned Mrs.——— that her life would not be safe one moment after the slight protection of the Bureau was withdrawn. With a sad heart she bade her coloured friends 'good-by,' packed her trunk, and sat waiting one morning for the stage. The door of her room was suddenly opened. Looking up she recognized Mr.———, one of the most influential men in the county. He greeted her respectfully, and coming hastily to where she was seated on an old box, earnestly begged her to stay among them. For months he had watched her closely, and observed her great influence for good over the coloured people. He would do all in his power to protect her from insult; she should continue her labours henceforth shielded by his authority. A stranger so long to kindness and sympathy from a white man, no wonder she was overpowered, and tears were her only answer to this unlooked-for reward of her patient endurance. She stayed. What a regiment of

soldiers could not have accomplished, this one weak woman has done. Through weakness was she made strong. She has revolutionized public sentiment in the whole county. Unflinching courage and steadfast devotion have won the victory."

TRINITY INTRODUCTORY CHURCH, STONE NEWINGTON.—On Wednesday, December 5th, a meeting on behalf of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, was held in the above place of worship, J. H. Estcourt, Esq., in the chair. The meeting was opened by singing the hymn "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness, etc." when the Rev. Thomas Barker, the Chaplain of Abney Park Cemetery, engaged in prayer. Addresses were delivered by the chairman, the Revs. Dr. Waddington, W. H. Jones, Dr. Fred. Tomkins, Mr. Greaves, a coloured friend, from America, and by Mr. Robert Bulman of Milton House, Shaaklewell. In consequence of the state of the weather and the muddy roads, the meeting was but small; much interest was however aroused, a good number of the FREED-MAN was sold, and cards taken and promises made for the coming Bazaar. Collection at the doors amounted to £1 16s. 10d.

UNPUNISHED MURDERS.—At the late Equal Rights Convention held in Macon, Ga., the delegates, representing some fifty counties, reported *one hundred and fifty murders of coloured people within the last ten months, and in no instance did the civil authorities attempt to bring the murderers to justice.* One woman was found with her throat cut from ear to ear, and her little child, less than a year old, eating the clotted blood from the wound. Another woman in a "delicate condition," was beat to death. We know that these murders are committed by villains, white villains, but they are no better than coloured murderers. The latter are punished the former are not.—*Loyal Georgian.*

NEGRO LABOR.—An educated Virginia farmer says that after having a large experience with white laborers, both foreign and native, he has come to the conclusion that the world cannot produce a more skilful and efficient farm laborer than a well-trained Virginia negro who is willing to work.

GOVERNOR WISE.—In April of last year, we visited the home of the man who signed John Brown's death warrant. We dined with the teacher in his house, retired to his drawing-room after dinner, and held a meeting. Over the mantle-piece hung a large photograph of John Brown encircled in a garland. We sung the John Brown hymn, Hail Columbia, and God save the Queen. Three cheers were given for Freedom, three for Abraham Lincoln and three for Queen Victoria. The old domestic slave, aunty Charlotte, was there, but the master was a fugitive, and the son, poor young Henry Wise, had fallen at Roanoke, when General Burnside took that historic island. How have things changed since that day! Mrs. Richardson sends us the following:—

“SAUL AMONG THE PROPHETS.—It may be remembered that Governor Wise, of Virginia, was the man who signed the death-warrant of John Brown. So fierce and ultra was his devotion to slavery, that when he heard that Frederick Douglass had sailed for Europe, he is said to have declared that a ship of war ought to have been sent to intercept the English steamer, and drag him from beneath the shelter of the British flag. But sharp and quick was the hour of retribution. The civil war broke out. Virginia was occupied by the hated Northerners, and one of his sons fell a victim to the strife. Driven ingloriously from his princely domain,* he drank the bitter cup to the dregs, when his own drawing-room became a school for negro children. But adversity, it seems, has had a healthful and humanising effect on this redoubtable champion of slavery, in proof of which we quote the following from the *American Missionary* for Nov. ‘CAN THIS BE SO?—The wonderment of those who exclaimed, ‘Is Saul also among the prophets?’ must be exceeded by the sensations experienced by those who read the following. Henry A. Wise, ex-governor of Virginia, in a lecture at Norfolk, for the benefit of the Southern churches, made this

* This is a mistake. The house is a poor wooden structure, and everything appertaining to it and to the curtilage in a most shiftless condition. An old rusty circular saw served for a gong to summon the Governor's slaves.—Ed.

extraordinary declaration:—‘He is, I fear, an infidel, who doesn't see that the fire and sword of this war were sent from heaven. God knew that we could be torn away from our black idol of slavery only by fire and blood, and the drawn sword of the destroying angel of war. He sent them, and we ought to praise the Most High that he did not send worse plagues, like those of Egypt, against whatever weakness or wickedness we clung to like Pharaoh.’”

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Chas. E. Dormer, Esq.	1	12	0
Trinity School, Stoke Newington, per Dr. Tomkins	1	16	10½
Mrs. E. Wighan, for FREED-MAN	0	8	6
Chief Justice Carr	3	3	0
” ” ” for Canada	3	3	0
Per Rev. Geo. Harper	0	3	6
C. G. Phillips, Esq.	1	0	0
Senhouse Martindale, Esq.	10	0	0
Per V. Schoelcher, Esq.			
Miss Parker	0	5	0
Mr. Valentin	0	5	0
Madame Ledru Rollin	0	10	0
Mr. Etchegoyen	1	0	0
” ” ” ” ”	2	10	0
Mrs. Richardson and Friends, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, for sewing machine	10	0	0
J. S., Battle	0	15	0
Per Miss S. G. Gulliford, sale of FREED-MAN	1	15	0
Miss Letchworth, per E. E. Dymond, Esq.	1	0	0
Lady Alicia Bristowe, per Mrs. Moseley	1	0	0
Mrs. Clemens, per Mrs. P. A. Taylor	1	0	0
J. F. Linden, Esq.	0	5	0
Congregational Press Association, Rent of Office	7	15	0
Per Agra Bank Limited, balance of £50 already acknowledged, in- terest added	36	15	7
W. Godson, Esq.	1	1	0

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THE FREED-MAN.

THE LATE HON. G. W. GORDON.

AMIDST the excitement of the crisis in Jamaica it was difficult to obtain any clear and trustworthy account of Mr. Gordon. The violent treatment he received at the hands of Mr. Eyre and the military authorities rendered it the interest of the anti-negro party to represent their victim in the worst possible colours.

We find even now that old West Indian planters speak of him with great bitterness. They all "knew Gordon well." Some of them make a mistake of a quarter of a century in speaking of his age, and introduce into their story various discrepancies; but this does not abate the emphasis of their statements. They make up for the want of certainty by the positiveness of their manner. The simple truth is, that in Jamaica there are several "Gordons," and the late member of the Jamaica Assembly is charged freely with all their delinquencies.

We are happy to find a witness, who is entitled, from his christian character and personal knowledge of the Hon. G. W. Gordon, to entire credit, and it becomes our duty to put on record his valuable testimony. We have endeavoured to act and to write with equanimity in the conflict of parties, and we may fairly invite the attention of all to the simple facts that now come to light. The Rev. D. Fletcher, formerly a missionary in Jamaica, has supplied to us interesting particulars respecting Mr. Gordon. He intends to publish a memoir for the press, worthy of the subject, and waits only for a few half-crown subscribers.

"The father of Mr. Gordon is a Scotchman, a native of Inverness, and has resided in the colony for more than half a century. He was not only hale, but fresh and vigorous, the last time I saw him, and could converse freely in his Celtic vernacular. On one occasion he asked and received, in Gaelic, my opinion of Mrs. Gordon, while she sat beside us at the breakfast-table in "blessed ignorance" of the subject of our colloquy. Mr. Gordon's father, being a man of sober and industrious habits, became a planter of great affluence and high position in the Island. He had the honour of being, for many years, the Mayor of Kingston, and was long associated with the legislature of the country. Mr. Gordon's mother was of African descent, one of his father's slaves, and, of course, liable to any abuse which her lordly proprietor might feel disposed to inflict on her. Although but a degraded bondswoman, she had maternal feelings.

which secured for her the affection and esteem of her unfortunate child ; for that child, after he had become a man, was wont to retire to the rough and lonely grave, and mournfully weep over the dust of his dear mother. Mr. Gordon's father was, in some respects, an exception and a pattern to the plantocracy of Jamaica, although, in his younger days, like all his compeers, he was shamefully regardless of the requirement in the Seventh Commandment."

The state of morals in Jamaica at the time of Mr. Gordon's early childhood was frightfully corrupt.

"As late as the year 1832, when Mr. Gordon was a stripling, impressible as melted wax, Mr. Baillie, a large West Indian proprietor, on being examined before a Committee of the House of Lords, was asked if he could name any overseer, driver, or any other person in authority, who did not keep a mistress. His reply was, 'I cannot.' Long (who is regarded as the favourite historian of the planters) says:—'The name of a family man was formerly held in the greatest derision, whilst for the white man to form a matrimonial alliance with a woman of colour, although she might have lived with him for years, and borne him several children, would be for ever to forfeit his rank in white society, and transmit his name to posterity in imperishable infamy. Many who succeeded to the management of estates had much fewer good qualities than the slaves over whom they were set in authority, the better sort of whom heartily despised them, perceiving little or no difference from themselves, except in skin and *blacker depravity*.'

"Renny, in his history of Jamaica, says:—'Surely there never was a greater inconsistency than a profession of religion here. In some of the parishes, which are larger than our shires, there is no church ; in others there is no priest, and when there is, the *white* inhabitants never think of attending. In a town which contains between twenty and thirty thousand inhabitants there is but one church, whilst the attendance at first sight is somewhat surprising. When you enter the church on Sunday you see the curate, the clerk, the sexton, one or two magistrates, and about a dozen gentlemen, and nearly double that number of ladies. Nothing troubles the white inhabitants less than religion. Christianity, indeed, is so contrary in its spirit, in its doctrines, and in its injunctions to their conduct, their prejudices, and their interests, that it is not at all surprising that even the mutilated form of it which the English Church presents to them should be very obnoxious, and, though not much spoken against, yet secretly despised and openly neglected. In the towns many of the stores are open on the Sunday, and business is transacted in them as usual, with this difference, that the clerks and negroes generally have that day to themselves, which the former spend in amusement, and the latter in idleness and debauchery.'

Mr. Gordon, being originally only a poor slave, had no means of acquiring property. A man who does not even own himself can call nothing else strictly his own. He was, however, emancipated, and possessing a clear intellect and sound constitution, he made steady progress. His open countenance and genial

disposition secured for him the personal attachment and generous confidence of many friends. His own father began at length to patronize him, and was not ashamed to recognize him by occasional visits and commissions.

A benevolent lady lent him a thousand pounds, for which he paid due interest for a number of years, and to whom he afterwards reimbursed the loan with the warmest expressions of gratitude.

As a merchant, Mr. Gordon was most laborious. Notwithstanding the intense heat of Kingston, he remained in his office till ten o'clock at night. In the course of a few years of incessant application, he accumulated a large amount of money, though, says Mr. Fletcher, "he was one of the most unselfish and unsecular men I ever knew." The earth did not swallow him up.

From the commencement of his commercial career, he proposed to himself several noble objects, which he steadily kept in view. His sense of their importance stimulated him to extraordinary promptitude and energy. Enjoying the rights and blessings of freedom himself, his paternal affection rendered him keenly alive to the condition of his sisters, who were left in a state of slavery with all its degradation, and exposed to its horrors and pollutions. He never rested until he had obtained their emancipation.

"That," says our missionary friend, "was a superlatively bright day for Mr. Gordon's sisters when they lovingly embraced him, and would hardly let him go: their hearts bursting, and tears of gratitude streaming hot from their eyes, as they almost adored their brave and generous brother, who, unsolicited, had become their redeemer from the deepest shame of womanhood."

The kindness of Mr. Gordon did not terminate with the mere act of emancipation. The minds of his sisters had been neglected, and they had contracted the habits incident to a servile condition. With affectionate patience, tenderness, and skill, he taught his sisters the rudiments of useful knowledge. He was encouraged by their earnest attention and consequent improvement, and resolved, since they had given such evidence of capacity, to provide for them a better education than could be obtained in any of the schools of Jamaica.

When he intimated his kind intention to his sisters, they almost fainted in their feeling of grateful obligation, and Mr. Gordon was compelled to retire, and to weep out his own overpowering emotions.

Having prayed earnestly for the divine guidance, he sent his sisters to Paris to receive, at his own expense, the most complete education that could be obtained. It is a satisfaction to add that, in their subsequent honourable and exemplary course, they have more than justified their brother in the plans he adopted for their instruction.

Mr. Gordon's father experienced great vicissitudes. From being very rich, and laden with civic honour, he became, through a series of crushing reverses, one of the poorest men in Jamaica.

Mr. Gordon now proved himself a dutiful son. Instead of resenting the injury and contempt he had received from his father in early life, he manifested the deepest sympathy and compassion for him. He bought and paid for his

father's embarrassed and mortgaged estates, allowing him to occupy them in the full enjoyment of his former comforts and luxuries, and generously settled on him a handsome annuity.

Mr. Gordon, in his secular pursuits was strongly actuated by philanthropic as well as fraternal and filial principles and feelings, which, in some of their practical operations, gave an Utopian appearance to some of his commercial transactions. "Some did not scruple to charge him with insatiable avarice as they found him buying one immense estate after another, until he had vast plantations in almost every parish of the colony. Others pronounced him a foolish speculator in dismantled and thrown-up estates, which could yield him no adequate compensation for his money. In a merely pecuniary aspect, he could not be justified; although he never became insolvent, but was able to meet all demands during every crisis in his commercial life, even when others of apparently greater sagacity and of larger resources had failed, yet he must at certain periods have experienced unpleasant embarrassments."

Mr. Gordon identified himself with the cause of emancipation, and his ardent mind projected comprehensive schemes for their amelioration and advancement. We reserve our account of these for another article. The "antecedents" of Mr. Gordon will prepare us to examine with care that part of his course which terminated in his cruel and undeserved death. Mr. Fletcher has issued a full prospectus of his intended memoir, which may be obtained by application to his address,—Moy, Ireland.

IS THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN FREED-MEN'S AID SOCIETY POLITICAL?

To the constant readers of the *FREED-MAN* it may seem perfectly needless to offer a word of explanation as to the simple object of our Society. Our work is that of true and practical Christian philanthropy in relation to a race in which it is deeply needed. As a Society we send out no agents of our own selection, but wherever we find willing and devoted workers in any part of the field, to the extent of our opportunity we are anxious to render them help of every kind. We find notwithstanding the explicitness of our statements from the first that some hesitate to co-operate with us under the impression that we have some ulterior political object. If they will do us the justice to look over the pages of the *FREED-MAN*, we think they will find it difficult to discover any traces of the particular bias to which they refer. As a rule it will be seen that those who are intensely absorbed in political questions have not the leisure nor the calmness of mind either to look dispassionately into the suffering condition of a neglected race or to devise means for their restoration. After the excitement of debate is over in reference to the wrongs of the Freed-men it has often happened that their condition has not only been left unchanged, but the conflicting parties, wearied by their own discussions, have rather felt in consequence great indisposition to look further into the subject. There was a moment we believe

when Dr. McLeod at Balmoral had a promising opportunity to enlist the sympathies of the Court in favour of the Freed-men, but the matter was checked by some cool observation from Sir Charles Phipps that our Society was of a political caste. So far as the representatives of the Society are concerned an objection of this kind might be left without comment, but in the interest of millions whose welfare and progress we seek, we deeply regret that it should have become a barrier to the help and influence that might be so beneficial. We trust it is not yet too late for our noble friends in high places to make those representations that will secure a recognition of an object worthy of the most influential sanction that can be given. To illustrate our meaning as to the political relations of the Society, we have to say that our politics in reference to the Freedmen, are those of Clarkson, Macaulay, Stephens, Wilberforce and Buxton; they are identical with those of Mrs. Fry, and of Mrs. Moseley, who is well worthy to be named, for gentleness, wisdom, zeal and devotedness, with any who in former days have been workers in the same cause.

MR. PEABODY'S GIFT.

A MILLION OF DOLLARS FOR EDUCATION IN
THE SOUTHERN STATES.

On the seventh of February Mr. Peabody addressed a letter to fifteen American gentlemen of eminence representing all parties, in which he says: "With my advancing years my attachment to my native land has but become more devoted. My hope and faith in its successful and glorious future have grown brighter and stronger. But to make her prosperity more than superficial, her moral and mental development should keep pace with her material growth: and in those portions of our country which have suffered from the disastrous consequences of civil war, the urgent and physical needs of an almost impoverished people must for some years preclude them from making by unaided effort such advances in education, and such progress in the diffusion of knowledge among all classes, that every lover of his country must earnestly desire. I feel most deeply, therefore, that it is the duty and privilege of the more favoured and wealthy portions of our nation to assist those who are far less fortunate, and with the wish to discharge, so far I may be able, my own responsibility in this matter, as well as to gratify my desire to aid those to whom I am bound by so many ties of attachment and regard, I give to you gentlemen, most of whom have been my per-

sonal and special friends, the sum of one million of dollars, to be by you and your successors held in trust, and the income thereof used and applied in your discretion for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, or industrial education among the young of the more *destitute* portions of the South Western States of our Union, my purpose being that the benefits intended shall be distributed among the *entire population without other distinction than their needs* and the opportunities of usefulness to them. Besides the income thus devised, I give you permission to use from the principal sum within the next two years an amount not exceeding forty per cent."

We may well keep on in urging the claims of the "needy." None can tell how soon the springs of benevolence may be touched by the divine hand, when the wants of the perishing are clearly exhibited. The turn of the coloured people in Canada, in Jamaica and in Africa will yet come. We feel deeply humiliated by the fact that the desolation in Jamaica after all the struggles of the great political parties remains untouched. Mr. Teal is going out to preach in one district and find only a tree for shelter; but the hour will come when some noble-minded friends who love their country and their race, will say, this case shall be provided for; I will take my part and do it now.

THE JAMAICA PROSECUTIONS.

Proceedings have been instituted for the prosecution of General Nelson and Lieutenant Brand at the Bow Street Court. Application was made to Sir Thomas Henry to grant a warrant for the apprehension of these persons on the charge of wilful murder in putting to death Mr. Gordon. Mr. Fitzjames Stephens conducted the case with remarkable discretion and ability. It is due to all parties concerned that we should put on record a dispassionate report of the case.

Mr. Stephens at the outset introduced the legal proposition, affirmed by every authority of the law of England—and contained in "Russell on Crimes,"—that if any person wilfully and illegally puts another person to death that act is *prima facie* murder, unless it can be reduced either to manslaughter or excusable homicide, the proof of which lies upon the party who must show some cause for it. "If it was an illegal act," said Mr. Stephens, "clearly it was deliberate, clearly it was intentional, and in that sense wilful and malicious; for malice means nothing else than unlawful, illegal, a state of mind which the law condemns and forbids. Therefore it was done wilfully, and also illegally; it was murder. So that that proposition which I shall have to lay before you is really this—that there are several grave reasons for considering, *prima facie*, until a sufficient answer can be given, that the act was altogether illegal and unjustifiable."

Then who were the parties concerned? General Nelson must unquestionably have commanded in the most express terms that this man should be hanged, because there it is in his own letters. He says, "He is to be hanged on Monday morning." In the same way Lieutenant Brand as the organ of this body calling itself a Court Martial, also orders that he shall be hanged, because he says, "the prisoner is sentenced to be hanged by the neck."

It may be said that this act was done in good faith, and that they believed they had legal authority for what they did: but that is no excuse at all. If a man without legal authority, supposing himself to be a judge in a question of life and death, and to have

authority to put persons to death, that is just one of those mistakes which the law does not permit any man to make: therefore he does it at his peril.

They were acting at their peril in this matter. If they acted in that way in ignorance or in good faith it would be no excuse. It may be said especially with regard to Lieutenant Brand, that he acted under the command of his superior, General Nelson. But an illegal order does not justify the person who carries it out. If the King command an unlawful act to be done, the offence is not therefore the less an offence.

The whole matter was utterly illegal from beginning to end. This was not a Court Martial in any degree. There are three Court Martials which this might have been. It might have been a Court Martial held under the Military Act of Jamaica; that is one. It might have been a Court Martial held under the Mutiny Act of Jamaica; that is two. It might have been lastly, a Court Martial under the Naval Discipline Act; that is three. It was not any one of these. At all events it was not a Court Martial. It was merely three officers meeting together to administer what they call martial law.

The common law of England, and that alone, must be resorted to in order to understand the words "Martial law," in the Jamaica Acts—so that the Jamaica Acts do not in fact extend the power of the governor beyond the power which he possesses by the common law.

Mr. Stephens gave a history of legislation on the subject in Jamaica from 33rd Charles II:—"The gist of the thing is," he continued, "that the introduction of martial law in Jamaica, in its origin, is nothing less than a power to call out the adult male population of the island and make them soldiers for the time being, and when they were soldiers for the time being they were liable to the discipline of soldiers and to be called upon as such. That is all you can gather from the acts themselves; but you gather this also—that the martial law in question was not to be repugnant to the law of England.

"Whatever the law of England includes, it does not include the power of trying a man

for an offence and putting him to death without the ordinary form of law, except in cases of absolute necessity, of which necessity a jury to be the judges afterwards.

"The question is this: Is the law of England supreme, or is there, known to the law of England, some other power which in its own discretion can set aside the law and be supreme over it?

"When Mr. Gordon was put to death, was he put to death by authority of any prerogative right in the Crown to suspend or overcome the law, and to protect afterwards from all injury those who act upon it, or was he put to death by men who may have acted perfectly legally? That, and nothing less than that, is the question involved in this prosecution, and one more worthy of the very highest judicial authority itself could not be found in any country, or could possibly be submitted for the consideration of any person. I do not come here to say let these men be put to death. I do not come here to press for conviction. We do not come here in a spirit of vindictiveness; but we come here to say, 'You have put to death one of the Queen's subjects with the strong hand: now show the proper authority that that which you did was necessary to be done.' That, Sir, is the object for which we come here: and I am sure if it could be shown to an English jury that it was necessary to take this man and put him to death—if it could be shown that nothing else would preserve the lives of the inhabitants of the country, that nothing short of that would have preserved peace and restored the lawful authority of the Queen, I know very little of English juries if they would not be right glad to receive such evidence that it was necessary on the part of those in lawful authority to adopt such steps for the preservation of the empire. But, Sir, I fear the facts tend all the other way. Be that as it may, that is nothing to the question before us now. The question for you is whether by granting this warrant you will put the matter in the course of investigation and call upon them for a justification of the act they have done. The facts of the case were proved by several witnesses. The magistrate granted the warrants. General Nelson and

Lieutenant Brand have since been placed in the dock for the further examination of the case. They were offered a seat in another part of the court but declined to change their position. Lieutenant Brand and General Nelson are committed for trial.

THE CHARLESTON MERCURY acknowledges that the practice of allowing negroes to testify in court has proved entirely satisfactory.

OPPRESSION IN MARYLAND.—A coloured minister in one of the lower counties of Maryland, some time since, addressed the following letter to Judge Bond, of Baltimore, complaining of the persecution his people suffered in the apprenticeship of their children, the burning of the schoolhouses, and the beating of the teachers of the the coloured schools. We conceal the name and residence of the writer, since, if they were disclosed he would inevitably fall a prey to rebel vengeance:—"My dear Judge, — We poor coloured people are being shot down while we are on our way to church, and our children are taken away from us (by the apprenticeship law) and there is no help. Come down, if you can, and see what can be done before we are all lost. And if you can't come, write to Judge Goldsborough, or some good man that will have a feeling for us, to get our children."

SOUTH CAROLINA. — While two or three third-rate politicians have come from the Palmetto State to see what terms they can make, the Legislature is anything but loyal. Last week, a committee reported a bill, placing five thousand dollars at the disposition of the Governor to enable him to test the constitutionality of those acts of Congress by which the sea-islands were confiscated, and sold to the Freed-men in small farms. Many of these coloured men fought for the Union, and afterward purchased snug homesteads under what they supposed was a guaranty of title by the United States. But their occupation of the estates once owned by rebels is not acceptable to the chivalry, and the State is endeavouring to dispossess them. If these sable occupants of the sea-islands only had votes, they would be entreated to remain, and to vote the Democratic ticket.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. R. LOWER, Esq. will see that the mistakes in the daily journals are corrected. The stall is for *Tonbridge*, and not *Tombridge Wells*. We hope the ladies at the *Wells* will follow the good example of the town.

The Freed-Man.

MARCH, 1867.

It was well said at the meeting in Exeter Hall that Mrs. Moseley is an example for the women of England and of the world in the work of christian philanthropy. Nothing could be more timely than the light of this example. We have sometimes feared that the spirit of humane and generous regard for the condition of the suffering and down-trodden, which has made Great Britain the admiration of the thoughtful in all lands, was on the decline, and that the love of gain and the lust of power would eat out the noble sentiments of our countrymen. The wearisome objections and excuses made by many when called to raise the condition of the millions of the Freed-men made us fear the consequences sure to follow selfishness and pride. But we begin to feel the reviving of hope. We see in Mrs. Moseley how every feeling of aversion and contempt for a neglected and injured race may be overcome and exchanged for confidence and an interest that itself adds strength and refinement to christian character.

Nothing is required in order to attain this but the patient and persevering discharge of duty. Mrs. Moseley says, "the negro character is as capable of

gratitude, affection, and fidelity, as it is of intelligence, when treated with consideration, justice, and straightforwardness. The European is loved quite to veneration when he extends to the poor uncivilized African what surely is as much the command, not to be abrogated or lost sight of in his intercourse with him, more than with his enlightened fellow white man, in this our favoured land of civilization and privileges, viz., to do justice, love mercy, and be kind and honest in all his dealings with him.

"Never to my latest hour can I forget the affectionate respect exhibited by them towards the name and memory of my beloved husband, who was indeed a true and real friend to the benighted negroes in the highest sense of the word. Whenever they speak of him in conversation, or at a 'palaver' (a kind of meeting,) when the chiefs and others assemble to discuss different questions and matters of business, they always rise from their seats and sit down again, which is the highest mark of respect an African can show to a European."

Twenty-five chiefs came to bid Mrs. Moseley farewell on embarking for England. "I asked them," she says, "to accept a copy of the New Testament as a parting gift. It was touching to behold their humility and gentleness of manner in receiving them; and as each chief took his book from my hand he pressed his lips upon it, uttering a word of thankfulness in his own simple, eloquent way."

The testimony of Mr. Conway at the meeting was very striking, and not less so that of the Hon. W. Young, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia.

But the most conclusive and interesting proof of negro capability was that presented in the person of the Rev. W. Jones, the representative of one hundred thousand Freed-men in Canada. We speak advisedly when we say that Great Britain is laid under incalculable obligations at this time to these sober, industrious and loyal people who occupy the frontier, bounded by the Niagara River. It might have cost us millions of money and myriads of lives if in the Fenian raids their conduct had been different.

The case of Jamaica was impressively put by Mr. Jones. We say to America the claims of the Alabama shall be considered for she is a *strong nation*. Shall we say to the pillaged and desolate people in Jamaica, your claims shall not be considered, for you are *weak and defenceless*.

The ladies present at the Meeting in Exeter Hall followed Mrs Moseley with affectionate sympathy into the committee room, and said, "*Give us time. You shall not be unsupported in this noble task. We will work for the Bazaar, and it will be a success.*" Tonbridge has set a fine example. Where is Liverpool? In one year 170 slave ships sailed from the port of Liverpool on their cruel and unrighteous errand. Are there no christian women there of kindred spirit with Mrs. Moseley, or Mrs. Ellen Craft (who will sail shortly for the African Coast under the King of Dahomey). Where is Manchester? There are surely amongst the generous friends who sustained *Robert Moffat*, those who can rise above the commercial and the political, to do good apart from the cotton question. Where is Birmingham?

Much has been *said* there for Jamaica; what shall be *done*. Where is Bristol? But we stop in this challenge. There are a hundred towns in England that ought to respond, and we believe that those who are already earnestly at work, will not rest until they have brought them to the course of action which will do more for the cause of justice, freedom, and humanity, than all that can be said in Parliament, at the bar, or through the press, if these claimants on our attention and practical sympathy were still left as they now are—coldly in the distance.

SPECIAL MEETING.

An interesting and important special Meeting was held in the Lower Hall, Exeter Hall, on the 16th February, in order to present to the friends of the Freed-men, a general view of the operations of our Society, and more especially to afford encouragement to Mrs. Moseley in her self-denying and long-continued efforts for the promotion of Female education at Cape Coast Castle. In the unavoidable absence of our esteemed President, Lord Alfred Spencer Churchill—the Rev. Dr. Schwartz, kindly consented to preside. The Chairman after imploring the divine blessing on the proceedings of the meeting, said that he felt the most profound interest in the work of the Society and in the remarkable undertaking of Mrs. Moseley. Unhappily she could not speak herself for the object she had at heart, and yet she had in the most interesting way made known her plans in the little books she had written, and in the *FREED-MAN*. He felt satisfied that no Christian lady could become acquainted with her course, and leave her without the co-operation required; they dare not do this.

Dr. Tomkins, at the invitation of the Chairman said, the more direct business of the meeting was to interest the ladies of London in behalf of the forthcoming Bazaar, and to give Mrs. Moseley, that benevolent benefactress of the African race, all the encourage-

ment in their power. During her brief sojourn in the Gold Coast, she had felt the deepest interest in the promotion of female education, and the death of her deeply lamented husband, the late Chief Justice of Cape Coast Castle, has only heightened her zeal and given to it the greater intensity. She now felt it to be her sacred duty to return to Cape Coast Castle to establish schools for their special benefit, to teach them not only the ordinary branch of education, but their domestic duties, and to fit them in every way for civilized life. The work for the Bazaar was making cheering progress, though the articles were not, with some exceptions, yet sent in. The ladies at Tonbridge had succeeded far beyond their original expectations; they would have a "Tonbridge stall" and those of the Ladies' Committee from Tonbridge had been appointed to attend to the sale at the Bazaar. He had the pleasure to state that the Duchess of Argyll, Lady Churchill and other ladies had consented to become patronesses, and one of the Royal Princesses had made a very elegant screen.

He (Dr. Tomkins) had just received an interesting letter from General Armstrong, in which he spoke encouragingly respecting the Freed-men of America and had forwarded a copy of Mr. Alvord's School Report for July 1866, which shews a total of 975 schools, 1405 teachers, and 90,778 pupils. This does not include many schools not reported, especially night schools, and none of the large number of private schools as well as Sabbath schools now in operation.

We have given some assistance to Africa, through Mr. Craft, who has some native youths under his instruction, one of whom is giving good indications of deep piety, and may afterwards become very useful in leading others to Christ as a missionary. A beginning for help in Jamaica had been made, though very inadequate. Twice had he (Dr. Tomkins) been indebted to the British Government for the ready assistance they had given the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society in behalf of the coloured people. Everywhere he could see encouragement and extension, and therefore he felt deeply that we ought to thank God and take courage in connection

with the good work in which we were engaged.

Dr. Schwartz expressed the hope that the ladies of London would follow the example of the ladies of Tonbridge and have a stall for each London district.

The Rev. JAMES DAVIES, (Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance) moved the first resolution: "That in view of the peculiarly favourable opportunity afforded in Providence, for the instruction and improvement of the millions of Freed-men; it becomes the plain duty of the friends of humanity, and especially of all who desire the advancement of Christian civilization to seize the occasion, and to put forth strenuous and systematic efforts to remove the evils that have arisen from past neglect, and to ameliorate in every way the condition of the black and coloured population in America, and in the British Colonies." Mr. Davis said, I wish to express my earnest sympathy with the objects of this Society, and in particular with the philanthropic mission of Mrs. Moseley. We owe a large debt to the coloured people which nothing on our part can adequately pay. Simon of Cyrene, who was compelled to bear the Cross along the road to Calvary was an African by birth, and a disciple of Jesus. He was a man of colour. In that bearing of the Cross on the part of Simon, I see prefigured the preaching of the Gospel and the laying of the Cross on the sons and daughters of that down-trodden race which he represented. The object of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society was one of the noblest that could be contemplated.

Rev. M. D. FRENCH, M.A., in seconding the resolution said, I met Mr. Moseley twenty years ago and became intimately acquainted with him; he was a benevolent, philanthropic and warm-hearted man, full of compassion and tenderness towards the coloured race. It was a cause of deep regret that he was soon out of, and prevented from carrying out his judicious and far-reaching plans. The work will not die. All who knew the spirit and the willing self-sacrifice of his excellent widow must feel honoured in taking part in the undertaking.

The Rev. O. P. VINCENT in supporting the

revolution said, I simply bear my testimony to the personal worth of Mr. Moseley. I knew him from my boyhood, thirty years ago, and a more excellent, generous, and warm-hearted man never lived. The good he did to Africa will never be known until the last day. He went to Africa with the Word of God in his hand and prayer in his heart, and though taken away to his rest, it was most interesting to see how bent Mrs. Moseley was in carrying on the work. She had the confidence of the chiefs, and the native population, and the opening for the missions was of the most favourable kind.

The Rev. Dr. WADDINGTON read the following letter :

"Monday, 18th February, 1867.

"My Lord.—Unable to attend personally to say a few words on behalf of Mrs. Moseley's projected female school at Cape Coast, I yet feel too deeply on the subject to allow the meeting to pass over without some expression of my opinion respecting it.

"Among the civilizing agents at work on the West Coast of Africa, the necessity of such an one has long since made itself felt. I do not believe in the possibility of any real christian civilization without earnest female influence being engaged in the work; and to secure this in Africa it seems to me to be essential not only to cultivate the female native mind in early life, and store it with gospel truths, but also to teach the young girls and women those domestic industries without which it is difficult, if not impossible to establish and maintain the christian home. In heathen Africa, woman has been systematically degraded; christian civilization and female degradation cannot co-exist; and christian England ought therefore to set vigorously to work to raise the status of woman by christian and industrial education in those districts which like Cape Coast are under British rule or protection, and where zealous missionaries are labouring for the advancement of Christ's kingdom.

"Bishop Crowther in his late charge to the negro native clergy says that the women are stronger in heathen prejudices than the men. God seems to have specially fitted and called Mrs. Moseley for the work of rescuing some

of those poor creatures from that cruel mental bondage which makes them willing instruments in their own degradation. When the labourer is prepared and the field seems to be, as it does at Cape Coast, ready to reward the christian labour that may be bestowed upon it, christian Englishwomen, who are mighty for good when they choose to exert their power, ought not to rest until they have raised Mrs. Moseley's school fund to the amount required; and I hope I may have to announce in my paper that the Meeting at Exeter Hall has pledged itself to do this.

"I remain, my Lord, yours sincerely,

"F. FITZGERALD.

"*Editor of the African Times.*

"Lord Alfred S. Churchill, &c."

Dr. WADDINGTON said that with the permission of the Chair he should be glad to add his testimony of respect and admiration of their friend who would be the pioneer of christian civilization on the African coast. He feared that the expectation on the part of Mr. Fitzgerald, of immediate results, might not be realized. The fact was the service of the kind to which Mrs. Moseley had devoted herself was far above the ordinary level of those who in our time professed to seek to ameliorate the condition of humanity. Persons who merely sought the credit of philanthropy whilst shrinking from its toils and sacrifices could not be made even to comprehend the nature of the task. It was not to be expected that there would be the aid derived from popular enthusiasm or the zeal of party. The work was far too pure and too elevated to command the support of the heated spirits who imagined that changes were to be accomplished at a single stroke. Mrs. Moseley well understood the nature of her mission and the strength by which alone it could be fulfilled. Like the women who went early in the morning toward the sepulchre, (when the brethren were not to be seen, and they had at the close of their journey to encounter the Roman guard) she set out in the dark and with scarcely a ray of encouragement in the first instance. What a touching and instructive example was presented in this solitary worker landing on the African shore, at a time when we are told on

every hand that there is a collapse of Missionary zeal. What a rebuke to many, and yet what an encouragement. All who knew the course of their friend could entertain no doubt of the issue; there had been given to her the meekness of wisdom—untiring diligence—the patience of hope and wonderful simplicity of purpose—that might well assure them that a blessing was intended to the “souls of the needy,” and to them that had “no helper.” They saw in this case the invincibility of gentleness, and the might given to weakness. It might be that there would be delay, disappointment and temporary discouragement, but there would come the break of day. Some might be present at that meeting in whose hearts there would be called forth the silent pledge of sympathy and succour.

The Rev. W. H. JONES moved the third resolution: “That considering the extreme difficulty of securing suitable agency for religious instruction in the long-neglected masses of the negro population, this meeting learns with peculiar interest that devoted christian workers have been raised up in Canada; more recently also in Jamaica; and in particular for the improvement of the native population at Cape Coast Castle: whilst this meeting is thankful for this manifestation of christian zeal and benevolence, it is deeply impressed with the sense of obligation to render prompt and efficient help, that the hands of those who have entered into this self-denying service may be strengthened, and that at this critical, yet hopeful juncture, funds may be raised to enable them to carry out the designs they have so much at heart.”

Mr. Jones said it gave him the most heartfelt satisfaction to see around him on the platform, and before him in the meeting, the true friends of his race, who were prepared to work earnestly for its elevation notwithstanding the inveterate prejudices and the bitter hostility of a large portion of the community. He could not boast of any great professional progress in learning, or in general culture, but he might fairly claim to represent his people, for he was of unmixed African blood. With respect to Christian agency he was hopeful that this would ere long be largely supplied from the 100,000

people of his own colour in Canada. He felt particularly grateful for the example of Mrs. Moseley, and fervently prayed for her success. He was deeply interested in Jamaica, he wanted to see the houses that were wantonly destroyed, rebuilt, and the unoffending women who had been mercilessly flogged, compensated. In his opinion the British government commenced its course in the West Indies with a grievous error. The millions of emancipated people were sent out empty, whilst their masters received twenty millions sterling. In former times men who had been convicted of horse stealing, had been punished with imprisonment, or hanging, but man stealers received this munificent reward. He, (Mr. Jones) had yet to learn why slaveholders above all other sinners should be paid for ceasing to do evil, and learning to do well. Had the twenty millions been appropriated for the education of the blacks, the state of Jamaica had been far better than it is now. He had observed in the public journals, that American claims based on the case of the Alabama, at first repudiated, were now to be favourably considered by the British government. Why? Because America is a powerful nation and may possible give us trouble. But in his opinion there never was a stronger or clearer claim for compensation than that of the people whose houses had been destroyed, and especially of the women who had been flogged without trial, and in many cases at least for no offence. Why was not that claim met? He trusted it would not be said in the future that it was repudiated because the sufferers were weak and could make no resistance. The resolution was seconded in an earnest and effective speech by the Rev. W. M. MARTIN and unanimously adopted.

Rev. M. D. CONWAY moved the third resolution: “That in anticipation of the Bazaar to be held in London, in March, for the promotion of the objects of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society, and in support of the self-denying and laudable efforts of Mrs. Moseley, this meeting would urge all the friends of the Freed-men to renewed activity and liberality, in order that under the divine blessing the success may be obtained, which

at this time is of such vital importance." Mr. Conway observed that he knew part of Africa where Mrs. Moseley had lived and laboured aforetime and felt assured that her renewed work there would be successful. It seemed to him that the negro, wherever he was found was a remarkably hopeful subject and that there never existed a more favourable opening in the providence of God, for their being educated and elevated, and never was there a more delicate nature than the negro nature, or one more susceptible of kindness. He (Mr. Conway) had been brought up in their arms and had known them all his life and they had a contribution to give for social development not to be found elsewhere. Only the other day an exquisite piece of statuary had been executed in Brazil, by a negro for the French Exhibition which carried off the prize, a fact which shows that in this too long despised race there are latent powers and refined tastes that need only proper conditions for their culture, to secure for them a patent of nobility among the more favoured races.

The HON. W. YOUNG, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia in a brilliant and telling speech seconded the resolution. He said that in Nova Scotia the negroes had been admitted to their schools and to their franchise, but they were not adapted for their cold climate and their progress was not in consequence particularly marked. But on carefully enquiring as to their condition in some parts of the West Indies where a fair chance was given, they were found to be equal in commercial life and in professional pursuits to the white people. They possessed undoubtedly the same moral susceptibilities and intellectual faculties. He was specially interested in the noble humane and Christian spirit that animated the negro settlements in Canada, represented by Mr. Jones; they were worthy of help and encouragement. The course of Mrs. Moseley was most interesting. Here was a lady of education, of aristocratic relations, with ample means, turning from the best English society, to the work of the truest philanthropy. They were accustomed in the British provinces to turn with pride and satisfaction to the mother country, but it was not so much the power, the wealth, or the lit-

erature of Great Britain that made her so eminent amongst the nations, as the spirit of benevolence, that led her to seek out and to succour the needy of every clime. The example now set before them, proved that this noble spirit still animated the people of England, and it would be seen that when the aims of Mrs. Moseley and of this Society were generally known and fully understood that help would be given.

The resolution was cordially adopted. T. A. BURK, Esq., moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, the resolution was seconded by Dr. Tomkins and passed unanimously. After a few interesting remarks from Dr. SCHWARTZ, Mr. French gave the benediction and at the close of the meeting many ladies retired with Mrs. Moseley into the committee room to converse freely on the subject of the Bazaar. The feeling of all seemed to be, that interest was growing and would still increase. A desire was expressed for a little more time. The Ladies' Committee will be guided by the report of their friends. It is believed that the report of the meeting will excite many to personal effort and correspondence. More will depend on the individual exertion than on any other influence. The cause is advancing, let every hand be put forth to impel it onward, the work will then bring a rich and full reward.

NORTH CAROLINA. — Persons just arrived from North Carolina report a new crusade against the negroes. Every conceivable charge is brought against them; and whipping and selling into slavery of the Freed-men is reported as quite general. One planter near Wilmington boasts that he has lately purchased hands enough to re-stock his plantation. By State law, a man convicted of crime, and punished at the whipping-post, is for ever disfranchised. Many hope by such an enterprising movement to thwart the action of Congress looking to negro suffrage. Letters received here report the turnpike roads of Western North Carolina thronged with emigrants, white and black, fleeing from the vindictive cruelty and injurious oppressing them, to find new homes elsewhere. — *Washington Corr. N. Y. Tribune.*

COPY OF MEMORIAL TO EARL
CARNARVON,

Presented January 23rd, 1867.

*To the Right Honourable the Earl Carnarvon,
Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for the Colonies.*

My lord,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society have had various communications from the Cape Coast (Africa) brought under their anxious consideration relative to the arbitrary and oppressive course pursued by the British authorities in that region. They receive this intelligence with unfeigned concern, because of the serious obstruction to the intellectual and moral improvement occasioned by the want of confidence in the equity of the British rule, and the irritation and alarm caused by the harsh proceedings of the "Administrator." The Committee do not at present enter into the details which have occupied their attention—for they are satisfied that your lordship must be in possession of the facts from more direct sources of information. There is one case, however, in which the Committee feel constrained to refer to your lordship, as awakening peculiar solicitude in the minds of those, who, for a long time, sought, in the most disinterested and self-denying manner, to ameliorate the condition of the natives—that of the African king recently taken prisoner by Colonel Conran. The Committee cannot divest themselves of the apprehension that, without some timely check from your lordship, some violent course will be taken on the spot against the helpless king that will admit of no subsequent opportunity of redress.

A correspondent, in whose integrity and veracity the Committee have the fullest confidence, writes from the "Cape Coast, December the 8th, 1866," to the following effect:—

"It is high time that Colonel Conran should be removed from here and a better administrator appointed, who can respect the native authorities, whereby the British name can be loved and respected here; Colonel Conran's harsh rule of administering the government

is really sickening. The whole Protectorate is losing faith in the English Government through their representative, and now believe that the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee for the Gold Coast mean nothing of the kind, or else their authorities here could not act so much against reason and good sense. It seems that the very beasts in England are much more cared for than the people of this country by the British authorities here, for there is a cattle-law to protect and see that they are cared for. Colonel Conran is making preparation to attack the king for giving him notice that he will complain to Earl Carnarvon, per this mail, respecting his conduct in disturbing the town of Cape Coast so much, making men, women, and children so unhappy."

The Committee learn subsequently to the date of the letter just quoted, that the African king has been taken prisoner, put in irons, and carried to Sierra Leone. The Committee regret to say to your lordship, that they can have no kind of confidence in the Supreme Council as recently constituted, and therefore feel that the life of the African king may be in jeopardy.

The Committee submit this statement to your lordship, in entire confidence that with the knowledge of the facts, your lordship will send by the present mail instructions that will fairly meet the exigencies of the case. The policy of the Parliament, as expressed in the Committee on the Jamaica question, is that of fostering in all the colonies equitable self-government. We are satisfied from the sentiments expressed by your lordship in connection with this view, that Her Majesty's Government will not fail to protect the life of a native ruler against the arbitrary violence of any representative of British authority.

With sentiments of respect, we have ventured therefore to submit this communication to your lordship.

Signed on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society,

ALFRED S. CHURCHILL, President.

FRED. TOMKINS, M.A., D.C.L.

JOHN WADDINGTON. Secretaries.

SOUTHERN MINISTERS "WAKING UP."

Providence is on the side of the Freed-men. We find in the English press great unwillingness to advocate their cause, and even to receive information. The Southern Presbyterian Assembly recently attempted by a resolution to close the door against every black or coloured minister and to send delegates to England to obtain sanction and support in their decided course of action. But events are too strong for them. The Freed-men will not remain serfs under these reverend masters. Some of the ministers begin to see that the adoption of the resolution was anachronism, and that they might as well have proposed to restore the auction block. The light is coming in through the chinks and it cannot be shut out. The Rev. J. M. P. Atkinson, D.D., is writing a series of letters in the *Central Presbyterian* of Richmond, in which he says he did not vote for the excluding resolutions, not being present when they were adopted, and that the final paper "was presented on the night previous to the adjournment of the Assembly, when members were worn out by a protracted and most busy session." This, he thinks, accounts for the apparent unanimity on its adoption. He says:

"A letter recently received from North Carolina informs me that some 1,500 coloured communicants in that State and South Carolina—nearly all of whom, it is presumed, had belonged to our own communion—have placed themselves under the care of the ministers of the newly organized Presbytery of Catawba. That Presbytery, as your readers probably know, is in connection with the Northern Assembly, and has coloured men among its ministers. The same letter also states that of the remaining coloured people once connected with our church, a number have left us to join denominations which they have lately learned to prefer to the Presbyterian Church.

"Now surely while this continues the temper of the blacks, it is nearly useless for us to offer them the means of grace. They will not receive them at our hands. Let ministers be sent them by the score. Let Sabbath schools be established for them in every neighbourhood. Let every Christian master invite them to family worship. All will avail

nothing if they persistently refuse to attend the church, and the Sabbath schools, and to bow at the family altar. All would be about as effective in securing their spiritual nourishment and growth in grace, as food placed in reach of a man inflexibly resolved to starve himself to death, would be to support and strengthen his fainting body. You may enhance the guilt of the moral suicide, as with the suicide of the body, by your benevolent efforts, but real good you bestow upon neither. Now you wish to save, not to destroy: you must inquire, then, if there be no means of removing this aversion to receiving the offer of the gospel at our hands, which now causes them to turn from our worship. For one, I am persuaded it may be removed in great part, if not altogether, by simply admitting communicants of this race to all the privileges of church members. Among these is eligibility to the divinely appointed offices of the house of God—the offices of deacon, elder, and minister of the Word. No particle of warrant indeed can be found in the standards of the church for the inhibition to men of any race of any of these offices; but it is undeniable that prejudice is extensively felt to the admission of coloured persons to the discharge of their sacred functions. It would be idle to deny that such a prejudice was manifested on the floor of the General Assembly lately held in Memphis. Now it is believed that this feeling is rapidly passing away; but while it continues to exist—at least while it continues to exclude all coloured men from every grade of ecclesiastical office, and thus to debar every coloured congregation from the privilege of securing a pastor, or elder, or deacon of their own blood, I am persuaded that it will be impossible for us to extend our church among the Freed-men, or even to retain in our connection those now belonging to her communion. To think otherwise would be to ignore the first principles of human nature. We may, indeed, stigmatize as pride, or ambition, or vanity, the feeling which impels these people to seek a church where men of their own race may have a part in their government and instruction. Whatever the character of the feeling, it is one in which we and with us all mankind participate. Con-

ceive of a church to assert the principle that birth in Virginia, or of Virginia parentage, must prove a bar to enter into its ministry: how long would it contain a single Virginian in its communion? Nor in this feeling is there necessarily the manifestation of an unchristian spirit. It is not unchristian for any of Christ's freedmen to insist upon the enjoyment of all the franchises which properly belong to them as members of the commonwealth of Israel. Nor can it be doubted that this feeling, whether good or evil, has a strong hold upon the mind of the African race in the Southern States. *Men of that race must be admitted into equal rights in a church, or they will not join that church. Our brethren in the South of other denominations are rapidly waking up to the conviction of this truth, and are announcing the purpose of receiving coloured men into the ministry.* Declarations to this effect have very recently been made by Dr. Quintard, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Tennessee, by the Bishop of the Methodist Church in Texas, and by one or more of the Roman Catholic Bishops in the Southern States.

"But the main consideration which leads me to wish this privilege extended to the coloured members of our church, is not my belief that she will thereby secure to herself the love and confidence of them and of their brethren. Happy indeed would be that result both to the coloured race and to the Presbyterian Church; but there is a higher ground upon which this policy should be urged. It is the ground that eligibility to the Christian ministry is the *right* of the coloured believer as of the white. It is not because the coloured man *regards* it as his right, and therefore will not belong to a church where it is not accorded him, but because it *is* his right, and it is therefore unjustifiable in us to withhold it from him. The church has no authority to declare that persons of a certain race shall be excluded from the number of her officers. Can she limit the Holy One of Israel in the choice of his ambassadors? Can she determine that he is to call no one of a certain tribe or family to that high office? or when the Almighty has given a call to any son of Adam, can she

refuse on the ground of his descent to recognize that call by his ordination to the ministry? Assuredly she cannot, and if very wise men, and very good men, and very devoted friends of the African race suppose that she can, I must still believe them to be in error.

"Unless I greatly mistake, it has been the rule of the church from the day of her organization by her great Head, to receive into her ministry men of every nation under heaven. Except in the case of negroes in America, none have been excluded because of lineage or complexion. At the present day, European and American missionaries in China, Hindostan, and Africa itself, would not hesitate to admit natives of suitable qualification to any grade of the ministry. Nor should we say to the coloured man of the South, however pious, or prudent or learned you may be, however apt to teach or qualified to rule, you cannot become a minister or elder or deacon of our church,—could we justify an exclusion so singular, so opposed to the precedents of Scripture and of Church History."

PROFESSOR TYNDALL is going morally blind on the Jamaica question. His vision is so much affected that he sees the scale of English justice not even; but inclined from the weak to the strong. He comes to the conclusion that there is a wide difference before the law between a negro fellow subject and one of his own colour. The advantage he believes is all in his own favour. We pity his hallucination. He should be quiet for a time and not attend public meetings.

THE Bazaar.—Many of our friends enquire when the Bazaar will be held, and at what place. The Hon. Secretaries of the Committee, Mrs. Moseley and Mrs. Tomkins, invite communications to guide them. Full notice will be given.

RECEIVED WITH BEST THANKS.—A box of beautiful articles, for the Bazaar, from the Misses Sadler, Winchester—per Mrs. Waddington.

ERRATUM IN LAST NUMBER OF THE FREED-MAN.—The donation of Madame Ledru Rollin is £3. 10s. was put in error for 60s.

THE FREED-MAN.

FREEDOM IN BLEEDING KANSAS.

In 1859 we spent a few pleasant hours in the house of Mr. Knight, an English minister settled at Hadley Falls, in Connecticut. An interesting child was in the pastor's study sadly crippled. On inquiring the cause of this affliction Mr. Knight gave us a most thrilling account of his pilgrimage with a band of two hundred of his people, who left their friends in New England and went 1,500 miles to help to form an anti-slavery population in Kansas. Mr. Knight lost his wife and part of his family in the self-denying struggle. They sunk from privation and fever in the swamps—far from their beautiful state of Connecticut, and surrounded by the ruffians of Missouri, who did not suffer them to rest by day or by night. There was no prospect in 1859 that the slave power would be broken, but our friend and fellow-countrymen even then had the sustaining assurance that the sufferings borne in meek submission by his wife and friends for freedom would prove not to have been in vain. Now all is changed. Missouri itself is a free state, and greatly advanced in consequence of the transition. We read therefore the following extract from Mr. Hepworth Dixon's book on America, with special interest, in remembrance of the story we heard in the pastor's library, but apart from personal associations we think all our readers will welcome the narration, as one of the episodes in the great American conflict that should have a place in the "FREED-MAN."

"Well Sam," say I to a blithe young negro of thirty-five years, a boy with quick eye and delicate razor-hand, as he powders my face and dabs the rose-water on my hair, in the shaving-room of Planter's House, Leavenworth, "where were you raised?"

"Me riz in Missouri, sar."

"You were born a slave then?"

"Yes, sar, me slave in Weston: very bad boss, always drunk and kicking poor nigger boy."

"And how did you get your freedom, Sam—did you go and fight?"

"No sar; me no fight; tink fighting big sin; me swim."

"Swim! Oh, yes; you mean you swam across the Missouri into Kansas, from a Slave State into a Free State?"

"Dat true sar. One bery dark night me slip away from Weston; rund through the wood

along river-bank, down stream; get into de water by dem trees, and push ober to de mud bank (pointing to the great ridge of slime which festers in front of Leavenworth when the water runs low); there wait till morning, looking at the stars ob heaven and de lights in dese houses all about; and when daylight come, creep out of de rushes and wade ober to the levee."

"Then you were free?" Sam answers with a smile.

"Had you any help in your escape from men on this side of the river?"—the slaves had always good friends in Kansas.

"No sar; me get no help to 'scape; for me neber tell no one; 'cause me neber know afore the moment when me slip away. The Lord put it in my head. Me Methodist sar; most nigger boy in Missouri Methodist; me just come home from chapel, tinkin of the wonderful ways of de Lord, when some one say, close in my ear, 'rise up, Sam; run away and be a man.' It was de voice of de Lord; I know it well. At first I not see what to do; me tink it quite wrong to run away and steal myself from boss—twelve hundred dollars. Den me tink it must be right to obey de voice ob de Lord, for me belong more to de Lord than to boss, and den I slip away into de woods."

"Of course you were followed?"

"Yes, sar," says Sam, putting the last of his fine flourishes upon my face; "boss come over into Leavenworth, where he find me in de street. 'Come here you d—d nigger,' he say, pulling out his revolver, and catching me by the neck. He got a boat all ready; den some people come up. 'You let dat nigger alone,' say one: 'Put a knife into de d—d nigger,' say another. Den come a big row; dey fight for me all day, and my side win."

The date of this little history was six short years ago. Missouri, the fertile State beyond the river, the forests of which I have before me as I write, was then a slave State, with a sparse but fiery population of slave-breeders and slave-dealers. Nine years before that time—that is to say, so late as 1851, when the world was gathering for its jubilee of progress in Hyde Park—all this wide region lying westward of the Missouri, from the river bank to the Rocky Mountains was without a name. A host of wild Indian tribes, Kansas, Cheyennes, Arappahoes, hunted over the great plains; following the elk, the buffalo, the antelope, to their secret haunts. Two great lines of travel had been cut through the prairies; one leading southward to Santa Fé in New Mexico, the other running westward, by the Platte River, towards Salt Lake and San Francisco; but the country was still an Indian hunting-ground, in which the white man could not lawfully reside. Half a dozen forts had been thrown up by the Government in this Indian country—Fort Bent, Fort Laramie, Fort Leavenworth, Fort Calhoun, Old Fort—but rather with a view to guarding the red man's rights than to helping the white traveller and trader in their need. But while the people of all nations were assembling in Hyde Park, and wondering at the magnificent country which had even then to be represented by an empty space, a swarm of settlers crossed the Missouri on rafts and in canoes, seized upon the bluffs between Fort Calhoun and Fort Leavenworth, threw up camps of log-huts, staked out the finest patches of land, especially those on the banks of creeks and pools, and so laid the foundation of what are now the populous and flourishing towns of Omaha, Nebraska, Atchison, and Leavenworth—cities of the free territory of Nebraska, of the free State of Kansas.

Then commenced along the whole line of the Missouri River that fitful sanguinary strife, which earned for this region the mourning epithet of bleeding Kansas. It lasted six years, and was a prelude to the Civil War.

Lawrence and Leavenworth were the results of this battle, of which Sam's little story may be taken as a sample.

Every one is aware that in the great feud between the free-soilers and the slaveholders of America, a truce had been made in 1820, which is known in history as the Missouri Compromise; by which act it was arranged between the parties that Slavery should never be

introduced into any western region lying beyond 36° 30' of north latitude, excepting into such portion of Missouri as happened to stand above that line. For thirty years that truce held good, and even when the war of freedom raged against Slavery on other fields, the Missouri Compromise was respected in the West. As the final conflict neared, the two parties in the struggle showed an equal discontent with that act of truce. The slaveowners in Missouri, having an exceptional advantage in their State of settling with their slaves above the prohibited line, desired to carry their domestic institution backward through the country in their rear to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, even if they should not be able to carry it thence to the Pacific Ocean. All the South went with them in their plans, though their action was in open conflict with the law. Secret societies sprang up in many States—Blue Lodges, Social Bands, Sons of the South, and many more, all pledged to aid these planters in carrying Slavery westward of the Missouri River, in the teeth of their own compromise, in violation of their own truce.

The slaveholders of Missouri won one victory without a shot, in quietly—by a local act, which attracted no attention either in Boston or in New York—extending their own frontier westward, from the line drawn north and south through Kansas City, up to that of the river bank; adding six large and now populous counties to their State, and consequently to the area of the slave empire. This act was absolutely illegal: but no one in the Eastern cities noted it until the bills effecting the change had become law, and the district had been peopled with masters and their slaves. The game appeared to be wholly in their hands. From this new slave soil, which lies on the opposite bank, in front of my window, Blue Lodges, Social Bands, and Sons of the South streamed over into these Delaware reserves, into these Kansas hunting-grounds; each boss, accompanied by his sons and his negroes, proceeding to help himself to the choicest lots. From St. Louis to New Orleans, their courage was applauded, their success predicted. In Washington, the slave-dealing Senators, instead of calling these Missourian planters to account, and carrying out the law against them, sustained them in this outrage on the Free States. By a course of partizan agitations, they procured a fresh compromise, in which it was agreed that the question of Slavery should be referred back, generally, to the people of any unorganized country claiming to come within the Union either as a Territory or as a State. Such an act was supposed by the planters of Missouri and Kentucky to be an open declaration that Kansas and Nebraska were to be organized as slave territories. But now, New England came into the field. The conversion of Nebraska from free soil into slave soil would have carried the line of Slavery, in the western country, as high north as Boston! A Northern Emigrant Aid Society was founded in Massachusetts; sturdy farmers, fervent professors, youthful poets, yoked horses to their wagons, and pushed across the continent toward the Missouri, sworn to settle on the new Indian lands, to accept the compromise of Congress, and, in their quality of free citizens, to vote a free constitution for Kansas. The Blue Lodges were already huted at Leavenworth and Atchison; and when the first New Englander crossed the stream, being unable to answer these sentinels that he owned any niggers, they placed him in an open boat, without food, without oars, and sent him floating down the river amid derisive shouts and threats. A meeting of Sons of the South was called in Westport, on the Kansas border, but within the limits of Missouri, at which, after fiery eloquence, the following resolution was carried:

“That this Association will, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas Territory, hold itself in readiness together to assist and remove any and all immigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigrant Aid Society.”

The *Squatter Sovereign*, a news sheet published in the town of Atchison (founded and named by David Atchison, Senator of Missouri), put forth in an early number this declaration of the planters.

“We will continue to lynch and hang, tar and feather, and drown, any white-livered abolitionist who dares to pollute our soil.”

In July, 1854, thirty New England free-soilers crossed the river in open boats; they were well armed, and brought with them tents and provisions. Pushing up the Kansas River they rested at the foot of a fine bluff in the midst of a rolling prairie, covered with flowers. Pitching their tents and beginning to fell wood for shanties, they called the place at which they camped the City of Lawrence, from the name of their popular purse-holder. In August they were joined by seventy more, men like themselves, well-armed and resolute, prepared to found that city and to free that soil. Now had arrived the time for the Missouri men to shew their spirit; a hundred Yankees, separated from their friends by six great States, had come into their midst, daring them to carry out their threat of either hanging, lynching, or drowning everyone who should cross into Kansas without a negro slave in his train. Three hundred and fifty Sons of the South took horse, dashed over the shallow stream, and, having early in the morning formed a camp and thrown out pickets, sent word into Lawrence that these new settlers must quit the territory promising never to return. Three hours were given the free-soilers in which to pack their things and get ready to march. A Yankee bugle summoned the immigrants to arms; a civil but decisive answer was returned to the Missouri camp and when the Sons of the South perceived that the Yankees were ready for the fray, and would be likely to fight it out so long as a man could hold his peice, they began to suspect each other, to doubt the goodness of their carbines, and to steal away. Duak found [their camp much thinned; dawn found it broken up and gone.

From that day Lawrence has grown and prospered. More than once it has fallen into Missourian hands, and the marks of grape and canister are seen upon some of its buildings; but its free-soil people have never been driven out, and it is now a charming little city, with the brightness of a New England town. It is the capital of a free State.

In these streets of Leavenworth many a fierce battle has been fought; the Sons of the South living close at hand, in a score of villages on yon wooded banks. Blood has been shed in almost every lane, especially at the voting times, when thousands of the Missourians used to come across in boats, take possession of the polling booths: and return an overwhelming but fictitious majority in favour of a slave constitution. One good citizen, William Phillips, an advocate, was seized by Sons of the South for having signed a protest, as a lawyer, against the frauds which had disgraced the election; was forced into a boat and pulled up the river to Weston, on the Missouri side, where he was first tarred and feathered, then ridden on a rail, afterward put up to auction as a slave, and finally knocked down, amid frantic yells and menaces to a negro buyer. On his escape from Weston, Phillips returned to Leavenworth; resolute in his free-soil faith, and ready for the post of danger in every fray.

In another week from this date, it will be just ten years since a gang of Blue Lodges started from the opposite bank, landed on this levee, took possession of the town, which lay completely at their mercy for many hours, and under pretence of searching for arms—an utterly illegal search on their part—plundered and insulted the free-soilers in every house. Phillips refused to allow these fellows to come inside his door, on which the house was attacked and its owner killed. Before he fell, Phillips had shot two of his assailants dead. His house was burned to the ground, along with many other dwellings; and every free-soiler who could be found in Leavenworth was put on board a steamer and sent down the river.

Yet the New Englanders rallied to their flag, with growing numbers and glowing passions, becoming genuine settlers on the land, which the Missouri men were not. Here, and elsewhere, it has been shown that Slavery, as a social system, lacked the solid fibre of a colonizing power. Slaves could not work the prairie land to profit; negroes toiling under a master's eye and whip, required the rich soils of Mississippi and Alabama. With a pistol in one hand, a hoe in the other, these stout New Hampshire and Massachusetts lads fought on, toiled on, not only until they had gained a fair majority in the ballot-boxes, but won a full ascendancy in the open field.

One of the comic incidents of this war was the battle of Black Jack, when Captain Clay Pate

(ominous name!), a Virginian, who gave himself airs as a professional soldier, put himself at the head of fifty-six Sons of the South, and threatened to eat up old John Brown of Osawatimie (afterward, unhappily, of Harper's Ferry), and his band of twenty-seven free-soilers. Pate had organized his force like a little army, with its horse and foot, its camp equipage, and its luggage train; and having just then been plundering Palmyra, a free-soil city, his baggage mules were heavily laden with the spoils of war. Brown made a fair fight by going out in the open plains. After a lusty tug, Clay Pate surrendered to the tough old fellow—himself, with his sword, his luggage train, all the spoils of Palmyra, twenty-one hale men, the whole of his dead and wounded, and his gorgeous tent.

~ In 1861, a few months after these citizens of Leavenworth had fought the battle for my friend Sam on this levee under my windows, the wounds of bleeding Kansas were stanchcd and healed by her admission into the Union as a free State.

BRITISH INFLUENCE.

The most potent influence that can be exerted by our country is that which is the most benign. The British fleet may bombard the ports of a foreign shore, or strike terror into the defenceless tribes along the coast, leaving behind a track of desolation and misery; but the force to penetrate the interior—to attract rather than repel—to inspire confidence, and to introduce the blessings of civilization must be exerted by an agency of very different character. The proofs of this transforming power are not wanting in regions of the globe that for ages seemed to be in hopeless barbarism. The advantages arising from social renovation cannot be overestimated. Where changes of this kind have been permanently effected in the character and condition of the people, by the instrumentality alone fitted to secure them, furnished from various associations in our native land, the name of Great Britain has been held in the highest admiration. Millions of feeble and oppressed people have been made to feel that it was to them a talisman of protection and a star of hope. The indications are too numerous and painful to leave us to doubt that in many places this interest in our country has been altogether lost or that it is sadly on the wane. We have before us recent correspondence from the African Coast, and we read lines like the following:—"We have lost all faith in the British Government through their bad Governors." "King Aggery has been taken to Sierra Leone. Up to the date of his removal, he was doomed to opposition injustice and injury at the hands of the British representative authorities here. To say nothing of things like the attack made by officers and men of the 4th West India Regiment upon the natives here, British Government officials, as if under no Government, had only recently to make their way into the king's prison, release the prisoners, attempt to take copies of the records of the king's Court, and capture such natives as were regarded to have been in the way of their British Government officials. These were things which impelled the King to write to the administrator to the effect that if it was meant that the king and people should, from such singular treatment, be provoked to acts such as characterized the scenes in Jamaica, the administrator was mistaken, but that the king would rather refer

the matter to the (mother) government of England—and that if the administrator would drive the king and people to desperation, he, the administrator, should not be unprepared to bear the responsibility. One day after the receipt of the letter, Mr. Usher and two military officers with scarcely a dozen constables and soldiers went to the king's house to take him. The king offered no resistance himself and even commanded all his subjects to refrain from rescuing him by dint of arms. The over-excitement (of the moment) of the people was thus cooled by a few words the king uttered as he passed along the streets leading to the Castle. He walked with that nobility that christianity alone accords, and he inspired almost every spectator with feelings before perhaps unknown to them. At this moment it is on the lips of every native that the King of kings will protect the innocent and no more permit might to pass for right." "The cry of the nation is great and he that is *just* and *right* is appealed to for vindication and deliverance."* Under the British sceptre are untold millions whose colour and complexion differ from that of the people of the mother country. The men who have gained for the nation the highest honour in the remote parts of the empire lost sight of the different hue of these countless tribes in their warm and enlightened human sympathy and sense of right. Within the last few years there has been a sad deterioration in this respect. Young men who have passed their competitive examination for foreign service seem to regard the slang of contempt for the coloured races as an accomplishment and as an indication of spirit.

Negrophobia in its worst type has entered some of our mission schools. The consequences are not far to seek. Of course there is a decay of the missionary spirit; and many who venture into the field prefer to keep within the range of European society in large cities. We ought to take warning from the condition of the white population of the southern states of America. In many districts of Virginia, the black labour they despised is fast leaving them. They now dread the migration of freedmen, and with neglected estates, desolate homes, and bankrupt fortunes, they must starve or work for themselves for subsistence. We feel the deepest concern that this cancer in the heart of the nation may not spread, lest it should paralyze the arm that should be vigorous to defend—and ever ready to help and relieve. We believe there are signs or a return to a more healthy feeling. It must not be forgotten that the real friends of the freedmen are comparatively few and that this is just the time for strenuous effort that our society may live through the time of indifference and prejudice, and be prepared for the glorious work yet to be achieved. One combined and noble effort may save all we desire to preserve.

* We have the satisfaction to state that Governor Blackall has been recalled, and King Aggerly liberated on parole.

MR. PLUMMER AND MR. MOFFAT.

MR. PLUMMER, in a letter dated Berlin, Malvern Road, Jamaica, 21st Jan., 1867, says: "I have never been able to visit Morant Bay and its neighbourhood as I promised, but I will (D.V.) start for that locality early next year. I corresponded with friends there who state that the poor people are still suffering; some have built temporary residences, *but all are in a state of utter destitution*. I shall go to see for myself." This simple statement confirms our worst fears. The friends of Jamaica have been so absorbed in other questions, that the suffering and neglected people after all have been left in their perishing condition. Justice costs us so much that we have nothing to spare for mercy, and yet not to shew some kind of compassion for these miserable people, on the part of those who so well know their condition, can scarcely be said to be just; at least it is not consistent. Mr. Plummer himself is deeply interested in the work of raising the condition of the freed-men. He says: "*I am anxious to establish an industrial school on my estate under my own supervision. Would the Freed-men's Aid Society help me to carry out my plan by either sending out a teacher fitted for such a work, or make an annual grant for the purpose. I will supply all the other necessities, such as buildings, land, &c. Schools of this kind are absolutely necessary.*" This is one of many openings presented here and there in the vast and promising field of philanthropic labour. Trustworthy, benevolent, and disinterested people are ready to co-operate with the Society in creating centres of usefulness. The darkness is tinged with the dawn of hope. The work is great and the need pressing, and we trust there are earnest and generous people in the mother country ready to co-operate. Certainly the juncture is very critical. We do not affect to conceal from our friends that the Society has had up-hill work and that the relation of some to it is only nominal. We believe however that the conviction is growing in the minds of many that the African race ought not to be neglected. There is a spring in the movement for the Bazaar. We hear from time to time of friends who are beginning to feel deep interest in the

cause of the freed-men. We have come to the conclusion that none will enter on the work with energy and perseverance who are not influenced by the highest motive and constrained by the undying spirit of christian compassion. We would therefore commend the cause to the attention of those who are asking themselves how they can best consecrate their property and their energies in the work of their own time. Let them weigh calmly and when alone the claims of these millions. There can be no doubt that at this juncture good might be effected the influence of which might be felt to the remotest generation. Neglect will close the door. For ourselves, apart from all personal considerations, we propose to occupy, the post discouraging as it may have seemed, until the decisive help shall come up. That we are not in error as to the decline of interest in the African race we have abundant proof from a letter addressed by the venerable Moffat to his cousin in Edinburgh, in which he says: "The public duties of the mission are quite enough for all the energies of a strong man. Besides these, I am engaged in a work which taxes body as well as mind severely, as it leaves me scarcely a moment's leisure. This work is carrying a revised edition of the New Testament, in the native language, through the press. Probably, you will have a tolerable guess that this is no easy work, especially as I have to be constantly engaged in the printing department, in which other elementary works are preparing at the same time. But there is some consolation—ay, a great deal—in the conviction that one is not labouring for one's self, but for others, and for generations yet unborn. The first edition of 4,000 copies is now done, and it will require a much larger edition of the revision as well as of the Old Testament to supply the increasing demand. *Readers are increasing in all directions, which is a very cheering sign, for what are people, or what can we make of people who have not a written language?* and whatever may be the amount of oral instruction among a people, permanent results cannot be expected in the absence of books. I have seen a great deal accomplished when the barbarous and degraded character of this country is

taken into consideration, but I expected to have seen much more. The position of the missionary in this country is not what it once was. We were suspicious characters, dangerous to the community, runaways from our own country, objects of mockery and oppression. Now, a missionary is known, his object understood, and respected, too, beyond the Zambese. Any chief and every chief would like to have a missionary.

"I presume you would like to hear something about our own dear selves. Well, when you are reminded that I have been fifty years in the mission field, and my wife for a not much shorter period, you will think we must be looking old and feeling old, too. Our directors have so much reason to be delighted and taken up with other fields, where prosperity is crowning their efforts, that it is feared that their zeal for Africa is beginning to cool."

The missionary spirit, we learn on every side is declining. Is there not a cause? There never was an opportunity so direct and so promising as that which is so wonderfully given in the case of the millions of the freed-men; if it be disregarded, can we wonder that the springs of christian sensibility should be dried up. Happy will it be for our churches when they will again sing, as once they did with thrilling emotion—

Let the Indian, let the negro,
Let the rude barbarian see
That Divine and glorious conquest,
Once obtained on Calvary.

Correspondence.

Kingston, Jamaica, 9th February, 1867,

My Dear Sir,

I received your favour of the 20th December, intimating the shipment of a bale of goods by the "Fontabelle," kindly sent by Mrs. Richardson and friends of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for distribution among the unfortunate sufferers during the suppression of the recent disturbances here. The "Fontabelle" has just arrived here, but I have not yet been able to get the case, but have directed it to be shipped to Morant Bay, to the Rev. Mr. Teall, for distribution. I have at the same time re-

quested Mr. Teall to select particularly the widows and orphans who have been deprived of their husbands and parents, and whose circumstances are the most desperate, and I have no the slightest doubt that Mr. Teall will carefully carry out the benevolent intentions of the donors.

I should have liked to have written you a long letter to day, but have not time for the present mail.

The new Government has not as yet done anything to alleviate the distress in the island. We are waiting patiently to see what will be done. They have all the power and control. It will be necessary for the friends of the negroes to watch the tendency of legislation. A Bill is now about to be presented whereby trial by jury is to be abolished, preliminary investigation preparatory to trials and all the safeguards provided by the British constitution, are in future to be abolished, and sole power in civil and criminal cases is to be vested in a single judge who is to allow an appeal only in his discretion. This is going too far, and I hope will not become law. There will be no security whatever to the subject if trials are to be of such an arbitrary nature. I shall write to you if the Bill is passed. It is said here it will pass, as the judges (Scotch advocates) have already been appointed.

In haste, with kindest regards,
Believe me to be,
Yours very truly,

* * *

JOSEPH E. DAVIS, brother of Jefferson, having received from the President his old possessions on the Mississippi, has just let the "Hurricane" and "Briarfield" plantations, in Warren county, to B. T. Montgomery, for a term of years. Mr. Montgomery, who is a colored man, and "one of the business managers" of the aforesaid Joseph, has projected a community of his own people, whom he expects, "by the pursuits of agriculture, horticulture, and manufacturing and mechanical arts, as well as the rising of stock, to attain as much prosperity and happiness as is consistent with human nature."—*Nation*.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MR. PLUMMER.—The charity schools are not forgotten. We wait only for the best opportunity for action.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.—Received with best thanks, a parcel of books from Rev. W. Cooke, D.D., for the Bazaar, also a case of beautiful articles, from the Misses Parmitter and Miss Orme, Froe Cottage, St. Anthony's, per Mrs. Waddington.

The Freed-Man.

APRIL, 1867.

PREJUDICE AND PROTECTION.

One of the most painful features in human character is that which reveals an unreasonable aversion to individuals and races. The prejudice against the Irish is uncharitable and groundless. The depreciation and aversion to the French and against foreigners generally has fostered pride and led to serious difficulties. The feeling which crops up in the oft heard expression, "I do not like the Yankees," is unnatural and disgraceful. But perhaps the meanest and the basest aversion of all is that of hatred to the poor negro. Let us suppose that God has not given him all the bewitching charms of the dominant white man; is that any reason that he should be treated with less regard than a favourite dog or horse. We certainly have affection for these creatures, and are rewarded a thousand-fold by the mute response, if one may use the solecism, that their sagacity expresses. And yet we hear men saying every day when we appeal to them for help, "I hate the nigger, he should be a slave." Time was when men were at

least ashamed openly to utter these sentiments. They are however not ashamed now. The friends of the poor negro must therefore rally more closely around the despised, and resolve that he should be protected from those who hate him, and who, when they have the chance, do not hesitate to oppress him. Not till public sentiment comes up to the christian standard and determines to protect the weak, will philanthropy have done her work. Not till the negro in every land is safe from the motley host of his oppressors, will the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, it is hoped, relax its efforts. There are more than seven thousand to be found in "Old England" who have not yet bent the knee to this Baal worship of race. We are told "there were always slaves." We know it. There were also always "thefts, adulteries and murders," but shall we defend these enormities? Shall we "sin as with a cart rope?" No. We appeal then at the present for help for the Bazaar, for donations and for new annual subscribers. A small sum suffices to keep the Society in existence. Direct help can only be afforded as friends furnish us with larger means. The "Freed-man" alone is a power which the oppressor we trust may yet learn to respect.

LIBERALITY OF FREED-MEN.—At Natchez, Mississippi, where the freed-men are quite numerous, they have purchased a church property "for 9,000 dols., pay 6,000 dols. down, and are to pay the other 3,000 dols. at the expiration of ten months." Many of them give a dollar a month. Here are zeal and liberality worthy of imitation. They are poor, but willing and cheerful, and such the Lord loveth. They deserve to be helped, for they help themselves.

THE BAZAAR.

It is characteristic of the English people to move slowly and cautiously in a new work—sometimes to halt as if in doubt, or for reflection—but, when once convinced, to go forward with invincible resolution, and to do far more than they seemed to promise. We shall find this to be the case in the Bazaar movement. So long as earnest and thoughtful christian workers pause to ask if the object is really worthy, or if anything will be done, all we can say seems to be lost. The spring is wanting, and there is no vital power. But we have passed the stage of uncertainty. Many real sisters of charity are giving their best energies to the work. They will not only take their own part, but stir up all their friends. Every day and every waking hour before the First of May, they will turn to the best account, by thought, work, correspondence, combined with fervent prayer. Doubts and objections are at an end; what they now do they will do with might, and to the latest moment. The difference between a listless and questioning indifference, and this simple and untiring devotedness is incalculable. It is impossible to over-estimate the blessing that may arise at this juncture, from a thoroughly successful movement. Our country owes a duty to our own Freed-men which has been too long neglected. Let the work be taken up in earnest and it will go forward, and the effect will be felt through many generations.

To whom can we look with so much certainty as to the mothers and daughters of Great Britain. Statesmen, politicians, merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, are all absorbed in their

arduous pursuits. They are too burdened with care, and carried along by public excitement to look with calmness into this work of christian philanthropy, yet it is closely connected with the stability and progress of our country and the welfare of the human race.

Many are asking with eagerness "Are we too late for the Bazaar?" The Ladies' Committee have so arranged, that no willing worker shall be too late; they have determined to extend the time of receiving articles to the close of April. Considerate and generous friends, and especially the Annual Subscribers of the Society will see that prompt remittances in money just now will be exceedingly helpful and encouraging.

MEETING AT BRIGHTON.

A Public Meeting in behalf of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society was held in the Pavilion, Brighton, on the 11th of March at three o'clock. LIEUTENANT COLONEL STEVENS occupied the chair. After singing, the Rev. HENRY BROMLEY offered prayer. The Rev. Canon Babington, Rev. E. Paxton Hood, M. Curnock, R. Vaughan Price, M.A., and R. Hamilton, though unable to attend the meeting expressed their, warm interest in its objects.

COLONEL STEVENS in his opening address stated that the object of the meeting was not political. A mistaken impression of this kind had prevented some persons from co-operation with the Society. Personally he was deeply convinced of the necessity of such an institution, for all might be assured of this, that heathen people could not be ruled by the mild laws of christianity. He had abundant proof of this in the mutiny of India, when he had to sleep with a six pounder on either side of his bed. Some persons spoke in ignorance of the noble nature of the savage but he knew the malignity and ferocity of that nature. General Napier was a great warrior

but he had a heart tender as that of a woman. He would have gladly ruled by law but he soon found it impossible. Slavery existed in Scinde, and for the smallest cause of offence, the masters would cut off the nose or head of the slave; if a woman was found reading she was hung just with the same indifference that a cook in the kitchen would cut off the head of a chicken. People in this country had no idea of the difficulties of military men in the enforcement of discipline. They had to do with some of the worst and most desperate characters. He (Colonel Stevens) knew what English soldiers were when let loose, and he supposed that human nature was the same in African troops—nothing but the cat and the triangle would keep them under. The natives of India dreaded the lash more than hanging. He should like to see religion introduced amongst his own men if he knew how it could be done. They must have the gospel and education amongst the negroes, or the terror of the sword. Multitudes of people in this country he was certain would help to educate the Freed-men, who would do nothing at the same time to undermine social order. The gallant Colonel illustrated his remarks by extracts from the life of General Napier.

DR. TOMKINS said he concurred with the sentiment expressed so forcibly from the chair, that human nature was the same all the world over, more or less affected at the same time by surrounding circumstances.

In this instance large masses were thrown on our care in a condition of all others requiring guidance and aid. We have a momentous practical problem to solve. What can we do with the negro? He (Dr. T.) discussed this great matter with one whose name he could not pronounce but with the deepest emotion. Sprung from the sons of toil, early trained to read the "big Ha' Bible," endowed with the genius of discovery, and possessing the unflinching courage and indomitable perseverance needful for his work, DR. LIVINGSTONE had left an example that in itself would be a treasure to the land of his birth. If it was noble for a man to die for his country, surely it was still more noble to die in the wider service of humanity and for the cause of God.

He (Dr. Tomkins) had spent an evening with the great African traveller just before he left England, as it appeared, for the last time. Hours passed quickly as they talked together of the destinies of the sable race. Dr. Livingstone said, the vitality of the negro is so great that for good or for evil he must become one of the great factors of humanity; and mark, he added, he is open to kindness. He who at a single stroke could have smitten down all His foes, came with wondrous words of truth and grace. His love and kindness toward man appeared in all he did.

He (Dr. T.) did not wish to under-estimate the difficulties of men who had to govern millions of untutored tribes. No doubt the task was onerous. Before us was a work of still greater responsibility. We have to appeal on behalf of four millions in America, a hundred thousand in Canada, nearly half a million in Jamaica, and untold millions in other parts of the globe. Emancipation was to be traced to the hand of God. Governor Wise, of Virginia said truly that neither the North nor the South would have liberated the slaves but for the Higher Power. Much had been done for the freed-men and much more remained to be done. He, (Dr. Tomkins,) had witnessed the opening of the bales of clothing provided by British kindness, amidst the almost naked fugitives from slavery in the Southern States. He knew therefore the value of the boon. It was a relief to his mind after pleading this cause now for four years, to come to the conclusion that for the present at least much might be safely left to the zeal and care of our American brethren. The gift of one million of dollars in cash by Mr. Peabody and the further munificent donation of a second million in bonds must surely, in addition to other sources of help, greatly relieve the pressure in relation to the freed-men in the Southern States.

He now turned to those who lay nearer and yet unhappily had been treated as almost out of the pale of practical kindness altogether. The claim of Canada was one of the strongest that could be presented. The settlements there had been formed by the fugitives who came by the underground railway, of which Levi Coffin (Simeon of Uncle Tom's Cabin)

was chairman, they were landed penniless—half naked, and shorn of everything that they needed in a strange place and colder climate, but they had cleared their own land, built modest cottages, provided school houses, trained teachers and preachers, and a more loyal industrious people did not exist under the British sceptre. But to meet the emergency caused by accession to their numbers by emancipation in the South, they needed and most surely they deserved help. It will be very hard if they should ask for this in vain. The opinions respecting Jamaica were diversified, but nothing could be plainer than the duty of christian philanthropists in that Island. Mr. Plummer says, "send me a teacher, and I will give land and build a school." Mr. Holt says the same. Mr. Craft has a similar appeal to make, and Mrs. Moseley presents a case so touching and so urgent, that it should meet with an instant and full response. The work would so extend if fairly entered upon, and its influence would be as leaven in the three measures of meal. Dr. Tomkins shewed the practical action of the Society, and closed with an earnest appeal.

The Rev. J. B. Figgis, M.A., expressed his most cordial sympathy with the objects of the Society. Our duty to the negro race was manifest. Government was one thing—Philanthropy another. However firmly the rein of government might be held, the heart of philanthropy should glow with generous and warm compassion. He sincerely and earnestly hoped that christian people in this country would rise to the great opportunity. How would the heart of Wilberforce and his co-workers have been gladdened with the emancipation of these dusky millions. Our hearts bounded with joy when their fetters were broken; but we had too much lost sight of the duty their new condition imposed. We have succeeded to the rich and ripe inheritance for which they toiled, wept and long waited; let us not be unfaithful to our trust. Never was a heavier load laid on the heart of the true philanthropist than in this work of raising the freed-men; it will not crush that heart, with the help of God. Sailing in the dark through the Straits of Babel Mandel (the Strait of Tears) a christian Missionary felt alarmed

for the safety of the vessel; a huge rock appeared right ahead, and though the captain seemed to be unmoved, the missionary landsman was so agitated that he said to the helmsman "Do you not see that rock?" "Yes," replied the man at the wheel, "I see it, we are going to sail through it." As the ship neared the rock, the fissure was more distinctly seen, and the light of day broke upon the placid waters as they glided safely through. So he trusted it would be with this good ship, the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society.

The Rev. J. WILKINS offered a few words of sympathy in support of the series of resolutions adopted unanimously by the meeting.

DR. WADDINGTON tendered to Mr. Figgis his warmest thanks for the words of encouragement and support he had so kindly expressed. It so happened that just in the track of this Society there appeared at this time an immense rock of immobility and settled indifference on the part of some from whom they might have expected the most energetic support. There was no breeze of opposition, but some at the very moment when the true nature of the work began to unfold itself began to say, what need is there for effort? He (Dr. Waddington) in answering briefly that question would refer to two classes before their attention. He would begin with that of what might be deemed the unworthy, or rather the worthless. In Jamaica there were large patches of semi-barbarism practically uncared for by any description of Christian workers. There were hordes of people of heathen origin, with all the traditions of an idle and bewildering superstition, left to their natural passions and propensities, with evil examples continually before them, and to influences of the most debasing character. Why should we wonder that the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty? Could any other result be anticipated? What if in the family of the most refined, intelligent, honourable person in that assembly, a youth should be led astray by vicious companions, leave home, and become the companion of the vilest persons; would not his character be degraded? Might not those who had felt for him the strongest affection,

shrink from association with him and be ashamed even of his name? Now the neglect of some parts of Jamaica was almost without a parallel. Hence, in those districts the freed-men had sunk far lower than the slaves in the Southern States of America. But what then? Is this a reason that when light has been poured on these wretched people they are to be abandoned to further degradation? In times past, we had faith and christian patience to seek the restoration of cannibals, and the deeper their misery, the more intent we were in our efforts to raise them. The grand source of danger was in an indolent passivity that prevented a real understanding of the case. Some said, "leave them to the government." But no government on earth could touch them, without the agency of a voluntary disinterested agent such as christian compassion alone could call forth. Others said, "let them wait until the natural resources of the Island are developed." But the truth was, that the greater the commercial prosperity of planters and traders, the wider would be the gulf between them and the neglected class. He (Dr. Waddington) should have retired from the work but for the growing conviction that it would be dishonorable and perilous to leave matters as they now stood. Providence had raised up at a time when the missionary spirit was said to be on the decline, agents just suited to this pioneer service; they had an earnest and proof in this, that with patience and fidelity, a more important work would open before them. The FREED-MAN was beginning to be welcomed in America, Canada, Jamaica, and other places as a guide, a protector, and friend. The freed-men began to see that it might become an independent organ of public opinion in their common cause. Just at this point, if men of christian spirit should be raised up to look fairly into the case, and to act with promptitude and vigour, a great work would be accomplished.

Mrs. Moseley and her christian sisters were the leaders not of a forlorn hope, but of a sacred army, whose weapons would prove far more effective than those of the rifle or the sword. British force without instruction and religion, according to the clear logic of the

chairman, could only lead to extermination, but in this course they would gain a victory of truth, righteousness, peace, and charity, the blessed effect of which would remain for ever.

The Rev. W. H. JONES greatly interested the audience in his account of the origin of the Canadian settlements. The freed-men he said were intensely loyal. In the Southern States he had led a procession with the British flag to commemorate the First of August. When children were presented to him for baptism, in answer to the question, "what is the name of the child?" It was common for mothers to reply with enthusiasm, "Queen Victoria." When there was a rumour that America might enter into war with Great Britain, the blacks troops said they would instantly lay down their arms. They hoped to provide in Canada teachers for Jamaica.

Mr. Jones gave a lecture at the Pavilion in the evening, which was well attended.

A considerable number of ladies met Mrs. Tomkins, Mrs. Moseley, and Mrs. Craft, in the Committee Room, to enter into arrangements to promote the Bazaar.

CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE ON VOLUNTARY CO-OPERATION WITH GOVERNMENT.

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States has been recently elected President of the American Freed-Men's Union Commission. In answer to the application made to him, the Chief Justice said:

"I certainly should not accept this post, which adds serious duties and responsibilities to those with which I am charged, did I not feel a profound conviction of the importance of promoting in every right and practicable way the moral, religious, and educational improvement of our emancipated countrymen; and this, not by officious and intrusive interference with matters which belong more immediately to themselves and to the people among whom they live, but by cordial and active co-operation with patriotic and christian men and women of the Southern States.

I accept it because I understand the Commission to have undertaken just such a work in just such a way as I have described, and

because I am sure that no work can more efficiently promote the permanent welfare of those States and of the whole country. The peace and prosperity of all can in no way be so certainly and so thoroughly secured as by complete recognition of rights and cordial interchange of benefits. It is the part of patriotism, South and North, to remove, as speedily as possible, every cause and every sentiment of distrust and alienation."

At a meeting held in Baltimore the Chief Justice uttered the following noble sentiments:

"It has always seemed to me the part of true statesmanship to connect, as far as practicable, the work of the government with the voluntary action of the people, and one of the most interesting features of this work is the fact that that idea is realized in it. The people throughout the country act voluntarily in their associations. You have come here to-night as men and women inspired in a great public work, and you act in co-operation with the government in acting in its sphere with energy, efficiency, and I trust with the best results. There is, then, a high propriety, as it seems to me, that those of us who have taken part in this work in the beginning, should continue to take part in it, and I see nothing inconsistent in any relation which any person can hold to the government with taking an active part in this work; and I wish to say here, and now, once and for all, that all who wish to comment and censure, may comment and censure; that when I find myself in any position incompatible with labour for the poor, the needy, and the oppressed, that position shall not hold me. What are we doing? We are endeavouring to carry forward a work begun by the government, and which is mainly under the charge of the government. We are endeavouring to carry the blessings of education to every person in the South who desires to receive them. Our labours are particularly directed to the education of our emancipated countrymen—they who need it the most. What will be the result if this work goes on upheld by the strong arm and cheered by the warm aspirations of a generous people? Education will be diffused through all the South, and every man who has a part to perform in the labour of

the South will be made twice the man he was before. Is there any harm in that? Is there not a great good in it? Is not the educated labourer, the skilled labourer, twice, thrice, and even ten times as valuable to the community as the uneducated and unskilled? If education can be diffused throughout those masses—and with education go the purer and holier lights of religion—is it not certain that peace and prosperity, with all their blessings, will come upon that land? Then let us go on with this work."

Here, as it seems to us, is an example worthy of the peerage of Great Britain. When we have suggested from time to time the practical course of action for Jamaica, we have been met with the common excuse for inaction,—“the Government must do it,” “the Government must send out a commission to report on the distress of the people at Morant Bay,” “the Government must compensate the people who are innocent,” “the Government must bring in a bill for the better education of the people.”

We greatly prefer the true statesmanship indicated by Chief Justice Chase. Government is comparatively powerless without the hearty co-operation of the earnest friends of humanity.

The hands of the Governor of Jamaica would be amazingly strengthened if a “few noble” would devote themselves to the work of reclaiming some of the more neglected districts, taking up one position after another. We have in the aristocracy many whose kindness is as unbounded as their wealth. They only need to see the work required in the true light. It would be a pleasure to more than one that we could name to say, “I accept this challenge from Mr. Plummer in Jamaica. Here is my cheque for the best teacher you can find; let him go out at once.” The example would be followed, and the real work might fairly begin. But how is this to be done? Circulars, appeals, come as thickly as the leaves of autumn by every post. They cannot all be examined and fairly weighed. We respectfully submit that our noble friends who have given their sanction to the cause might with great advantage write personally to the distinguished families of the land, sub-

mitting for their careful consideration this new idea of statesmanship, enunciated by the head of the Supreme Court at Washington; we trust we shall be excused if we add the suggestion that the sooner action is taken the better.

THE CLAIM OF OUR OWN PEOPLE.

In the work of aiding the freed-men we do not wish to forget any part of the field, nor yet to under-rate the claims of any who require help or co-operation. But we feel that the case now clearly presented as one of the most hopeful interest, is that which should have special, though by no means exclusive attention. We believe in this view we shall have the concurrence of the truest friends to the object. For four years we have pleaded the cause of the freed-men of America earnestly, and as we have abundant proof not without cheering measure of success. The vastness of the field and the seriousness of the crisis for the time naturally threw other sections of freedom into the shade. This was unavoidable. Neglect of the millions suddenly liberated might have produced despair which would have led to social convulsion. It was our duty therefore to forget everything but the momentous pressure, and try to meet it. It was the privilege of our Society to open the way for Dr. Storrs and Levi Coffin in many quarters and especially to bring the case before the committee of the Congregational Union, and then before the Annual Assembly, so as to secure a simultaneous collection throughout the country. Mr. Curwen, one of our committee, prepared and circulated a special appeal to supply to the ministers the facts which they brought before their several congregations. We do not overlook the active service of our American brethren, but they know well that the apparently insuperable obstacles to their progress we were permitted to remove.

We now feel that we are more at liberty to look to the freed-men in our own colonies. The more thoughtful and considerate of our American friends not only justify our course in this respect, but they tell us plainly that the state of the negroes in many parts of Jamaica since emancipation, is worse than was

the condition of the slaves in the Southern States. We believe that after a recent report made by an American visitor of the misery existing in Morant Bay, that the friends of the freed-men in the United States are of opinion that the worst thing for the entire cause would be to leave those districts to their chronic deterioration. They would rather subscribe themselves to help the freed-men in Jamaica, than receive our contributions at the expense of those who have a more direct claim on our own attention. They expect us in this work to be consistent, and to exercise common sense. They point to Jamaica as a stumbling block in the course of freedom, and the shame of Great Britain, especially after the disclosures made by the Royal Commission. America is sending teachers to the wretched parts of the Island, which should have our first care, whilst we hesitate.

To ignore Canada at this juncture would be still more anomalous. See how the case stands. Thousands of destitute freed-men fled in helpless destitution to their kindred across the frontier, and families long sundered became united by arrivals of these fragmental parties. But because they trod British soil they passed beyond the pale of British sympathy. The help sent for their relief would have been available in the United States, but it was not to be given if they crossed the Niagara river. The freed-men of Canada say we will care for these long-lost outcasts, find them clothing, food, employment, and shelter; but a little pecuniary help just now in funds for education would be invaluable, and the return in a few years would be a hundredfold. There is no need to argue the case, or to offer words imploring sympathy; all that is necessary is to look at the matter in the light of christian equity, and of national honour. If we want a barrier stronger than ships and forts against the wild and desperate Fenians, let us act a fraternal, manly, and generous part toward these loyal freed-men on the British Frontier. Now this is our aim, we shall pursue it steadily; we can trust the justice and the benevolence of our countrymen, to meet the claim. We have only to remind them that promptitude will enhance the value of their help in an incalculable degree. We may say the same

with respect to the British Protectorate on the Cape Coast. A *present contribution* in money for the Bazaar fund we can ask freely, yet respectfully, for we are sure that when rightly understood this is a case in which "England expects every man to do his duty."

THE WORK IN AMERICA.

Our American friends are really doing a great work, and they proceed with system, rigour and perseverance truly admirable. It is their aim evidently to plant schools firmly in every district in the South and to sustain them thoroughly. They are not content with a mere passing excitement, the hasty run of a philanthropic commission, temporary help, and finally abandonment, but they take hold of the work with "both hands earnestly." The results correspond with the course pursued. The first desire for education on the part of the freedmen has been met and fostered. Take a few items from the report of the Western Freed-men's Aid Commission.

KENTUCKY.

Last year there were but *six* teachers under commission in the State of Kentucky. We now have in the State *twenty-one* teachers, located as follows; One at Covington; nine at Lexington; one at Richmond; two at Danville; one at Winchester and seven at Louisville. Two are to be sent this month to Columbus, and one to Greensburg.

Chaplain F. K. Noble, Superintendent of Education for the State, of the staff of General Davis, earnestly appeals to us to commission and assist in supporting teachers for other important places, where suitable buildings can be secured, and large schools gathered.

The number of teachers in Kentucky ought to be doubled at once.

TENNESSEE.

The Fisk School at Nashville, under the superintendence of Professor John Ogden, an educator of rare ability and large experience, has been thoroughly graded, and a regular course of study has been adopted for each department. A standard of deportment and recitation has been attained; which is surprising, when we consider that most of the eight hundred children enrolled have so recently been brought under school instruction.

About Nashville as a centre, schools have been established at Gallatin, Shelbyville, Florence, Tullahoma, Franklin and Clarksville.

At Memphis, in January, the Lincoln Chapel, a large new school house, built by the American Missionary Association, capable of accommodating four hundred pupils, was opened; so that with the Phoenix school, built by General Fisk immediately after the riot, our accommodations were ample for eight hundred pupils. *Yet so great has been the rush of new scholars since the re-organisation of the schools under the management of Joseph H. Barnum, the present Superintendent, that a hall has been rented for our use by the Freed-men's Bureau.* Still there are one thousand children in Memphis that are unprovided for. Sommersville is our only outpost from Memphis, but others ought to be established.

The Howard school, at Chattanooga, is in excellent condition, under the management of Rev. E. O. Tade, assisted by four female teachers. A teacher has just been sent to Jonesboro, East Tennessee, and preparations are being made for a school at Greenville.

The total number bearing our commissions in Tennessee is fifty-four.

The Rev. D. Burt, Superintendent of Education, of the staff of Gen. Wm. Carlin, is untiring in his efforts to advance the educational interests of the Freed-men; and could we fill all his orders for teachers, a school would soon be established in every village in Tennessee.

Major-General Swain, Assistant Commissioner for Alabama, says, in regard to schools, "Too much cannot be said of the desire to learn among the people. Everywhere a reciprocity of interest dictates facilities for education, and private and plantation schools are supplementing, and perhaps exceed, the more conspicuous efforts. From time to time, and where they could be useful, coloured men have been employed, usually as assistants, with a view of raising up teachers from their own race to perpetuate the work among the freed-men."

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THE FREED-MAN.

MEMORIAL TO HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT ON ENDOWED SCHOOLS IN JAMAICA.

We congratulate our readers who are interested in the objects of the Society on the marked attention given to the statements contained in the FREED-MAN by the parties of all others we are concerned to influence in the right direction. It is a most hopeful and cheering sign that the planters in Jamaica, as well as their dependants, begin to weigh the facts we endeavour to bring before public attention. This opens to us a fine door of opportunity, which we shall endeavour to improve with diligence and care. Jamaica will be saved if the men of property and influence will only act on right principles and in the spirit of humanity. Our aim is to combine all classes in the work of improvement. The points we have to submit for fair investigation may give rise in the first instance to a little irritation. But if we keep cool, this will pass off without harm. Nothing will divert us from our one simple and grand object; we mean to promote the welfare of all classes of the community and therefore know nothing of partizan-ship or merely local contention. Every step we take shall be in broad daylight, Hence we submit to the candid consideration of planters and to our members of Parliament, the following document we have just forwarded to the Government.

To the Right Hon. the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

May it please your Grace,

The President and Committee of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, in presenting to your Lordship a memorial relative to the funds existing for educational purposes in Jamaica, desire to express their firm conviction that this is a matter in which Her Majesty's government will take a special interest. The Committee are anxious that it should be distinctly understood that their object in submitting the statements contained in the Memorial for the consideration of your Grace is simply to afford facilities for careful investigation. The Society represented by the Committee is purely philanthropic in its character, and it has no ulterior political aims. The Committee sent a large amount, both in money and goods to aid the Freed-men of the Southern States of America. At the time of the unhappy outbreak in Jamaica, its attention, as indeed that of the whole country, was directed to the deteriorated condition of that beautiful and fertile island so long under the British govern-

ment. The report of the Royal Commissioners confirms the Committee in their previous conviction that the chronic source of evil is to be found in the neglected condition of many districts of the country in which the people have received no useful instruction or religious culture. The remedy for this semi-state of barbarism can only be gradually employed. It will require the earnest and persevering co-operation of all who are really concerned for the amelioration of the general condition of Jamaica. The aim of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society is to bring to light all available resources for the improvement of the people, to lend whatever help may be in their power to those who are already working in the field, to find suitable agencies, and to afford to all a common medium of information and encouragement. It is not therefore in the spirit of needless interference that the Committee invite your Lordship's attention to the matter of the existing endowments for education in Jamaica, but to communicate the statements received from natives of the island who are interested in its welfare. The Committee have no doubt whatever of the interest your Grace will take in the case, and they feel assured that all will be done in securing investigation that circumstances will permit.

Signed—In the name and on behalf of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society,
FREDERICK TOMKINS, M.A., D.C.L.
JOHN WADDINGTON, D.D.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS IN JAMAICA.

The neglected state of many districts in Jamaica, arising from the absence of schools, or from inefficient teachers, has led us to enquire into the resources of the Island, to ascertain the available means for meeting existing necessities. We find that considerable property has been bequeathed by benevolent testators of former days to make provision for the relief of the necessitous, and the instruction of poor coloured children, and in particular of destitute orphans. It is interesting to learn that funds have been left for free schools in various districts. We may enumerate the following :

- 1 Beckford free school, (Spanish Town.)
- 2 Smith free school, (Spanish Town.)
- 3 Jamaica free school, Walton Pen, St. Ann's.
- 4 Manning's free school, Westmoreland.
- 5 Russea's free school, Hanover Lucia.
- 6 St. James's free school, St. James's, Morant Bay.
- 7 Titchfield school, Portland.
- 8 Vere District free schools, Vere.
- 9 Manchester District free schools, Manchester.
- 10 Woolmer's free school, Kingston.

The revenues of several of these schools are large. Jamaica free school is said to have £996 per annum, and Woolmer's free school, Kingston, has a yearly income of £1,044. The Woolmer school of 700 or 800 children, of all classes under the care of a black clergyman from Canada, is said to be well conducted. Having no opportunity for direct personal observation, we do not presume to judge of the efficiency of these educational establishments, but from all we can learn we fear, as in the case of too many endowments, the intentions of the

founders have only been partially respected. In some instances we are informed the benefit derived from them by the children of the poor is exceedingly small. Titchfield free school, Portland, exists only in name. There is, we understand, neither school house or teacher. In every case advantage would accrue from careful and impartial enquiry, and we venture to submit to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, (as well as to His Excellency the Governor of Jamaica,) that an early investigation ought to take place into the state of all these institutions. We feel the more warranted in respectfully urging such an enquiry from the circumstance that in most instances the members of the late Legislative Assembly were appointed trustees. It would be satisfactory to the friends of education to have a well-authenticated report as the result of a fair examination of the schools, giving the number of children under instruction, and the character of the education given.

Our attention has been especially directed to a correspondence in several Jamaica journals respecting the Monro and Dickenson's schools. We are not called upon to decide in a controversy which requires in order to form a correct judgment more local information than we possess. But there are certain items broadly mentioned that seem to call for early and searching enquiry.

It would appear that ROBERT HUGH MONRO, a coloured man of large wealth, who died in 1798, left a considerable portion of these endowment funds. He directed in his will, that "at the time of the decease" of his nephew Caleb Dickenson, certain property should be laid out "in the endowment of the school to be erected and maintained for the education of as many *poor children* of the parish of St. Elizabeth, as the said funds may be sufficient to provide for and maintain, and in defraying the annual expenses attending the same, in such manner as shall be from time to time directed by the majority of justices of the said parish, who shall meet for that purpose; and, if necessary, to apply to the legislature of this island for an act for the proper and due regulation of the said charity, and to carry the intent of this my will in respect thereof into full and complete execution."

In 1821, Charles Dickenson, also a gentleman of colour, died and bequeathed £36,000 in money, and certain estates to the value of £100,000, for the endowment of a free school and for aid and support of the aged and infirm in indigent circumstances.

For eighteen years, we are informed and believe, the Governor of Jamaica, with the Attorney-General and others, shared the revenue derived from the property bequeathed by Monro and Dickenson, and the schools, &c., were left more than thirty years in abeyance. The Governor is said to have given some kind of engagement that in the event of a school being established the money received by him should be returned. The Duke of Manchester shared largely in the benefits of the escheat. In and about the year 1853-4 Mr. Raynes W. Smith and the Hon. Mr. Shakespeare rescued the remnant of the funds, amounting only to £23,337, and obtained an act (18th Vic. cap. 53) for the manage-

ment of the charity. The interest of the invested sum amounted to £1,400 per annum, which the act directed to be laid out "in the keeping and maintaining of a free school or free schools for the reception, education, and maintenance of poor boys and girls," for "the repairs of buildings, &c., and for keeping up and supporting of the several schools for day scholars." Thus empowered, the Trustees in 1856 established a boys' school for twelve pupils and a girls' school with an equal number. They also instituted eleven day schools, and distributed them over the parish. They provided, moreover, an almshouse at Black River. In addition to this they elected "poor boys and girls," chiefly orphans, whose parents had been reduced to a state of indigence. All the intentions of the testators were respected.

The complaint is now made that since 1862 the existing trustees have seriously departed from the express requirements of the trust. The income of the charity amounts to £1,700 per annum. Of this sum £200 are distributed in grants of £6 to £8 and £12 to persons reduced from comfortable circumstances to a state of indigence. At Potsdam there is a principal school maintaining about sixteen boys on the foundation, also six boys whose parents contribute £20 for each boy. Private pupils are taken by the trustees, who require an annual fee of £35 for each boy of twelve years of age and under, and £40 for each pupil over twelve years. The master receives a salary of £350, with the residence and a glebe of 103 acres; the matron receives £500, more or less, for the maintenance of the boys, with a salary of £40 per annum. A second master is appointed at a salary of £60. There is a girls' school at Torrington, in which, for the education and maintenance of six girls, the matron receives £250, and £40 is paid for the rent of the house. The clerk to the trustees is paid £80 per annum, and a medical attendant has a salary of £50 per annum.

From these respectable establishments, the children of Black people are excluded. For the class of children for whom the endowment was intended to provide, four or five meaner schools of a low order only, are supported out of the funds of the charity, in which the master and mistress receive salaries ranging from £12 to £25. Practically the advantages of education, which with a just appropriation of the original funds would have been enjoyed by thousands of poor black children, are confined to a small number provided for at an expense of about two hundred pounds. We submit that there is a *prima facie* case for full enquiry. The correspondence on the Monro and Dickenson's charity was continued for several weeks in the Jamaica papers. Specific allegations are made in it against the trustees for various irregularities. The Hon. John Salmon on the part of the trustees, though constrained to write in the journals on the subject, offers no defence. The only reply of the trustees is the following:—"September 22nd, 1863. 'A series of letters,' signed 'C. Plummer,' and published in the newspapers, having been brought to the notice of the Boards.

"Resolved, that the said letters be referred to a committee to report to the

next quarterly meeting, and that this resolution be published in the 'Morning Journal' and 'Guardian' Newspapers. 'True Extract,' &c.

The editor of a Jamaica paper writes: "the above quotation from the newspapers, professing to be a 'true extract from the Minute Book' of the Dickenson's and Monro's charity, indicates one of those legionary abuses from which this country and so many of her families and vital interests have suffered for a century past." "His Excellency the Governor ought to be advised by his counsellors to appoint an impartial and disinterested commission."

The Hon. J. Salmon did not answer Mr. Plummer, but in the perilous times of martial law he sent officers to search his house. A scrap of paper that might afford the shadow of a pretext for taking his life would have been sufficient. Nothing could have saved him from the fate of Mr. Gordon. The officers held Mr. Plummer in charge whilst every corner of his dwelling was ransacked. We have before us the original letter of perfect clearance. The following is an exact copy of the document:—

"2 November, 1865.

"Sir,

"I return you the papers I took to look over. I am very glad that I have to report to the Governor that there appears no reason to believe that you are in any correspondence with any party, or may have been supposed from any information the Government may have received, evil disposed; or which leads me, so far as I can learn from the examination of your papers, to take any measures against you, or hold you answerable to the Government.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JOHN SALMON.

"Charles Plummer, Esq., Berlin."

Downing Street, April 10th, 1867.

Sir,

I am directed by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, relative to education in Jamaica, and enclosing a memorandum relative to endowed schools in that Island, especially Munro and Dickenson's schools. His Grace desires me to state that he will forward a copy of your letter and memorandum to the Governor of Jamaica, whose attention was especially directed to the subject of education by the Earl of Carnarvon.

I am Sir,

Your obedient servant,

FREDERICK ROGERS.

The Secretary of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society.

THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND ON MARTIAL LAW.

The Jamaica prosecutions have culminated in a result that must give satisfaction to every lover of his country and to every friend of his race. We may dismiss entirely the grotesque proceedings of the Shropshire magistrates in the case of Mr Eyre, however tempting for criticism, though the levity and ignorance of the bench should not lead us to overlook the able and luminous exposition of the case, by Mr. Stephens, who conducted it with legal skill, not the less valuable because combined with discretion and self-control, which leaves those who were sincerely concerned for the maintenance of right, nothing to regret. The time will come we believe, when the apparent excess of courtesy in conducting the prosecution, will be seen to have been of the highest advantage, as keeping the case perfectly free from the semblance of vindictiveness. None can say that there was in it, for a moment, the tumult of passion, or the alloy of party bitterness. The charge of the Lord Chief Justice of England, (Sir Alexander Cockburn) given to the grand jury at the Old Bailey sessions, on the indictment of Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand, April 10th, will invest this prosecution with an interest as lasting we believe as the Petition of Right, or any of the grand constitutional securities for the rights and liberties of the British subject. It gives us inexpressible pleasure to put on record a summary of the charge, especially for the relief and encouragement of the Freed-men in Jamaica. They will read it with attention, and preserve it with care. The Lord Chief Justice, in his opening remarks, narrated with great exactness the events of the outbreak in Jamaica, and the circumstances which led to this prosecution. "THE FIRST QUESTION," continued the learned judge, "*is whether the Governor had authority to proclaim martial law, this court having been instituted upon the assumption of that authority; and if it should turn out that there was any such authority, the further question is whether these parties, having all proceeded upon the assumption that the Governor had authority to declare martial law, had authority by virtue of that proclamation, to try the deceased on the charge and sentence him to death.*"

In reference to the *first question*, the Lord Chief Justice said: "one thing is quite clear, that the power of the Governor to declare martial law must proceed from one of two sources, either from the commission he has received from the Crown, or from some Act either of the Imperial, or Colonial, legislature. The Governor, simply as such, would have no power to declare martial law. From the time of our colonial possessions, a distinction has been taken and established by legal authority between two classes of colonies, which are called by technicalities, crown colonies, and settled colonies. The crown colony is one which has been acquired by conquest. With regard to such colonies, the power of the crown and sovereign is absolute. Very different is the case of the settled colonies, which are colonies where land has been taken possession of in the name of the crown of England as being unoccupied, and as having been

afterwards colonized and settled upon by English or British subjects. In such a case the inhabitants of the colony have all the rights of Englishmen.

The learned judge demonstrated from the history of Jamaica, and from the course of its legislation that from the first, Jamaica was an English colony peopled by this country. In 1728 an act was passed declaring that the laws of England became the laws of Jamaica. This was the decision of Lord Mansfield in 1774.—“*Therefore,*” said the Lord Chief Justice, “*upon principle, upon legislation, and upon the authority and the considered opinion of the great man whose name I have mentioned, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that Jamaica was a settled colony, and therefore the inhabitants of that island were entitled to all the rights and liberties of British subjects.*”

The Lord Chief Justice proceeded to consider the SECOND QUESTION.—“*Has the sovereign, by virtue of the prerogative of the crown, the power in case of rebellion, of establishing and causing to be exercised martial law?*”

In a most careful and elaborate historical review the learned judge examined every case of so-called martial law in England on record, and proved that none of these acts of arbitrary military power had the form or the force of law. It was solemnly asserted by the Petition of Right, the supplementary charter of English liberties, that an English subject was not to be subjected to martial law. “I can find,” said the learned judge, “no such thing as martial law in this country for the putting down of rebellion. *Never forget that whatever may be the charge of which a man is accused, although he may be a rebel, although he may be the worst of traitors ever brought to the block, yet until he is convicted, until his life is taken, he is still a subject, and is entitled when brought to justice, to all those safeguards which are the essence of justice, and which have been found by experience to be necessary to prevent rash and hasty judgments, which even men experienced in the administration of justice are at times too apt to pronounce, and to prevent sometimes that innocence which has the appearance of guilt from being treated as although the guilt were actually established; to prevent innocence from being confounded with guilt, and an innocent man from being destroyed, more especially in times of excitement and passion.*”

The learned judge then gave an exhaustive exposition of courts-martial in connection with military discipline, and referred to the power given to the Governor of Jamaica. “I suppose,” he added, “there is no island or place in the world in which there has been so much insurrection or disorder as in Jamaica, and there is no place in which the curse which attaches to slavery, both as regards master and slave, has been so fully illustrated. Had not the rains of Heaven washed away the blood from the streets of Jamaica, it would have spoken out against the atrocities which have been committed there.” In one case 1,000 negroes perished by execution. People were burnt alive, which was a very common form of putting an end to their lives.

The learned judge then passed on to the enquiry—*whether George William Gordon, who was put to death under the sentence of this court-martial, was amenable*

to its jurisdiction. Entering into the details of the case, he showed clearly that the Governor had no power to arrest.—“I cannot help thinking,” he said, “and I have a strong opinion on the point, that the whole proceeding of taking Mr. Gordon from where he was, putting him on board a war steamer, and conveying him to Morant Bay, was an unjustifiable proceeding, and to Mr. Gordon it made the difference of life and death.” Nine-tenths of the evidence upon which he was convicted and sentenced to death (according to no rules of right and justice) would never have been received if a competent judge had presided. No jury, however influenced by prejudice or passion, could upon evidence so morally and intrinsically worthless, and upon evidence so utterly inconclusive, have condemned that man upon the charge of murder.

The Lord Chief Justice next considered the question, whether this jurisdiction be it well founded, was honestly and *bona fide* exercised, whether, as suggested by the prosecution, it was not corrupted. He commented severely on the evidence and on the entire mode of procedure. “It is impossible,” he said, “to suppose that Mr. Gordon contemplated the outbreak which did take place. I have seen it written, and I confess I shuddered as I read it, that it was justifiable to send Mr. Gordon to a court-martial to be tried, because a court-martial might be justified in committing a man because he was mischievous. If that was the principle on which they proceeded in Mr. Gordon’s case, I say it was one of the most lamentable instances of a miscarriage of justice with which history can furnish us.” In closing the learned judge referred to the doubtful points as to the implication of the accused parties, and left the case to the judgment of the grand jury. The address, of which we have given only a brief outline, occupied six hours in the delivery.

On the following day the grand jury came into court, and Mr. Avery announced that they returned both bills “Not Found.” Just before the rising of the court the grand jury attended before Baron Channel and made the following presentment: “The grand jury strongly recommend that martial law should be more clearly defined by legislative enactment.”

The gain to the cause of right and truth by this judicial exposition of the case by Sir Alexander Cockburn is incalculable. The facts contained in the Blue Books of the Royal Commission have been mastered by few. Many have been misled by a reckless press. “Of late,” said the Lord Chief Justice, “doctrines have been put forward which are to my mind of the wildest and most startling character—doctrines which if true would establish this: that British subjects not ordinarily subject to martial law may be brought before tribunals armed with the most arbitrary and despotic powers—tribunals which are to create the law which they ought to administer, and are to decide upon the guilt or innocence of persons brought before them, with a total abandonment of all those rules and principles which are the essence of justice. These doctrines seem to me, I must say, as unfounded and as untenable as in my judgment they are mischievous—I will almost say detestable.”

The proceedings in the case of Mr. Gordon have been set in their true light by one in the highest judicial position and most capable of forming a correct judgment. It is no loss as to the moral effect of this issue that Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand have escaped all chance of becoming pseudo martyrs. The clearest mirror has shown the real character of their actions at Morant Bay. The infamy of their proceedings will be as perpetual as the record of this grand and impressive exposition of English law.

But this is not all. Merely personal questions are comparatively insignificant. From this time there is solid ground to hope for the future of Jamaica and of British subjects of every colour in our colonial dependencies. Wild despair it is that breeds insurrection. Men who can gain no impartial hearing and who are without adequate representation, men who have not the power to explain their own case for want of education, men who brood over the most exciting memories of past wrong, may well become desperate. Property in consequence becomes insecure, loss in the most fertile districts of country is entailed, and this in turn leads to vexation and contempt of the race that should supply profitable labour. Communities that justly treated and wisely trained might contribute to the prosperity of the island, and to the growth and stability of the empire, become degraded, miserable, restless, and violent.

Here is a sound footing for a new order of things. Let the thrifty and industrious small proprietors that constitute two-thirds of the freed-men in Jamaica, look to the education of their families, and make them well acquainted with the duties, as well as rights, of British subjects. Chronic evils, so deeply rooted, cannot be removed at a stroke. Patience therefore will be far stronger than passion. Every man must seek the welfare of the entire community. The feeble are necessary to co-operate with the strong, and the aim of all must be simple and disinterested. Finally, we submit to the friends of Jamaica, that something should be done effectively to aid the *British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society*, at so important and promising a crisis. We feel satisfied that when relieved from the great strain of the prosecutions, practical attention will be given so as to secure an impartial independent and effective organ in the FREED-MAN, to which all parties interested in the progress of the race may look with respect and confidence for full information, sound principles and the spirit of true freedom combined with charity and moderation. We feel it will be sufficient to remind our friends that at present it is the duty of all to continue to hold aloft the standard—our hands are not yet weak, and we look with certainty for prompt and generous support and hearty co-operation.

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

We approach a very interesting and important juncture in the work for the protection, guidance and help of the millions of Freed-men. It is impossible that however needy they can be sustained permanently from the hand of charity by friends at a distance, and without care there is reason to fear that the work may be relinquished under the impression that little remains to be accomplished. If unfaithful at this moment we might lose the "full reward" to be attained by earnest perseverance. We have the assurance that all our sincere friends will see this clearly. The history of previous philanthropic movements have shewn that on the subsidence of interest and the retirement of benevolent helpers from the field there has been a terrible renewal of injury and oppression. Acts of cruelty have been repeated and more fearful wrongs have been committed—because it was known that the excitement on the part of anti-slavery friends had passed away—not to be easily renewed. We hope that former experience will prove admonitory and that at least a sufficient number of faithful adherents to the cause will continue at the post of observation to watch over the entire field, gradually to form a healthy public opinion, and to give the assurance to the entire race of the Freed-men that their true condition shall be fairly represented, that they may have the fullest encouragement to enter on the course of improvement. We begin now to hear from every quarter of the field, that the organization of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society is "just what is wanted." The more intelligent of the Freed-men say "We had lost confidence in Great Britain and our people might soon have become reckless—but if you will watch over our interests in London—communicate with the government—and give us moral support and protection—we shall gain heart and in a little time you will find that we will ourselves sustain the Society." How much then may depend on the supply of pecuniary means at the Bazaar, or by early contributions. It is the best hour with all who take an interest in the cause. We must not rely on the sympathy of the general public, but try by personal effort to enlist the aid of friends. Possibly some who receive the **FREED-MAN** may from inadvertence pass over the subject, because pre-occupied with other matters. We must try therefore to stir up all our circle of acquaintance at this time. If those who cannot be present at the Bazaar would pass round the circular or magazine and ask shilling donations, this would be helpful. Money is just now essential for the preservation of the Society and its success. A young friend says, "I will go round to all my friends and the tradespeople here to obtain articles and contributions for the Bazaar, if you will send me circulars."

This is just the course to take. We send out the **FREED-MAN** early, that all may be apprized in time, the Hanover Rooms are well known, contributions are coming from America, Jamaica, Africa, as well as from our friends at home. There is life and energy; let it increase in every visit they pay, in every letter they write; let our friends remember the Bazaar, and let the appointment for the

first and second of May be nobly kept. This will give gladness and strength to the friends of the Society, and send a reviving ray of hope to millions for the days to come.

Mr. Craft is arrived from Dahomey—he will help us—and we hope to see the grand-daughters of Bishop Crowther with us at the Bazaar: once more then we say, be in earnest, and the satisfaction of all will be complete.

THE following note has been received by the Rev. W. Tyler, in acknowledgment of the work provided by the sewing circle for which the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society furnished the needful grant.—Office of Friends Freed-men's Association, Philadelphia, 2nd Month, 15th, 1867.—To W. Tyler, Respected Friend,—I have delayed writing to thank the ladies of the Mile End New Town Congregational Church, for the Cask of clothing sent for the Freed-men, through the Birmingham and Midland Association, until it should have been forwarded to the point where its contents would be distributed, of which I am now glad to be able to advise them. It was not received by the above Association until the early part of the summer, and, with many other similar packages was carefully stored away for use when the present winter should bring the cold winds and the sharp frosts, common in this country. It so remained till within the past week, when a request for the character of supplies such as this cask contained, was received from George Dixon, the superintendent of Schools under this Association, for the State of North Carolina, and to his care it was sent at once, to have the contents distributed by teachers in one or more of the school districts in his sections. The gratitude of these poor people for the supplies that have been sent them from time to time is represented as being sincere and heartfelt, mingled with thanks to the God of their former trust, that He has continued to watch over them, and not permit them to be utterly cast down. The simple faith of these people is instructive, and very touching is it to be present at their meetings, when in quaint, untutored language, they pour out their petitions to the Throne of Grace for a blessing on those who have done so much for them, and for the granting of

their own prayers for liberty, while none the less earnest are the desires of their hearts, that their old masters may see the error of their ways, and be forgiven by their Lord; as *they* have forgiven them already for their cruelties to themselves. With minds so clothed, very rapid is the progress made by them on their Heavenly journey, eagerly longing to be able to read the Bible, and then be possessed of a copy. I trust the ladies may be satisfied with the disposition made of their gift, for which let me also add my thanks, and believe me to remain their friend in the cause, JOEL CADBURY, JUN., *Chairman of Clothing Committee of F. F. A.*

TAMSEY JORDAN.—A Freed-woman offers a reward of twenty-five dollars to anybody who will assist her in getting back her son, Bryant Jordan, a coloured boy, who went off with the Fifteenth Army Corps when they came through Georgia. He is about sixteen years old; is of a ginger-cake colour; carries his head thrown back when he walks, and has some deficiency in the movements of his eyes. Tamsey may be addressed at Davisborough, Ga., Central Railroad, and she requests all humane papers to copy her advertisement.

A FACT FOR NEGRO HATERS.—It is a singular fact, and will be memorable hereafter, that one of the first political acts of the coloured citizens of South Carolina was to recommend a repeal of the law disfranchising their rebel masters.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

MRS. COBB, the pardon broker, still lives and flourishes; and she secured a pardon for a rebel on President Johnson's own order, on the seventh of last month.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our pages are open to communications bearing on the present condition and claims of the Freed-men.

The Freed-Man.

MAY, 1867.

THE NEED AND CLAIMS OF OUR SOCIETY.

In the transition state of the freed coloured population of our world, it must be manifest upon a little reflection, that such a body as the "British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society" is much needed. The Freed-men need relief, advice and protection. Through the various agencies in this country aid, which has proved a priceless boon, has been sent to the Freed-men of the United States of America. We wish this relief had been much larger than it has been, and we regret that up to the present period but comparatively few of our countrymen have responded to the appeals made for help. It is, however, counsel and advice that the Freed-men now especially need in every part of the world. To be influential and beneficial, it must come from those who feel interested in their welfare. The power exerted for good by the friends of the negro in the United States, from Chief Justice Chase and General Howard down to the teacher of the humblest school, has been immense. Why has this been? Because the negro knows well that the help and the advice extended to them have been, not by foes, but by kind, firm and zealous friends. We appeal to philanthropists in England

at the present time to sustain us in our important work. As friends and advisers of the coloured people, our influence is extending all over the world. The "FREED-MAN" now circulates among the coloured people themselves by hundreds where formerly we only circulated tens. This alone is very cheering. We have been also enabled to present to her Majesty's Government for consideration important matters connected with the interests of the Freed-men. We are grateful to be able to say, that our representations have been received with courtesy and attention. What the Society needs is an increase of annual subscribers, and some large donations from the more wealthy friends of the negro. At the present time we urge this matter especially as one of the utmost importance to the efficient and successful action of the Society.

Our friends may also do much by affording the Ladies' Committee their patronage and help. The Bazaar is now fixed for April 30th and May 1st and 2nd, at Hanover Square Rooms. We plead for the lady friends of the Society, who have exerted themselves with a most laudable industry for this interesting effort to aid the funds of the Society. The appeal for Mrs. Moseley's schools is most urgent and pressing. That lady, the widow of the late Chief Justice at the West Coast, is anxious to return to the Cape Coast Castle as soon as possible. If all our friends will help us now our sanguine expectations will be more than realized. We do therefore most urgently appeal to the friends of the Society for the utmost assistance in their power at the present season.

REPORT ON JAMAICA.

BY GARDINER GREENE HUBBARD, ESQ., CAM-
BRIDGE, MASS.

The last number of the *New Englander* contains an article on the Insurrection in Jamaica, by Mr. Hubbard, worthy of attention. The following extracts will indicate its general character.

DIFFERENT CLASSES OF NEGROES.

1st Those working regularly on the estates, living and depending on them for support.

2nd Those having no regular employment.

3rd Those who own and live upon their small farms.

The first-class is found only in those portions of the islands where sugar estates are still worked, *they live to a great extent in barracks, men and women herding together, they are extremely ignorant and degraded, retaining the vices of slavery without gaining the virtues of freedom.*

The second-class have thrown off their dependence on the estates, but are more lazy than either of the other classes, not being obliged to work with the first, nor stimulated to labour with the third; owning no land, they are shiftless and improvident, and paying their rent irregularly or not at all, they are forced to wander from place to place, working occasionally and stealing when too lazy to work. They are a curse to the land, and dangerous alike to white and black. Unless this system of petty thieving can be checked the industrious will be discouraged, and idleness and profligacy must increase.

The third class are the most numerous—nearly three-quarters of the whole black population. Their small farms are scattered all over the island, excepting among the large sugar estates. They raise a little sugar, coffee and pimento, and own many small sugar mills. Their cabins are more comfortable, the marriage relation is more respected, thefts and petty vices are less frequent, they wish to educate their children, and have some desire to improve their condition in life. They are the small farmers, and upon their elevation the island must depend for its future wealth and prosperity. They have elevated themselves in spite of unfavourable laws and

influences, receiving aid from the Baptist, Wesleyan, and Moravian missionaries, many of whom have laboured with great fidelity and devotion for the welfare of the people.

The first class, we have said, live upon the sugar estates, these estates are managed by attorneys or overseers for absentee proprietors; the labourers are overworked and ill paid; the wages are often withheld, or paid but in part, large deductions being made for alleged unfaithfulness. It was on these estates that the insurrection commenced and spread.

The coloured population steadily increased even while the blacks and whites were diminishing. Many of the offices of government and of the judiciary are filled by them, they are heard in the pulpit, and at the bar, are consulted as physicians and surgeons. Among the most celebrated and talented men of Jamaica are the Hon. Richard Hill; Hon. P. Moncrief, Judge of the highest court; Hon. E. Jordan, C. B., Governors' Secretary and Mayor of Kingston; Hon. A. Hyslop, Attorney General and Member of the Executive Council; and Dr. Scott, of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh; all of whom are coloured gentlemen.

"Poor Jamaica" Her island princes are ruined, her "great houses" are deserted, her immense estates are broken up, her exports are greatly diminished, her warehouses are vacant, the descendants of those who rode through her streets, their horses shod with silver, walk through the land in poverty. Many of her largest "sugar works" are abandoned and the busy slave is superseded by the idle vagabond!

But there is another side to the picture. The immense estates are broken up, but little farms are cultivated by freemen; the great houses are abandoned, but the slave barracks, where men and women herded together, have given place to thatched cottages, which husband and wife and children call home. The exports of sugar and coffee, grown by rich planters are diminished, but many a little mill worked by hand turns out its hoghead of sugar, and many a barrel of coffee, with baskets of oranges and bananas, and bags of cocoa, gathered by wife and children, find

their way to market. The imports for home consumption too are increased.

We do not deny the laziness and profligacy of the negro, but we believe that other influences may stimulate him to industry and virtue besides the lash and branding iron. We do not deny his propensity to lie and steal, but consider these rather as faults common to our fallen humanity, unchecked by religious teaching, and encouraged by fear and cruelty. Slavery and not emancipation is responsible for the present degraded condition of the negro, while to the negro himself, and the faithful efforts of the missionary, belong the credit of his improvement and his efforts for further advancement.

The ruin of Jamaica has been caused not by the freeing of the slave, but by the efforts on the part of the planter to retain the freed-men in ignorance and servitude, and the neglect on the part of the government to protect and support the Freed-men in their rights.

For these views Mr. Hubbard is responsible. We place them before our readers as indicating the necessity of combining all classes in the work of gradual improvement, there should be no jealousy between white, black or coloured, nor strife between planters or labourers. What is right in the end will lead to the advantage of all. The people Mr. Hubbard calls the "second class" in Jamaica, are ready and anxious in every way to co-operate with intelligent and right minded friends of Jamaica in this country, and they are extremely solicitous that the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society should be well sustained.

NEW FRIENDS FOR THE NEGRO.

Fighting the inevitable has always proved unprofitable business. The South has found it so in opposing the political and sociable elevation of the negro; the leading men clung to and fought for caste and colour to the bitter end, and then only to ascertain that all was in vain. The decree of the nation went forth and the negro was made a man. There was, and there still is grumbling, and some, whose foolishness has not wholly left them, would fain show a little resistance, but we think that the manifest tendency is to accept

the situation and make the best of it—for themselves. For we now see strong indications of an attempt to control the negro vote in the interest of those who were active in the rebellion. The Southerners, at least the more intelligent portion, argue that they can and will show to the black man that they are his true friends, and that their interest will be best promoted by using their newly acquired rights of citizenship according to their dictation. A meeting of the citizens of Columbia, S. C., irrespective of color, held a few days since, has great significance in its bearings on the progress of opinions at the South. The rebel Gen. Wade Hampton and other prominent Southerners were present and made addresses, and there was good feeling, and what a little time ago would have been considered a strange fraternization of races; and this was so marked that it may well cause us to awake to the fact that the ex-rebels may secure no mean proportion of negro votes at coming elections. The *Richmond Times* remarks in the course of a long editorial: "We have very unwisely, not to say foolishly, assumed that the emancipated and now enfranchised blacks would, under the malign influence of that very class of white men whom the negro, as a slave, held in undisguised contempt, array themselves against those whom it is to their interest to propitiate. Forgetting all which centuries of slavery should have taught us of the nature, temperament and prejudices of the blacks, we have for two years left the negro at the mercy of those who have impressed upon his plastic and unthinking mind the belief that there were good grounds for violent antagonism between capital and labour, and that while white gentlemen were his enemies, white rascals and vagabonds were his only friends and defenders. When emancipation ruptured the old ties of master and slave, we should have taken immediate steps to convince the Freed-men that their old masters were still their best and only friends." And the same paper reaches the sage conclusion that "it is not yet too late to deliver them (the freed-men) from those false and malignant influences to which we have so often alluded." Thus it is that our rebel friends are determined that

"The curse a blessing shall be found."

Negro suffrage was the terrible evil that hung over them, and now that it has come to be a reality, they are endeavouring to use it to their advantage. Very natural, to be sure, but we have little fear that the negro will forget who are his true friends. Friendship by compulsion has few elements of strength.—*Boston Congregationalist*.

REPORT OF LEVI COFFIN.

The labours of this Commission have been steady and onward the past year, though the amount expended is not equal to last year.

We are happy to say that the demand for physical relief is much lessened, except at certain points where crops were short, and where the Freed-men were not paid for their labour; leaving them without the means of self-support. The camps or Freed-mens' homes have all been broken up by order of government. Homes have been provided for a large number of the orphan children, yet there are many cases of extreme destitution among the Freed-men that require our continued exertions to relieve. But education is the great work before us. Notwithstanding our expenditures have not been equal to last year, our schools have not diminished, but increased in number. We have more teachers in the field than we had last year. The schools have been supported in part by the Freed-men themselves. Our receipts have been less, both of goods and money the past year, in consequence of denominational action. The Methodists, Old School Presbyterians, United Presbyterians, Friends, and some other denominations have established schools in connection with their Missionary labours among the Freed-men. Hence our collecting field is divided and our receipts lessened. Although many of the members of these religious denominations believing as we do, that undenominational labour is the most effectual among the Freed-men, as far as educational and physical relief is concerned, still sustain us and contribute to both.

Our friends in England and Ireland have kindly remembered us again the past year, and have contributed largely to our supplies

of clothing and other goods; mostly new and of excellent quality. They have also contributed largely to our funds. This I feel should be a stimulant to renewed exertion on our part. We have received, and distributed to the Freed-men the following list of goods since our last year's report:

Womens' and Childrens' Garments.....	11,751
Mens' and Boys' Garments	3,693
Prs. Hose.....	2,521
Prs. Boots and Shoes.....	1,447
Ladies' Hats and Bonnets.....	289
Mens' Hats and Caps.....	511
Prs. Blankets.....	1,146
Yds. New Goods.....	2,426
Doz. Knives and Forks	606
Doz. Spoons.....	101
Lbs. Hospital Supplies	2,946
Lbs. Garden Seed	168
Farming Implements	3,016
School Books	5,460
Bottles of Ink	384
Gross of Pens	12
Pencils.....	1,870
Gross Paper	42
Papers of Needles	1,684
Thimbles	1,184
Doz. Buttons	1,187
Prs. Shears.....	2,478
Spools of Thread	1,924
Lbs. Thread.....	18
Doz. Slates.....	89
Balmoral Skirts	134
Quilts and Coverlets	10
Shawls	18
Pocket Handkerchiefs	30

And a lot of Toys for school children.

Estimated value	\$38,840,51
Of the above, the following were received from Great Britain and Ireland:	
Womens' and Childrens' Garments.....	5,890
Men and Boys Garments	1,342
Prs. Hose.....	398
Prs. Boots and Shoes.....	476
Ladies' Bonnets and Hats.....	96
Men's Hats and Caps	214
Prs. Blankets	896
Yds. New Goods	2,063
Doz. Knives and Forks	606
Slates	64

Pencils	600
Papers Needles	1,684
Thimbles	1,184
Prs. Shears	2,448
Spools Thread.....	1,837
Lbs. Thread	11

About the first of November we formed a union and co-operation in our field of labour, with the American Missionary Association, and have been labouring jointly together since that time, having but one office and one set of Agents, thus saving much expense. The receipts of goods and clothing, received and distributed by the joint Commissions, are not included in the above report. We have received from our home field, 137 boxes and barrels of clothing and other good since the union of the Commissions, which have been forwarded and distributed among the freed-men, without opening and counting the articles at this office. This would largely swell the report, both in the number of articles and estimated value.

The goods have mostly been distributed by our teachers and Agents, in the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi to the most destitute. We feel comforted in believing that the Lord has blessed our labors, and that much suffering has been relieved. **LEVI COFFIN.**

FREED-MEN'S SCHOOLS AT CHARLESTON.—Mr. Rand, Publisher of *Zion's Herald*, Boston, having attended the late meeting of the South Carolina Mission Conference of the Methodist Church, gives the following account of the schools for Freed-men:—"The Freed-men's schools are a marvel to behold. The 'Military Hall,' a large building directly opposite the Wentworth Street Methodist Episcopal Church, is now occupied exclusively by a dozen or twenty of these schools, of all grades from 'Letters' to Latin. The teachers are in part coloured, but mostly ladies from the North, and all are capable and enthusiastic; the scholars are bright and docile; the recitations encouraging, and the singing enchanting. The average daily attendance in this single building is seven or eight hundred. The whole is under the superintendence of a

mulatto gentleman, who in the dark days of slavery had been obliged to go to Europe for a first-class education—and yet this man would not be the social equal of the stupidest and meanest of white men! Nothing impressed us more favourably than these schools. If they are supported and continued, then indeed is the redemption of the coloured race and the South together a certain thing."

JOSEPH E. DAVIS, brother of Jefferson, having received from the President his old possessions on the Mississippi, has just let the "Hurricane" and "Briarfield" plantations, in Warren County, to B. T. Montgomery, for a term of years. Mr. Montgomery, who is a colored man, and "one of the business managers" of the aforesaid Joseph, has projected a community of his own people, whom he expects, "by the pursuit of agriculture, horticulture, and manufacturing and mechanical arts, as well as the raising of stock, to attain as much prosperity and happiness as are consistent with human nature." We quote from the advertisement, in a paper in which coloured people used to figure chiefly as lead pieces, and rarely enough as "the undersigned" or as original contributors. It probably pays much better to advertise coloured enterprise in agriculture than coloured enterprise in running away.—*Nation*

SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIANS AND THE NEGROES.—The vote of the late General Assembly, held at Memphis, is resolutely justified at the south. Dr. John H. Rue says, "We honestly believe that the true policy of the Church, having in view the true elevation as well as the salvation of the coloured race, is, so far as their ecclesiastical relations are concerned, to keep them as nearly in their former position towards us as their changed social condition will admit. Therefore, instead of repelling the charge made against our General Assembly of trying to hold the coloured man in the Church just as he was before his emancipation, we confess it and glory in it."

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THE FREED-MAN.

THE LATE HON. G. W. GORDON.

II.

THE time is come when many are prepared to look more dispassionately into the case of Mr. Gordon than they were able to do during the excitement of the Eyre prosecution. Epithets, however strong and bitter, cannot be accepted in the place of facts. Malignant scandals having no shadow of foundation only shew the weakness and the wickedness of the case they are intended to support. The "Personal recollections" of Mr. Gordon just published by the Rev. Duncan Fletcher,* supply some important data by which to estimate his character. We avail ourselves of them in the continuation of the sketch commenced in a former number of the FREED-MAN. Mr. Fletcher has unconsciously given a picture of himself and of Mr. Gordon that will suggest to many of his readers an idea of their religious course in Jamaica more vivid and complete than that of the formal record. Mr. Gordon seems to have been an intense, active, and most sanguine "Revivalist." "On one occasion being visiting his estates in St. Thomas-in-the-East, and staying over Sabbath at a town called Bath, he was sorry to find the people there had no early prayer meetings, such as he was accustomed to attend on the morning of the Lord's day, so getting up at 'break of day' and standing in the centre of the town, Mr. Gordon shouted 'Fire! fire!! fire!!!' at the highest pitch of his voice; the inhabitants were startled from their slumbers, and in great alarm sprang from their beds, and rushed to the street eagerly scanning their own premises first, and next glancing wildly around the houses of their neighbours, with buckets and cans ready to pour water on the devouring element; but neither flame nor smoke could be seen in Bath or anywhere in the vicinity; yet Mr. Gordon continued crying 'Fire! fire! fire!' until an immense assembly had gathered around him, some of whom ventured to ask the question; 'Where is the fire, Mr. Gordon? Laying his broad brawny hand on his swelling bosom, and accommodating the words of the

* Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, p. 195.

Psalmist to the occasion, Mr. Gordon replied 'My heart was hot within me; while I was musing the fire of devotion burned. The fire is *here* in my heart: and now, dear friends, come, let us have a prayer meeting.' A glorious prayer meeting, Mr. Fletcher says they had, and a gracious outpouring of the spirit was enjoyed, while a wonderful work of revival commenced that morning in Bath, when hundreds were converted, including one of the ministers in the neighbourhood, whom I knew well."

"I shall never forget a Sabbath which I spent with him in his own peculiar 'work of faith and labour of love' accompanied by Mr. Gordon and Mr. Vinen. We started on horseback, after attending an early prayer meeting, and had nearly twenty miles to ride to the station at which I was engaged to preach, but the whole intervening range was studded with intermediate stations which required hasty visits. We galloped our horses on at almost Jehu speed, from station to station, alighting at some of them for a few minutes while Mr. Gordon inspected his Sabbath schools, &c.; and after several abrupt but kind enquiries as to attendance and other matters, he would address a few words of approbation to some, encouragement or perhaps reproof to others, and then we rode off to another and another station, till at length dear Mr. Gordon's attendants kept on "the even tenor of their way" and allowed him to canter over his by-paths alone, through rivers and rocks and mud and jungle, to his sub-stations, but he made up to us before we reached the end of our journey, for he was by habit and repute the fleetest rider in Jamaica. The day was now far spent; and oh! the terrible heat of the sun! I felt more fit for lying down to rest than for preaching to that sweltering congregation. But after having preached and dismissed the large assembly, the work of the day was not nearly finished.

"Mr. Gordon had his Bethesda pools to visit, where impotent folk, halt, withered, aged, sick, bereaved, destitute, dying ones, were anxiously awaiting his angelic visits to trouble the waters of charity, patience, resignation, and comfort. His head, his heart, his hands and his purse were there harmoniously united in the Christ-like mission of alleviating human woe,"

Mr. Gordon was as active in correspondence as in his visits and preaching. From a large number of letters Mr. Fletcher gives the following as a specimen:

"Rhine Estate, St. Thomas-in-the East.

"My dear brother,

"May 23rd, 1862.

"Although here, I am busy and have but a few moments to spare; grandma and Mr. Vinen are also with me—we all unite in kindest love and remembrances to *you all*, our dear brother and sister, and two dear boys. Our visit here is twofold: first, to open a mission station at Bath and Spring, both of which have been done, thanks be to God, under circumstances which call for devout thankfulness.

"On Sunday, the 18th, services were held at the Missionary Bethel, a temporary place of worship, and it was indeed a refreshing season. At five

o'clock on Monday morning we also had worship ; on Monday evening also, and Tuesday, so it has been quite an interesting time, and we trust much good is already done. Mr. Warren, late of America, one of those seeking a rest here, is the temporary pastor, and he seems just the right man in the right place, under present circumstances. . . . We need an assistant teacher, bibles, tracts, hymn books, and school books. . . . We have determined on three principal stations, two of which are already established in St. Thomas-in-the-East ; this has been a neglected and dark part. May the Lord impart light and life, and to His name shall be great glory. The St. Andrew's Mission is doing well, you will be glad to hear.

"We have been praying for you, and for the success of missions, and for the Divine blessing on all the present meetings (the May meetings) in England, as well as for the success of truth in America. We are sure that our God hears and answers prayers, and we will call on Him continually.

"Secondly, I have been also actively engaged in parochial and private business, we trust rendered more solid by our entire dependence on the Divine blessing. . . . You know what I have to contend with, and yet I don't grow weary nor lose courage. The Lord sustains his most tried pilgrim, and he must press *onward*, doing good in the midst of evil. The harvest is great. O, may the Lord of the harvest send forth labourers into the harvest. At Rural Hill and Manchioneal, and Linstead, the people are left in a melancholy state ; they rest much on my mind at present. . . . I have had a world of trouble to go through ; I am yet fighting. Wave after wave rolls over me, yet why should a living man complain ? You know I have dealt much in faith, and I have found the Lord faithful, so I trust have you, therefore fail not. Look in what a community I move ; think of the wiles and fiery darts of Satan, and then pray for me. O, I never felt the want of prayer so much as at present. I have to implore the mercy of my offended Heavenly Father. He will correct me, and purge me, but he will not forsake me. Love to dear sister, may the Lord increase her faith.

"With love, and affectionate remembrances to Mrs. F. and the dear little ones,

Believe me, my dear brother,

Yours in the best bonds,

G. W. GORDON."

Mr. Gordon was a man of boundless hospitality ; his house was the home and resting-place of the sick and wearied missionary. We are indebted to one who received his kind intentions for the following discriminating estimate of his character. The Rev. H. Renton, of Kelso, says,—“The first time I met him (Mr. Gordon) was at the close of forenoon worship in the Rev. W. Watson's church, Kingston (United Presbyterian), on the first Lord's day of May, 1855, when I was introduced to him and Mrs. Gordon, Mr. and Mrs. Roxburg, Mr. W. W. Anderson, and others of similar standing, who, with Mrs. Watson and

her daughter, remained to conduct the Sabbath school, and I was struck with the fine spectacle of those of highest intelligence and social position in the congregation devoting themselves to that service, and led thereby to form a very favourable impression of their own Christianity. That impression was confirmed, as regarded Mr. and Mrs. Gordon, on a visit to Cherry Gardens a few days after, where I spent two nights, and where all I saw of him corresponded with what Mr. Watson had told me of his active, earnest, generous, and godly character.

"On returning to Kingston in January, 1856, I accepted his kind and pressing invitation to spend a few days and enjoy the mountain scenery, which in an excursion to Newcastle on my former visit had so enchanted me by its magnificence and beauty. But a severe illness shortly after my arrival led to my detention for several weeks and brought me into such close and confidential contact with my host and his amiable and accomplished wife, as afforded me the opportunity of knowing them more intimately than friends commonly do each other after the social intercourse of many years. When my condition was most critical he sat up with me by night, and Mrs. Gordon rarely left my bedside by day. The bed-room had one entrance from the drawing-room, and during my confinement he every morning, before starting for Kingston, seven miles distant, conducted family worship by my bedside, no other than Mrs. Gordon being in the room, while the door stood open into the drawing-room, where the servants and others were assembled. His prayers, simple, appropriate, fervent, had to me all the charm of true devotion.

"The sacred fellowship of that season established mutual confidence, and on my convalescence he talked unreservedly upon all things which occupied his mind. I found that he was immersed in business as a merchant and as a planter, and thought that he had far too many things, and especially far too many Jamaica estates in hand. He had an ardent temperament and a vigorous and elastic constitution. He both undertook and overtook a vast amount of work. Nor were his interest and energy less in public, benevolent, and religious causes, than in his own secular concerns. I never knew a man who seemed to me actuated by more honourable and unselfish and pure motives. He had an enthusiastic admiration of the British Constitution, and an exalted estimate of the dignity, rights, and privileges of British citizenship. He attributed to corrupt local administration, and to the corrupt state of a large portion of the white society in Jamaica, the counteraction and failure of the beneficial designs and legitimate fruits of British legislation, and mentioned to me various men of position whom he had to meet with courtesy in public and business affairs, but whose household thresholds he would scorn to cross, and whom he would not admit within his own. He thought for himself on every matter, was very self-reliant, and what he judged right he did without heed of opposition or opinion.

His defect seemed to me impulsiveness, which, in the ardour and generosity of his nature, was apt to lead him to engage or undertake what it might be very embarrassing or difficult for him to fulfil. He was the natural enemy of injustice and immorality in every form, and in every quarter, and publicly and privately denounced both unsparingly, wherever obtruded in act or principle. In such a community it was inevitable that he should have many enemies. But I never knew a man more candid to opponents, or less disposed to take offence at opposition or *more free of malevolence* towards his bitterest foes; he harboured no personal ill-will, and on reading or referring to the vituperation of any of them, would say, 'Poor man, he is to be pitied, I forgive him.' The christian spirit dwelt in him, and I had often been struck to observe with what readiness, seriousness, and zest, after the conversation had been engrossed with political or secular topics, he would turn to the spiritual, and evince that in the truths and promises of the Gospel he found his rest and refreshment. On parting with Mr. and Mrs. Gordon, I felt, as I have felt on every remembrance of that visit, that had I been their brother I could not have been treated with greater kindness and confidence by either, and of both I had a high estimate, intellectually, morally, and spiritually."

We reserve the examination of the charges made against Mr. Gordon to our next.

PROGRESS OF THE BAZAAR.

The contributions sent for the Bazaar more than realized in quantity, richness and variety the expectations of the Ladies' Committee. The room in Hanover Square was well filled with stalls laden with articles worthy of attention from their intrinsic value and the skill and taste employed in their production. We have not an account of the different contributions, but if this can be furnished without omissions that might cause the appearance of partiality we shall be glad to give at the close of the effort a full report.

The zeal, unanimity and perseverance of the friends who undertook the superintendence of the bazaar entitle them to our warmest thanks. It was worth the trouble to call forth such a demonstration of the kind and enlightened interest taken in the cause of the Freed-men. Whatever may be the want of sympathy on the part of some, it has been shown in a way not to be mistaken that there are many who understand the nature and the necessity of the work to be done, and who are willing to put forth the most strenuous effort in support of the *British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society*. This is no small gain, and the recollection of the devotedness manifested in the Hanover Rooms cheers us in no small degree. In the unavoidable absence of Lord A. Churchill, Mr. Estcourt inaugurated the Bazaar in a few pertinent and encouraging observations, and set an example of kindness and noble liberality. He will read these lines probably in Jamaica, and we trust it will strengthen him in the important work he has undertaken to know that he is remembered with sentiments of the most affectionate esteem, and that his friends fervently pray for his continual preservation, growing success and safe return.

Mr. Craft, who has recently returned from the kingdom of Dahomey, greatly interested the audience collected at the Bazaar by his comprehensive statement.

The Archbishop of Armagh, who presided at a public meeting held in the same building, commended our object, and in answer to many enquiries, we had an opportunity to give information respecting the *British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society*, which we are sure will not be lost.

From various temporary causes the attendance of purchasers at the Bazaar was not so large as might have been anticipated. The expenses of accommodation and of advertising in London is exceedingly heavy. We did not therefore feel justified in continuing the Bazaar longer in London, though many were of opinion that much would have been gained by a few additional days. Our Ladies' Committee were unanimously of opinion that the wiser and more beneficial course would be to adjourn the Bazaar to Brighton. The collection of articles is so superior, the materials good, and the work so creditable, that all believe it will be freely purchased by persons of benevolent feeling and good taste. We are resolved that the kindness of our contributors shall not be thrown away. Nothing has been disposed of at random, or below its value. We shall act in good faith towards all, and we are still open to fresh contributions.

WHAT HAVE WE TO DO WITH THE FREED-MEN IN CANADA?

Is not Canada rich in resources of every kind, and able to give security for a loan of three millions of money? Do not the blacks earn four shillings for a day's work, whilst they are able to live at the rate of a shilling a day? Are there not Government schools for all who will avail themselves of them? Why spend a penny, or waste a thought on the blacks in Canada? We are not sorry that these questions are put, except it may be for the unconscious animus they betray. The material resources of Canada we believe are great, but unless there has been a miraculous change since we visited the province they remain to be developed in their full extent. All religious societies have had to look to the mother country for aid in the extension of missions; the proximity of wealth is not always an advantage to the poor. Within a mile of the Bank of England, without the care of the benevolent, many might perish in hopeless destitution. We must not however lose ourselves in general observations. An impartial account of the black and coloured people in Canada if it could be written in full would form one of the most interesting chapters in

the history of civilization. We want our friends to furnish the incidents that would place the settlements of the *Freed-men* in that country in the true light. In the meanwhile we must be content to furnish a few particulars. The fugitives from slavery in the first instance gained little material advantage from reaching British soil. They sought it however amid a thousand difficulties and at the hourly peril of their lives. As they came from slavery at a time when it was a crime to read, —of necessity they were uninstructed and shiftless—they had to encounter the most inveterate prejudice of colour. Their early friends and patrons were not a little discouraged and disappointed in their first efforts. Perhaps they assumed too much in the way of management and control. But in the course of time there was a change of the most marked and cheering kind. It began in a very simple manner with the judicious and disinterested efforts of the Rev. W. King, a Presbyterian minister who bought land and located upon it a party of liberated slaves. He gave the best attention in his power to their educational social and religious improvement and reaped in the end a rich reward. He was seconded in his noble work by Mr. Archibald McKellar.

When the anti-negro party remonstrated with him for caring for the fugitives as *men* and not as mere chattels, Mr. McKellar said, "I stand in this matter on the British Constitution; the law recognizes no distinction between persons of different colour, and until that law is repealed apart from any higher duty of humanity, I shall make no distinction." When Mr. Jones, the representative of his coloured brethren crosses the border he will find that as Scotland to her honour stood by his race at that time she will befriend his people now, and none the less because of the contemptuous cavils of some who have a lingering notion that slavery somehow was a blessing, though some of the ministers in the Southern States used to speak of "working out the curse of Ham in a considerate way." If they flogged the negro they did it in a christian spirit.

There are government schools in Canada, but not available as they might be to the Freed-men. The coloured people occupy tracts of country that are thinly populated because their land is cheap. The government schools are not placed in situations therefore suited to their convenience. When the children of the freed-men first applied for admission they were refused. They tried the question in the courts of law and gained their rights, but prejudice still overrides the statutes. It was ordered that black and white children should be taught under the same roof—this direction was followed but in evasion of the law a partition was placed between the different classes of children, and a distinction was made in the character of the education given. "Very right too," many we fear will say.

The intelligent Freed-men are of a different opinion; they are influenced by no mean and selfish ambition. They elect white men to represent them in Parliament, and their loyalty is indisputable. But they say and as we think with credit to themselves, we desire to contribute to the strength and prosperity of the country in which we first breathed the air of freedom. To adopt their own words: "Education is necessary in order to succeed in their new homes. They must have a knowledge of the country, its government and laws, as well as a knowledge of the rights and obligations of a British

subject." Think of that! a black man talking of the necessity of education to enable him to exercise the rights, and to fulfil the duties of a *British subject*. He has to say, "I am a citizen of no mean city," and I must be trained to act a part worthy of the immunities I have received." "If not," a few are beginning to say, "we must return to America. There we shall have the suffrage and the aid of Mr. Peabody's grant." All this no doubt will greatly shock the feelings of those who have no idea of the destiny of the black man higher than that of "living at the cost of a shilling a day." But if we had to invest anything in the loan of three millions, we should think the security far greater if the means of improvement were generously afforded to the 100,000 Freed-men on the frontier of Canada, who are sober, industrious, and deeply interested in the welfare of the destitute thousands, who since emancipation have come to the homes of their kindred from which before they were sundered by the most cruel bondage. Timely help and encouragement will prove the means of cheap defence to Canada.

Whatever the bird's-eye view of statesmen may lead them to suppose to the contrary, let the example of the "first families in Virginia" be a warning. Their "people" that used to cultivate their fields are making rapid strides on their way to Texas. A Canadian member of parliament said years ago, that the negroes were fit for nothing but to be shipped off to some distant islands belonging to China. He uttered this proud sentiment when the black people were poor weak and downtrodden. By their own efforts they saved money to buy small freeholds, and became qualified as such to vote as the majority of his constituents.

The Canadian Freed-men cherish no resentments but they have long memories. In due time they asked their Parliamentary candidate if he recollected his disparaging speech. His party hissed the troublesome voter, who put the unwelcome question. "No," said the irrepressible negro, "we want a distinct answer." "I said that then," replied the candidate, "but I do not repeat the sentiment now." He was sent from the hustings into retirement for seven years, and there he is likely to remain.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our pages are open to communications bearing on the present condition and claims of the Freed-men.

THE Rev. S. Holt's letter is received.

W. A.—Received with thanks.

The Freed-Man.

JUNE, 1867.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE WEST INDIES.

Let not our readers imagine that we are about to trouble them with an elaborate, statistical, political, or social disquisition on the condition of our West India possessions. We intend nothing of the kind. But under the above heading there appeared after our last number went to press a series of articles worthy of notice in a London paper called *The Day*, whose day proved to be a brief one, for it has now for some time ceased to exist. These articles are curious as they are written entirely from the white West India stand point, abounding in that peculiar bombast, ignorance and utter absence of all sense of "the becoming" which certainly as the rule, does not characterise all Englishmen resident out of the mother country. The writer sneers at those who advocated West India emancipation. He says—

That negroes on their release from slavery should have a sort of "spree"—that they should for a few weeks insist on doing nothing except getting drunk on rum—would have been perfectly intelligible to the British public, who would have expected them as a matter of course to return to work, penitent and shakey, after a greater or less interval.

No statement could be more false than this. He adds—

The Evangelical party in the Church of England, and the Dissenters, to whom the greater part of the credit of abolition is due, had a much higher opinion of the negro, than to suppose him capable of going upon the "spree." They had been led to believe from the reports of missionaries that the poor slaves were devotedly pious, that they were for the most part members of christian churches, and having once become convinced that this was a fact, they gave no credit to the persons who stated anything to the contrary. They could believe in Uncle Tom, if that preposterous romance had been published at the time, but they could not believe the reports of eye-witnesses, of those who had resided in the West Indies for years, even for their lives.

The cool impudence of this statement needs no comment of ours. It is simply asking us to believe what the wolf would say of the lamb. We prefer to take the testimony of the ministers of Christ to that of the ruined, insolent ex-slaveholders. Notwithstanding the largeness of the negro love for a "spree" and his fondness for rum, he seems to be making his way in Jamaica, for the writer says—

The feelings of the pure whites towards the blacks are not of the most cordial kind. An old and impoverished aristocracy never feels very affectionately towards rich parvenus.

The aversion of these impoverished aristocrats to the negro, is put by this writer with great force and an amusing unconsciousness of its injustice. It goes far to explain the Jamaica troubles and cruelties. The writer says—

No aristocracy in Europe carries about with it such distinctive marks of birth and race as the white man does in the West Indies. The slightest tinge of coloured blood, the faintest "dash of the tar brush," is known and registered, and the coloured man, however good his

education' may be, or however great his wealth, however high his official position, must for ever feel a rankling envy of the poorest man of pure white descent. "Thank God," said a gentleman of dark complexion, an Italian by descent, "thank God, I have not a drop of African blood in my veins; if I had I'd blow my brains out."

The writer, evidently a West India white, thinking he had not said enough adds—

The bitter hatred entertained towards the negroes by many whites who have suffered personally by emancipation can hardly be understood by Europeans.

Quite so; the writer no doubt is correct. Nothing but viperous slavery scotched and killed could have spawned this base infernal hate against any of God's creatures: We greatly fear that the West India whites hate the Evil One himself, less than they do a man born of African descent. Comment upon such a state of feeling is superfluous. The pure West Indian white would not condescend to bandy words at length with an African, not even an octoroon, but the writer tells us, perhaps from his own experience, how to admonish the sorry galled jade by a ring of the withers: listen!

Of course no gentleman chooses to have a quarrel with one of these fellows: but there is a retort, a very dangerous one, which piques them to the very uttermost, and which it is difficult to avoid giving. Call the man a "nigger;" say, "Ah! just like a nigger!" and the fury of rage they break out into is frightful. But a white man who makes much use of this weapon had better have a plentiful stock of others, for assuredly his life would be in jeopardy.

We think this quite possible. For our own part, the first impulse upon receiving an opprobrious, insolent epithet, an impulse only restrained by

education and christian principle would be to knock the mean varlet down, who should dare upbraid us in words of carefully studied contempt either on account of the place of our birth, or the colour of our complexion. Would our readers like to know how coloured people of position are treated in the West Indies. The Jamaica correspondent of the defunct *Day* will tell you.

In social intercourse these feelings show themselves most strongly. The two races meet at public balls, such as those given by or to the Governor, but they do not mix. The whites form quadrilles amongst themselves, dance with each other, and keep up an invisible but well-understood barrier between themselves and the coloured people. A short time ago the writer was dancing a quadrille at a ball given by the Governor of one of the West India Islands, where he was a comparative stranger. He joined a set already formed, and, to his astonishment, a coloured man, almost a pure negro, took his place at one of the sides. Such an occurrence is so rare that it was much remarked on. The writer's partner refused to take the hand of the negro in the last figure. Three times he offered it, and three times she rejected it. The fourth time he saw what was intended, and did not put out his hand. The lady said as she walked away, "Do you think I would have taken that negro's hand? Never! I'd have died first!" It was rather a painful scene. On enquiry it was found that the delinquent was a member of the highest branch of the Legislature, and was invited in his official capacity. *The rebuff served him right for venturing into a quadrille composed entirely of white people.*

The estimate of the negro who has capacity enough according to the correspondent to grow rich, to get learning and to win political distinction is thus put with all the circumstantiality that Pope's Martinus Scriblerus runs through the categories.

Sensual, lazy, lying, thievish, excessively irritable in temper, fiendishly cruel when their anger is aroused, caring nothing for the conjugal relationship, very little for the parental one, without the slightest wish or desire to improve themselves either intellectually, morally or socially, abominably vain and conceited, and only desirous of earning money in order that they may bask in idleness, and wear fine clothes, they form about the worst race that could possibly be intrusted with freedom on a fertile soil and in a tropical climate. Within the next few years the question will have to be decided whether the West Indies are, or are not, to be given up entirely to these people.

Do our readers require more? We think not. We have in a second article nearly three columns from which we could quote similar choice extracts. How many more articles this demon in human form penned we do not know, as only two have reached our hand. It is not improbable that if we could unearth this fox, he would be found to have had some connexion with those who plaited the piano wire to scourge and flay poor naked and unoffending women. We can only say that our heart sickens at such ghastly sentiments. If Jamaica is peopled by such a race of whites the day of doom for such can not be distant. God grant it may not come by violent methods. The journal called *The Day* in which this Jamaica correspondence appeared, as we have already stated, no longer endures. Night and pale shadows have gathered around it. We are therefore at liberty to mention a fact. Only a few days before the sun of *The Day* set, we received a communication from the office to furnish materials for a true statement in relation to the coloured people of Jamaica, suggesting that

the grim statements of the writer who had occupied so large a space were perhaps deemed injurious and diabolical.

To our coloured friends and fellow-countrymen in Jamaica, many of whom will read these lines, we would say, that sentiments such as those we have cited are hateful to every true born uncorrupted Englishman. There is no party, no rank in the mother country but would denounce such oppression. Friends, cultivate self-respect, improve your dwellings, do something every day to improve your temporal condition, value education, "Fear God and honour the Queen," for the day of your redemption draweth nigh. The man who writes from Jamaica has some connexion with those who spilled the blood of your oppressed people, but the days of all such are numbered. They already behold the portents of their doom. When your lovely isle is glorious as Eden, and your children happy as sinful innocence, these men shall lie hidden in eternal oblivion.

EDUCATION OF THE FREED-MEN IN FLORIDA.

A correspondent of the *New York Observer*, writing from St. Augustine, says: The State of Florida is in advance of all those lately in rebellion in having a system of public schools for the education of the Freed-men. Though it must be acknowledged that the passage of this bill by the first provisional Legislature was the work of a northern man, Chaplain Hobbs, who was appointed by Governor Walker, Superintendent of Education.

Unfortunately, while on a visit north, to collect funds to start the work, there being no money to carry out the project, he was brought before the Congressional Investigating Committee, and told the truth about the abuses and sufferings of the Freed-men in this State. For this crime, Gov. Walker, straightway

revoked his commission, and in his place appointed Rev. E. B. Duncan, late a chaplain in the rebel army. Superintendent Duncan is here on a visit of inspection of Freed-men's schools of St. Augustine, which have now been in operation some four years under a corps of excellent and faithful northern teachers. So that now a large part of the children and young people here can both read and write. By request, Superintendent Duncan gave a lecture in the Presbyterian Church on the progress of his work in the State for Freedmen. There are more than 100 schools. Most of the teachers employed by him are coloured, some from the North; many former slaves who learned to read in the Union army, and who make excellent teachers. Coloured teachers are far more acceptable to the Southern people than white. Indeed they will not have white (Northern) teachers in the interior at all, for fear of corrupting the minds of the Freed-men by instilling radical ideas among them.

On one point Mr. Duncan's testimony was very strong. *The desire of the Freed-men to have their children learn is so strong, that it amounts to a passion, and they will not stay on the plantations where they cannot have this privilege, no matter what wages are offered.* So to keep their labourers, and to get the best and most industrious, the planters build school houses and are compelled to employ teachers. Therefore the demand for teachers is far in advance of the supply, and the wages given good, say from 30 to 60 dollars per month. This is pretty well for Freed-men who can only read and write tolerably, and perhaps have gained a scanty knowledge of the first rules of arithmetic.

The great work of Sabbath schools is at the same time going forward rapidly, as every teacher is expected to teach his scholars a Bible lesson on the Sabbath, and the members of the different churches are also taking hold of this good work in earnest. There is a great want of Sabbath-school books, singing books, and primers.

The simple fact that this man, who two years since was preaching rebellion to Southern soldiers, with all his might—rebellion the purpose of preserving slavery and keeping the black man down—is now travelling

over the State, from town to town, and from plantation to plantation, combating the old prejudices of the planters, showing them that it is for their interest and also an inevitable necessity to have schools; this fact, I say, shows the grand social revolution which God in his good providence is carrying forward.

SUNDAY MARKET IN JAMAICA.

The friends of order and religion in Jamaica have been filled with amazement and alarm at a downward step which the new government has recently taken. At a meeting in April last of the Municipal Board of Kingston, one of its members proposed the opening of the market on Sundays till the hour for divine service. To this obnoxious measure Sir Peter Grant at once gave his sanction.

It is within the range of possibility that an insignificant minority of the inhabitants may approve of the step, but I am persuaded that the moral sense of the whole Island is against it. The people are remarkable for the decent observance of the Lord's day; and it is to be sincerely regretted that Sunday trading—one of the institutions of slavery in Jamaica, condemned forty years ago by the few godly persons there then, and abolished by the Legislature—should again become the law of the land.

The friends of right and justice in this country cannot watch too sedulously the course of events, and the tendency of legislation in that colony. I trust that ere this there has been a combined movement on the part of the friends of progress there, against the continuance of the measure, and that Sir P. Grant will yield to their righteous remonstrance; but after all, we must look to the government of this country to redress our wrongs, and I am persuaded we shall not look in vain.—A. L.

MRS. FRANCES E. W. HARPER, a coloured lecturer, who may be called the Fred. Douglas of the other sex, has been lecturing in the United States to large audiences, on "Our National Salvation." She possesses power, with her fervid eloquence, to hold the largest audience, as it were, spell-bound to the close of her addresses.

NOT DESERTED.

Written for the FREED-MAN,

BY MRS. DENISON.

A homely Flemish interior, such as we see sometimes in old smoke-stained pictures in art galleries, beams of a dull red ochre tint, rough projections, a wide fire place with a settle in it—such was the one habitable room which served Aunt Becky for a home.

Aunt Becky herself might have sat for one of Shakespeare's witches, so ebon like and fixed in wrinkles; so bent, shrivelled and attenuated! But the Holy Spirit dwelt in that uncomely frame; a heavenly spirituality permeated whatever she said, and she referred all things to the Lord. Aunt Becky was a black antique—she was over a hundred, and a wonderful specimen of activity for her age. She supported herself by cutting and sewing woollen strips for carpets, and in one little closet, dozens of gaily coloured balls laid, waiting for the manipulation of her skilful old fingers.

Nobody seemed to think of Aunt Becky's age, her steps were so brisk, and her independence so notable. She swept her old cracked wooden floor every morning, made her own fire, in doing which she used a pair of old-fashioned wheezing bellows; in her isolation from the common world, was so content that she never needed visitors.

"I's alone wid de Lord," was her favourite answer, whenever an attempt at condolence was made, and the smile that followed proved that she was also very happy with the Lord.

One morning Aunt Becky awoke with the sun, as usual, but in attempting to rise, found that she was utterly helpless. Paralysis had attacked her poor withered limbs, and there was a doleful prospect before her, for nobody's work was due, and consequently she could not expect visitors. The mind of the poor old creature was as active as ever as she laid there with the certainty of looking death in the face, alone, unaided; possibly days of suffering from hunger and thirst before her. The daylight came, faster and brighter; fortunately the blinds near her bed were closed, and thus the aged face was not exposed to the rays of the sun. No voice was near to break

that awful silence, no hand to perform offices of kindness, no friend to bring the cooling draught for the parched lips, no step to assure her that she was in the midst of human beings who cared for the humblest of Christ's children.

Was she thus to be deserted at the last, after a long life of christian activity, holy trust, and constant usefulness? How she pictured the homes about her; the children laughing and eating, the women gathering the remnants of the meal and throwing them with lavish hand to the dog or the house cat, and she so hungry! What beautiful visions of water;—she saw sparkling rivers in the country where, years before, she had worked as a slave; crystal fountains, with dusky maidens gathering around, holding pitchers under the sparkling drops. Wells like that from which Rebecca drew, shone with a solemn kind of splendour in their deep depths, and by her side she seemed to see, how often, the brown gourd from which she had loved to drink when a little child.

Slowly, more slowly, the hours dragged on. There was no light when the day was done. The glittering eyes that looked up helplessly, told their story of longing and of suffering only to their Maker. The shadows crept over her as to cover her lovingly, and, mayhap, the angels of God came to that lonely room and comforted the trembling soul.

The third day had come, and a friend passing that way saw the minister who came once a week to Aunt Becky's humble home, standing at the door.

"I have been knocking some time," he said, "and there seems to be no indication of life that I can hear. I'm afraid something has gone wrong with my poor old friend." They glanced around. An air of neglect pervaded the premises where all was wont to be so thrifty and clean. The snow, for it was in December, showed no traces of footsteps.

"I will go and speak to the neighbours," said the minister. In a few moments he returned. The neighbours had not thought much about it, but Aunt Becky had not been seen for days, and now they lamented their negligence. A forcible entrance was effected and the sad truth revealed itself.

The sun, through the one open window, shone over the dusty floor into the yawning fire-place that was swept clear of ashes. Nobody to be seen until they neared the bed. Wonderful to relate, the poor old woman was still alive. Her eyes shone with an unnatural lustre. She knew her minister and smiled faintly.

Starved! Her pinched grey face, darkened with the shadow of death, told the sad story;—starved in the midst of plenty! She could take nothing now and they watched by her bedside, weeping. The pastor prayed, and it was evident that she listened and joined intelligently. Suddenly, as they spoke together in low voices of her suffering, life re-animated the crumpled features. The lips parted, the eyes gleamed, a wonderful beauty played over the shrunken face—a light as from the open portals of heaven, and in a voice of very music she cried, “Don’t say that, you don’t know. It’s been a feast, a blessed feast all de time. De table was here, an’ my Master was here, an’ de ole walls dey shine like gold, and de glory ob de Lord was in de midst. An’ I saw a great river, where Jesus give his ole servant drink. Never thirsty no more,” she cried rapturously. “An’ angels was here; dar raiment was white as silver; dar own blessed hands give me bread; ole room filled wid de splendor ob dar wings. I is’nt hungry, chillen; I’s full, full of de food of heaven. I’s got all over de trial long ago. He give me de new wine of de kingdom; He take away all de pain, glory to His name, hallelujah! *I’s had a feast all de time!*”

Thus, with the smile of heaven shining on her face, she fell asleep.

“Happy dead!” said her pastor, with a faltering voice, “her Saviour did not desert her. The wonderful brightness of her countenance tells us that it was no hallucination. She has gone home, to be for ever with the Lord she loved and served so well.”

Yes, she had gone home. No myth to her was heaven, no illusion the presence of the angels sent to minister to her in her direful extremity. From glory to glory she went, that faithful old servant of God. May you and I sleep in Christ as peacefully as she.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE SOUTHERN STATES OF AMERICA.

The intelligence which reaches us from the Southern States is more and more favourable toward a speedy re-construction on the basis of the measures adopted by Congress, and also toward co-operation between the whites and blacks. The old Southern leaders are manifesting a kindly spirit toward the blacks, and these in their turn are showing much of the former attachment which bound them to their masters. It seems now quite probable that there will be no separate action, but that they will make common cause and vote for the same men and measures. From the speeches and letters of Southern men, expressive of their plans and purposes, we learn that there is a general disposition to make the best of the case, and to submit fully and cordially to the laws recently enacted.

The Board of Trade, at Charleston, recently gave a banquet in that city, at which Gov. Orr, of South Carolina, responded to the first toast, “The State of South Carolina.” After alluding pleasantly to the practical evidences of re-construction exhibited by the social gathering of citizens of Charleston, in common with the military, naval and civil officers of the United States around the festal board, he continued as follows:

“I desire to state to you that your commerce, manufactures and agricultural interests will all remain paralyzed until our political relations are re-established with the government at Washington, and until you secure representation in Congress. While the Constitutional Amendment was proposed to South Carolina, as a state, and our own volition in that capacity could be exercised, I opposed its adoption; but the act of Congress recently passed has assumed that this country is a conquered territory, and we a conquered people, and consequently that that body has a right to dictate terms. The power exists in that body to dictate those terms, it is certain for the next two years, and when they place themselves squarely and broadly upon the platform, I for one do not propose to go to the Supreme Court or anywhere else for the purpose of disputing that power; but, in good faith, I will accept the terms, humiliating as

they may be, and openly, fairly and squarely urge their adoption before our people. [Great applause.] With reference to the disfranchising clause, I think it was an unfortunate one. It is better, however, that some should be excluded than that we should refuse to accept the terms proposed, when there is a reasonable certainty that if we do not accept those terms, other and harsher terms will be proposed. Looking, therefore, to the interests of the great mass of the people of South Carolina, and believing that the threat of confiscation will not be carried into effect if we accept the terms of this bill, and believing that confiscation will follow if we do not; knowing, also, that we shall be benefitted by its acceptance, I say that, in my humble judgment, interest and wisdom dictate that we shall concur in the measure proposed by Congress. (Applause.) I would, therefore, say to every man in South Carolina who has not been disfranchised, that as soon as the proper order has been issued he should proceed to register and prepare to vote for the best man that can be selected to form a constitution under which we and posterity can live. *It is your interest, further, that the black man shall vote with you in the common election. The white man's interest is the black man's interest.* I think it can be shown to any rational black man that it is to his interest to make his friends here, rather than in the State of Massachusetts."

Gen. Sickles, commander of the Military District, at the same dinner, after paying a cordial compliment to Gov. Orr, said:

"I shall abstain, as I am required to by the duties of my position, from any allusion to the political bearing of any matter which you have to consider. With this reservation, let me say to you, gentlemen, in all candour, that *one of the first duties you have to discharge to yourselves and to your fellow-citizens is to remove all distrust as to your purposes, feelings and intentions, in the future toward the colored race; this distrust is in my judgment the main obstacle to the cordial co-operation and good understanding of the two races.* The causes for the existing alienation should, perhaps, be looked for in the early history of your State and her former institutions. But

these are considerations of the past. I do not see from my point of view any reason why the undoubted identity of interest that does exist, and must ever exist between the white and colored races in South Carolina, shall not result in their pursuing in common all the ends of society and government as heartily and successfully as if the old relation of master and slave had never existed.

"I affirm as my real conviction, that the measures of Congress now to be executed here, under my direction, have not been adopted with any purpose of retaliation or hostility, nor to impair the prosperity and welfare of the South. The people of the North do not desire to maintain a military government as repugnant to our institutions, and deprecate its prolongation anywhere as a misfortune. They do not desire, on the other hand, that the people enfranchised by their action, shall be left altogether and wholly subject to the control of those by whom they have been hitherto held in servitude. Nor do they desire that this numerous race, by reason of any oppression or obstacles placed in the way of their well being here, where they belong, shall be constrained to cut loose from their moorings here and emigrate to other and less congenial parts of the country, where they could find no suitable or adequate demand for their labor."

TEACHERS AMONG THE FREED-MEN.

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in a recent sermon upon the Widow's mite says:

"A few years ago when I was in Charleston I went down to one of the Islands and saw a sight that affected me more than the contemplation of all Mr. Peabody's munificence. There were two magnificent trees upon the Island—live oaks immense beyond anything I had ever imagined. Their great limbs were sturdy with the growth of decades of years. The ground beneath was soft with leaves and moss, and lying down upon my back, I looked up into the hearts of those monarchs. I worshiped God there.

"But not even those wonderful temples built by the Almighty's hand moved me as did the plain insignificant Freed-men's school house that stood in their shadow. Thank God,

it is not so rare a sight now, on Southern soil! And there, expatriated, living with the rude people, relinquishing the pleasant and refining influences of home, were two young ladies from the North, giving themselves (and that is infinitely more than money) to the holy work of aiding this downfallen people. They were highly cultivated, accustomed to homes of affluence and lives of ease, but for Christ's sake in the person of these "little ones" they rejoiced in exile, in privation, in weariness. Do you wonder then when we say—and from our deepest hearts we say it—Mr. Peabody has done nobly, my heart responds: They have done more!

"Is not such a sacrifice noble beyond anything that my words have power to express?"

INTERNATIONAL MEMORIAL CHURCH.

It is proposed to commemorate the abolition of American slavery by an International Church, in which ministers of different denominations, but one in *Christ and in love for His truth*, shall proclaim the everlasting Gospel. A site at Kingland has been chosen for the purpose. It is intended that the services at the proposed building should be chiefly conducted by English and American ministers, because it is wished to express particularly the vital union of these two countries, especially in those matters lying at the root of all true fellowship. But the occasional ministrations of foreign brethren will, it is hoped, testify to the spiritual oneness of Christ's "holy Church throughout the world."

Buildings of this kind in Paris, where services by ministers of different nations are held under the same roof at different hours of the day, are a great source of refreshment and benefit to strangers, as they also doubtless are to the inhabitants.

It is a comfort amid all the changes and chances of this passing scene to fall back on the spiritual and the eternal. With the proclamation of God's free offer in Christ of the inheritance of these "unseen and eternal" realities, the proposed memorial church will resound. In these days, when false union is so widely advocated, every effort to set forth the true source of oneness, should be welcomed and promoted. There is no true union but union in *truth*, and the only way to shew to

those whom we respect, but from whom we differ, their mistake, is by *exemplifying* the great fact, that all who hold the Head, even Christ, are even now spiritually (though not till He appear will they be visibly) many members yet but one body. It is hoped that the sympathy of all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity will so cause funds to flow in (address, Dr. Fred. Tomkins, 3, Tanfield Court, Inner Temple) that the first stone of the Memorial Church (so called because a memorial of the Abolition of Slavery in America in 1865) may be laid on the anniversary of that day; viz., on February 15th, 1868.—E.S.G.S.

THE BAZAAR.

To the Editor of the "Freed-Man."

Sir,—I hope that the Bazaar has placed the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society in a better position; so far, at least, as to exempt the secretaries from any pecuniary liabilities. I know some official men in connection with benevolent societies who have had to suffer heavy loss from the effects of the monetary panic. They were expected to contract obligations for the committees they represent, and when the crisis came the members of committee were unwilling to meet their responsibilities. I congratulate you most sincerely if you are saved from any dilemma of this kind. You will not be content, however, with mere deliverance. You must now seek to place the society in a strong and invincible position.

The "FREED-MAN" should be made more than ever thoroughly independent, and stand free of all party interests of whatever kind. I do not mean that it should be either rampant or violent, but it should be perfectly free without fear or favour to record facts in reference to the coloured people in every part of the world—to expose their wrong—to represent their claims—to afford the encouragement they need, with care, moderation, firmness, and real sympathy. It will then become an organ of incalculable value, always available and readily circulated.

It is essential that there should be *certainly* as to the continuance of the publication. No party feeling, no sectarian jealousy, no personal caprice should have power either to suppress it or to change its character.

With the magazine the medium should be fairly open for frequent communication, and both help and advice to the Freed-men, where most needed.

All this I believe can now be accomplished. It would be easy, and one might suppose pleasant, for the avowed friends of the Freed-men to say, here are our moderate subscriptions to give efficiency to the society and to secure the regularity and freedom of its operations. But if there should be any difficulty on this point, I suggest that the strength needed may be gained by severe economy and self-denying devotedness. This made the first anti-slavery society in America independent. Lloyd Garrison could not be starved out as the editor of the "Liberator," because he had the power to print it himself with the help of a boy.

Cut down, then, with an unsparing hand all expenses of office, printing, postage, and everything else, so far as possible. Take away all names from your free list of circulation of parties who take no interest in the objects of the society, increase the actual circulation by a free distribution of specimen copies, and make it in this way of greater advantage to advertisers.

Take the utmost pains with every number you issue, so that the real friends of the society will be instructed, fortified, and stimulated for the work. Then the undercurrent of hostility will cease, because it will be seen that all that can be said or done, will not move the society from its grand object. It appears to me to be a mere waste of money to flood our country with circulars, and to get up meetings in London. The object is not popular. It is the more needful therefore to combine care with diligence and quiet inflexibility of purpose. Let all your real supporters see that you are prepared to meet every contingency and they will be the more free to co-operate. The coloured people will take the "FREED-MAN" if they order it in small parties of four or six, so that it shall cost only a fraction. Make it *their own*, and let them see that you will stand by their cause, come what may; this will silence all foes and remove all obstacles.

I am, Sir,

A SINCERE FRIEND TO THE OBJECT.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Dr Epps	0	5	0
Per Rev. W. M. Mather, collection at Trinity Congregational Church Wandsworth Road	6	2	0
Per Mrs. Taylor.			
Miss Collett	0	2	6
Mrs. Hy. Thorpe	1	1	0
Mrs. Waite	0	10	0
Per Mrs Slatter, Tunbridge.			
Mr. R. Sills	0	5	0
The Misses Catt	3	0	0
Miss London	0	5	0
H. & A. Slatter	0	12	0
Joseph Izard, Esq., Tunbridge ...	0	10	0
Edward Smith... ..	0	10	0
J. R. Lower	0	10	0
J. Baker	0	5	0
Charles Pugh	0	10	0
Ditto, small contributions	0	16	6
E. Donet, Esq	0	5	0
John Hodgkin, Esq., Lewes	1	1	0
Contributions at the Conference with Mrs. Mosely, at Exeter Hall ...	3	3	6
Collection at Miss Portal's	12	2	0
Rev. W. H. Jones, to be transmitted to Canada	20	0	0
Mrs. Mosely, sundry small sums ...	0	10	0
Mr Freeman	2	0	0
Mrs. Maxwell	0	2	6
Collection at Brighton	6	3	6
Copy of "Abraham Lincoln"	0	4	6
Sale of FREED-MAN, and Advertising in ditto... ..	3	1	4
FIRST REPORT OF BAZAAR.			
April 30th.	14	13	3
May 1st.	13	18	4
May 2nd.	27	7	1
Additional Entrance Fees	0	2	0
Photograph, Mr. McPherson	0	5	0
W. G. Lemon, Esq., LL.B., sundries	2	0	0
Mr. Pugh, Tunbridge, additional ...	2	16	0
Reading Goods, Per Mrs. Mosely.	1	12	6
Mrs. Denison, additional	0	3	6
African Goods, Mrs. Mosely	8	10	0
Subscriptions promised for Cape Coast Schools	17	10	0

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THE FREED-MAN.

THE LATE HON. G. W. GORDON.

III.

We have never been able to ascertain that any distinct charge of overt *crime* was made against Mr. Gordon. He was put to death apparently on the ground that if he had been present at Morant Bay acting from his avowed principles and with his reform spirit, he must have taken part in the disturbance which was magnified by the name of rebellion. There can be no doubt that for a long time he had given offence to the planters, and on that account many have come to the firm and settled conclusion that he "ought to die." It would be impossible to shake that conviction we believe. But there are some and we hope not a few, who will after all calmly look into the facts.

Mr. Gordon was an ardent reformer. He could not witness oppression without a deep sense of the wrong, and he was of the temperament that constrained him to speak out his sentiments. It is well for society that there are such men though they are very liable to "get into hot water." All have not the power to preserve a cool judgment and to combine sobriety of mind with extreme natural and moral sensibility. The following letter shews that Mr. Gordon was keenly alive to the injuries inflicted on his race. Writing to the secretary of Governor Eyre, Kingston, 9th June, 1862, he says :

"Sir,—I regret to find myself obliged to resort in a complaining strain to His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor, but I have no alternative, and after having done my part I shall feel acquitted. It is my duty to bring to His Excellency's knowledge the intense suffering of a considerable portion of the inhabitants of this city, who are pining for want, and almost daily dying of *starvation*. Every day the most heart-rending complaints are heard; and if I hold my peace the very stones would cry out. If you will be kind enough to acquaint His Excellency with this, I am sure it will attract his consideration, and on due inquiry it will be found what a vast amount of human misery now exists. I may, in this matter alluded to, refer to Mr. Stipendiary Justice Bricknell, the Rev. J. F. Roach, and others, who come in contact with the poor. The Mayor and members of the corporation have had their attention drawn to the subject by myself and other parties; but they remain callous and cold, wicked and inhuman in this case, and as well may it be expected that the Ethiopian shall change his skin and the leopard his spots, as to expect *any good* from the corporate body of Kingston—they have been long accustomed to do evil. It pains me to say so, but it is no less true than startling, that they will suffer a poor man dying of *starvation* to be sent to the Leper's

Home, and that, too, without relief. The object must be that there the party may die exposed, and be buried without inquiry! Surely the wrath of Heaven will come down on such a city as this; the cries and moans of the perishing poor must reach to Him to whom vengeance belongeth. There is no poor house nor city hospital in Kingston, nor any stranger's home for the unfortunate sailor or traveller who may be cast within its wretched precincts. No signs of civilization or benign influences can be traced to the corporation of Kingston. It seems stricken, and is powerless for good, and a system of hard-heartedness disgraces its existence. Seeing that all this is true, and justly cannot be denied, it becomes necessary that the Government which has encouraged an expensive and profuse system of immigration of Asiatics and others to this island to take some notice, and use some efforts in relief of the suffering inhabitants and strangers of Kingston; and I pray that His Excellency may be pleased to take such measures in this information as in his wisdom, and in the urgency of the case, he may find necessary.—G. W. GORDON."

Men who write in this strain are very apt to repeat their communications and even to increase the alleged annoyance by greater importunity. They cry the louder as the moans of the victim become fainter, and this offence, persons in high station and who wish to preserve an equable state of mind befitting their official dignity, cannot brook. Mr. Gordon sent complaining letters to the Home Government, in addition to these appeals to the authorities in Jamaica.

The Governor, to punish Mr. Gordon, removed him from the Commission of the Peace. This was a great mistake, if intended to silence agitation, for the ex-magistrate could not suffer wrong in his own person without a protest to his friend Rev. Duncan Fletcher. The following letter expresses his sentiments on the occasion :—

"Kingston, 8th July, 1862.

"My Dear Brother,—I had the pleasure of writing you last mail, since which I have had many things pressing on me, and many difficulties to contend with; but in the midst of them all the Lord has sustained me! I now enclose you further copies of correspondence, and by which you will see what is going on, and that for doing *my duty*, (as I hope I shall always do it, in a fearless and impartial manner) I am to be deprived of my commission as magistrate! Will you pray for me, and recommend me to *Him* whose never-failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and on earth? I am very busy, and in the midst of conflicts. The state of Jamaica is very sad at present. There is much to lament over, and *grievous wrongs*, which need to be redressed; but the Lord reigneth. Let me know what you think of the governor's conduct towards me, and *how I should bear it all!* It is almost a pity to live in such a country, yet it seems that one has, in providence, a part to act. Matters are really very corrupt, and some effort is necessary to put them right. Some sacrifice need be made. Surely this matter of wrong and cruelty will not be allowed to pass unnoticed; and if you know any M.P. or other influential friend who would call at the Colonial Office and inquire what statements the governor has sent home on the subject, I should be much obliged. Any amount of wrong may be perpetrated at this rate with impunity; and no one will dare to offer remonstrance. The subject is fraught with interest to every friend of humanity and good order.

"I remain, my dear brother,

"Ever your's in great esteem,

"GEO. W. GORDON."

If the agitator, fluent of speech and equally ready with his pen, had subsided without public notice, or retired to some outlandish part of the island, as "poor

Gordon," the offended authorities might have felt more comfortable. There was no such chance. The people met to express their sympathy, and the following correspondence was the result:—

MR. CLYNE TO MR. GORDON.

"Morant Bay, 28th August, 1862.

"Dear Sir,—Enclosed you have a copy of the resolution adopted at a public meeting held here yesterday. On behalf of the meeting we beg to sympathise with you for the manner in which the Lieutenant-Governor has rewarded your philanthropy by removing you from the commissions of the peace (Mr. Gordon held commissions of the peace for six districts) which were held by you, with credit to yourself and advantage to your country. We hope that a distinguished position yet awaits you, and with best wishes, we remain your most faithful servants,

"HENRY CLYNE, Chairman,

"WILLIAM FOSTER MARSH, Secretary."

REPLY OF MR. GORDON TO MR. CLYNE.

"St. Andrew's, 30th Aug., 1862.

"Henry Clyne, Esq., Chairman of the late public meeting, St. Thomas-in-the-East.

"My Dear Sir,—I have the pleasure to acknowledge your esteemed favour of the 28th inst., containing copy of a resolution passed at a public meeting at which you were chairman. I appreciate alike the kind terms of your letter, as well as the sentiments embodied in the resolutions. I did not expect that in seeking to relieve the oppressed and to promote useful institutions I should have encountered the unparalleled ill-treatment which I have received from the Lieutenant-Governor and his advisers, or to have experienced such sad injustice as marked the whole proceedings of the official sessions at Morant Bay on the 23rd July last. I fear this is but a faint index of the true evils that characterise the present deplorable state of Jamaica society. During the many years that I have struggled in the service of this country, I have always endeavoured to keep in view objects which would promote the well-being of the many, as the surest means of giving solidity to the heavier interests of the few. But this principle has been condemned by the short-sighted policy of those whose interests it would most effectually serve. No effort has been made by the Legislature for the promotion of useful institutions or the improvement of the masses, and any one who has dared to look at matters according to their reasonable and proper aspect has been condemned and eschewed. Hitherto governors have kept aloof from mixing directly with party prejudices, but it would seem that the gentleman who at present administers the government of the colony has committed himself to a question which declares he is thoroughly antagonistic to anything which will effectually promote the reforms so urgently called for. And now the question gravely arises, will the people consent to be ruled in this manner, or will they constitutionally and formally demand that justice shall have its course, and show themselves to be freemen and British subjects? On the present occasion they have acted temperately and well. They have appealed to her gracious Majesty the Queen, and I am sure their complaints will be heard. They must patiently abide the issue. A supineness has hitherto prevailed which has caused some to think that the people have no feeling, energy, or powers. Let this be no longer said. What is most needed is education. Intelligence, with God's blessings, will diffuse light and life in the midst of our population. I have been able to do little comparatively for the people. I hope Providence may yet afford me an opportunity of evincing the extent of my desires on their behalf. I feel I am not influenced by any selfish motives, and my object is to do good—not evil. But the people are the materials on which I am to work. It is to them I look for support in carrying on the work of Reform: and let us hope that, by humble independence on Him who laid the foundations of the earth, we shall accomplish by steady perseverance the grand success which yet awaits the future of our country. With best wishes, believe me, my dear sir, very sincerely yours,—GEORGE WILLIAM GORDON."

Further to exasperate the gubernatorial party, Mr. Gordon was in the right at all points. Nothing can be so offensive to an oppressor as to *prove* that his course is unjust. Now, Mr. Gordon never said anything more severe than the present Governor of Jamaica, Sir John P. Grant. In opening the Legislature, on the 16th of October, his Excellency said: "He (Governor Grant) must confess that almost *every* department of the colony required *great reform*, and he must add *immediate* reform. There was no department which required more reform, and none perhaps which presented so many difficulties in the way of reform as the legal department. The present legal administration of the island, to speak in plain terms, was *extremely bad*. He hoped he might be pardoned for saying so, but, in his opinion, such was *the fact*. He was therefore persuaded (after adducing cases to the point for illustration) that in a case where the poor negro had to sue for a debt of ten guineas, or about that sum, **THERE WAS NO JUSTICE FOR A POOR MAN**. In common matters it was not so bad, but it was *bad enough*. He was deluged with petitions day by day from this class of people."

We may now therefore clearly understand the case. The counsel engaged for the defence of Mr. Eyre before the Shropshire magistrates surprised all who knew his frigid nature by an extraordinary display of emotion in repeating some scandals as to the domestic character of Mr. Gordon. Mr. Fletcher has shown by indisputable evidence that it was just in the home circle that the christian virtues of Mr. Gordon shone forth in their purest lustre. Mrs. Shannon, his mother-in-law, writes—"Since I have known Mr. Gordon I have never had one angry word from him, and my son never treated me with more kindness and respect. I could fill volumes were I to tell you of his many acts of kindness."

We leave these simple statements to make their own impression; and refer our readers to the valuable testimony given in Mr. Fletcher's volume, which we are happy to hear is already in such demand as to require a second edition.

We must enrich the pages of the **FREED-MAN** by putting on record the well-known letters of Mr. Gordon when on his way to martyrdom. On board the *Wolverine* he wrote to his wife—

"My best beloved Lucy,—This may be the last time I shall write to you. I have written very hurriedly, and in a rolling sea. Remember me affectionately and forgivingly to all. I shall, if I must, die in peace, and with a clear conscience of being any party to the outbreak here. My heart throbs with love for you, but let your soul be stayed on God through Christ, and be not sorrowful as those without hope. My very, very dearest one, I shall in death remember your words, and kind and devoted, and affectionate attachment. Hoping that we shall again meet in Christ, to part no more.

"Yours to the last moment,

"G. W. GORDON."

When condemned to die he wrote—

"My beloved Lucy,—General Nelson has just been kind enough to inform me that the Court Martial, on Saturday last, has ordered me to be hung, and that the sentence is to be executed

in an hour hence, so that I shall be gone for ever from this world of sin and sorrow. I regret that my worldly affairs are so deranged, but now it cannot be helped. I do not deserve this sentence, for I never advised or took part in any insurrection. All I ever did was to recommend the people who complained to seek redress in a legitimate way; and if in this I erred, or have been misrepresented, I don't think I deserved this extreme sentence. It is however the will of my heavenly Father that I should thus suffer in obeying His command to release the poor and needy, and to protect as far as I am able, the oppressed. And glory be to His name; and I thank Him I suffer in such a cause. Glory be to the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; and I can say it is a great honour thus to suffer, for the servant cannot be greater than his Lord. I can now say with Paul the aged, 'the time of my departure is come, and I am ready to be offered up. I have kept the faith, and I have fought a good fight, and henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge shall give me.' Please say to all friends an affectionate farewell, and that they must not grieve for me, for *I die innocently*. Assure Mr. Airy of the truth of this, and all others; comfort your heart. I certainly little expected this. You must do the best you can, and the Lord will help you; and do not be ashamed of the death which your poor husband will have suffered. The judges seemed against me, and from the rigid manner of the court I could not get in all the explanations I intended. The man Anderson made an unfounded statement, and so did Gordon; but his testimony was different from his deposition. The judges took the former, and erased the latter. It seemed that *I was to be sacrificed!* I know nothing of Bogle, and never advised him to the act or acts which have brought upon me this end. Please write to Mr. Chamerovzow, Lord Brougham, and Messrs. Henchell, Du Buisson, & Co. I did not expect that, not being a rebel, I should have been tried and disposed of in this way, I thought His Excellency the Governor would have allowed me a fair trial, if any charge of sedition or inflammatory language were justly attributed to me; but I have no power to control. May the Lord be merciful to him.

"General Nelson, who has just come for me, has faithfully promised to let you have this. May the Lord bless him, and all the soldiers and sailors, and all men. Say farewell to Mr. Phillippo, and also to Mrs. Lecard and Aunt, Mr. Bell, Mr. Vinen, Mr. Airy, and Du Coise, and many others whom I do not now remember, but who have been true and faithful to me.

"As the General is come, I must close. Remember me to Aunt Eliza in England, and tell her not to be ashamed of my death. Now, my dearest one, the most beloved and faithful one, the Lord bless, help, prosper, and keep you.

"A kiss for dear mamma, who will be kind to you and Janet; kiss also Annie and Jane. Say good bye to dear Mr. Davidson and others. I have only been allowed an hour, I wish a little more time had been allowed. Farewell also to Mr. Esput, who sent my private letter to him. And now may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all. Your truly devoted, and now nearly dying, husband,

"GEORGE W. GORDON.

"I asked leave to see Mr. Panther, but the General said I could not. I wish him farewell in Christ. Love to all.—G. W. G.

"Remember me to Aunt and my Father.—G. W. G.

"Mr. Ramsay has for the last two days been kind to me, and I thank him.—Lake vi., 20—26."

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE COCKBURN's notes to the charge which he delivered in the case of "The Queen v. Nelson and Brand" have just been published. His Lordship refers to the executions and scourgings in terms which Mr. Kingsley no doubt will think womanish and sentimental. He points out that the insurrection was put down in a single day, and that after that had been done 1,000 persons suffered death or torture. "The fact," continues the Lord Chief Justice, "that among the educated classes of this highly-civilised community persons can be found (at Cambridge and elsewhere) to uphold and applaud such proceedings.

—though I believe very few persons who do so have taken the trouble to read the report of the Commissioners or the evidence taken by them, or to make themselves acquainted with the facts—seems to me to render the necessity for legislation to prevent such barbarities for the future.” Speaking of Mr. Gordon’s trial, he says:—“No one, I think, who has the faintest idea of what the administration of justice involves could deem the proceedings on this trial consistent with justice, or, to use a homely phrase, with that fair play which is the right of the commonest criminal. All I can say is, that if, on martial law being proclaimed, a man can lawfully be thus tried, condemned, and sacrificed, such a state of things is a scandal and a reproach to the institutions of this great and free country; and, as a minister of justice profoundly imbued with a sense of what is due to the first and greatest of earthly obligations, I enter my solemn and emphatic protest against the lives of men being thus dealt with in the time to come.”

MR. PLUMMER in a note dated Berlin, Malvern, Jamaica, 7th May, 1867, says: “I visited Morant Bay and its neighbourhood. The poor sufferers are left alone to get along as best they can. The missionaries are doing their best for them. I looked at the ruins of the Court House, and at Morant Bay with intensity of feelings. I saw the guns on which the poor people were flogged and where they had to run the gauntlet. The ships’ spars from which they were hanged, and especially that on which poor G. W. Gordon suffered, are still lying there, as if to tell the tale of horror to every visitor—the trench, to the west of which poor Gordon lies is still fresh with some little grass on it—covered scores of poor innocent murdered fellow creatures. All the horrors of martial law in Surrey are past, some of the tales of brutality have been told, much left untold. Let them rest.”

DR. McCOSH ON THE COLOURED RACE.

DR. McCOSH, in his able discourse for the London Missionary Society, touched on a point vital to the interests of civilization, and one which must determine the progress or explain the sure decadence of christian missions. If millions of the human race are superfluous, and not required therefore to meet the exigencies that will arise in the advancement of society, some contend that their extermination will be for the general good of the dominant race. Absorption, they tell us, is an impossibility. We have heard men, professedly christian and holding influential positions in our religious societies, openly avow this monstrous theory. Nothing can more effectually quench the fire of christian zeal than its prevalence, or put a more complete restraint on prayer for the conversion of the world. Unconsciously it will chill all the affections that were called forth in the churches at the close of the last century in the work of evangelizing the heathen. It is, then, a cause for great satisfaction and of encouragement to find a man of the culture and intellectual power of Dr. McCosh making a decisive stand against the practical heresy which threatens to destroy all the finest sensibilities of the Christian nature. He says: “According to the earth-born theory there are essentially inferior races which are doomed to give way ‘in the struggle for existence,’ and they look on the prospect with complacency, provided only a few favoured races advance, on the ‘principle of natural selection.’ I believe that this tenet is exercising, directly or indirectly, a very injurious influence on public sentiment in this country and in America. A well-known American statesman, a believer in the theory, assured

me that a hundred years hence the coloured people in the United States must all disappear before the white man, and it is evident that he was not prepared to regret it. *In our country this spirit is setting itself determinedly against missionary effort, is scoffing at all alleged good done among the heathen, and undermining that faith among our students which would prompt them to set out on evangelistic work.* In the last age the cry was, first civilize and then Christianize; and it was uttered by men who took no pains either to civilize or to Christianize. The feeling now is, that it is of no use attempting to elevate the degraded classes, and that they may be allowed to sink and disappear, provided the higher races—such as the Aryan and specially the Anglo-Saxon—are made to take their place. It is a fit creed and sentiment for those who wish to make the heathen people among whom they dwell the ministers of their selfishness and their lust, without being troubled with any reproaches of conscience. How different in its practical bearing is the faith of the Christian, who holds that God has made of *one* blood all nations, and that all human beings are alike, in that they possess souls capable of improvement and destined to live for ever. Catching the spirit of Him who stood by the weak against the strong, who came to seek and save that which was lost, who permitted the woman that was a sinner to approach Him, and even sought to raise the fallen—the disciple of Christ recognizes as brothers the lowest specimens of humanity, whether found in heathen lands or in the lowest sinks of our cities; and having experienced the power of truth and grace upon his own heart, he goes forth in the faith of the efficacy of the blood of Christ, and in the regenerating power of the Spirit to elevate them for this world and the next. Need I ask which of these is the genuine philanthropy, most worthy of heaven and suited to earth and to man's nature?

“I, for one, would not like to see all the varieties of mankind disappear, and the whole of mankind reduced to one race, though that should be the Anglo-Saxon, any more than I should like to see all the trees of the forest reduced to one species, though that should be the oak. I rejoice in the diversity that I see in all nature—in sea and land, in hill and vale, in plant and animal: and I should like to see each race of mankind retaining its peculiarities, while all are elevated, so that the song of praise coming from regenerated humanity to the great Creator may not be a melody, but a harmony rising from “a great multitude which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues.”

We trust these noble sentiments will leaven our ecclesiastical communities, and that contempt for the coloured race will give place to philanthropy like that of the Divine Redeemer.

No one can seek to elevate another without unconsciously raising himself. The Freed-men, we hope, will see more clearly than ever how important it is that, in the spirit of humility, they should use with the utmost diligence the means of improvement, and that of the best kind within their reach. This is no time for supineness or inactivity.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our pages are open to communications bearing on the present condition and claims of the Freed-men.

J. B.—An accident at the press prevented the regular supply of the **FREED-MAN** last month.

The Freed-Man.

JULY, 1867.

THE ADJOURNED BAZAAR.

The Ladies' Committee of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society having resolved on holding the adjourned Bazaar in Brighton, at the end of July, or the beginning of August, earnestly appeal to the friends of the Society throughout the country, to aid them either by articles or donations for the Brighton Bazaar. They desire to express their deep sense of the kindness of several ladies at Brighton who have already promised to render personal assistance at the Bazaar, and to others who are now actively engaged in the preparation of useful and fancy articles for the sale. To the readers of the **FREED-MAN** in Brighton a most earnest appeal is made. The cause of freedom has always numbered warm friends in that locality, whilst many of the resident clergy and ministers have borne a consistent testimony in favour of the oppressed and lately enslaved negro. We have sent many articles to the Freed-men of America contributed by our friends in Brighton. We now ask for aid in this appeal that we may enable Mrs. Moseley to establish her native industrial school at the West Coast of Africa. Articles for the

Bazaar may be sent to the care of either of the Secretaries, No. 28, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, W.C. We shall be grateful to hear from friends in Brighton or the locality who are willing kindly to aid us in our effort.

REV. J. H. MAGEE.

DR. KIRK, in a recent speech at Boston, says of the coloured people "the eagerness of this people to learn is one of the wonders of the age. Some said it was a spasm. If so it has lasted a good while. Their eagerness to learn is not diminished by difficulties, nor by familiarity with knowledge. We have never seen such eager scholars. The black man has developed splendidly. I exult in it."

We have proof of this desire for intellectual progress in the earnest applications made to us for aid to enable students of the coloured race who have the capacity to enter on the higher departments of learning from which they are now prevented for want of pecuniary means. The Rev. J. H. MAGEE, of Toronto, has crossed the Atlantic on this educational mission. We have carefully examined his credentials and find them to be eminently satisfactory. A committee is formed in Canada to attend to the appropriation of the fund, and Mr. Magee desires that all that may be raised by his efforts shall be reported in the **FREED-MAN**. We commend him and his object to the few who are sufficiently interested in the progress of christian civilization to afford to those who by their natural endowments are fitted to be leaders, all the culture and information that will tend to give the best direction to their course. Those

who really estimate the importance of such a movement will well understand that the number prepared to sympathize and to help, must of necessity be few at a time when prejudice is strong.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN CUBA.

The *New York Post* says:—"It will be a long time before we have done with tracing the consequences of the success of the United States in suppressing the rebellion and extinguishing its cause. Even old Spain, which has so long seemed to be outside of the onward drift of events, now appears to have been brought within the sweep of this new current, which is bearing the nations toward liberty. The Atlantic cable brings us word this morning that the Spanish government is considering the question of the abolition of slavery in all the colonies of Spain.

"So long as slavery existed in this country it was a settled axiom with those who were interested in its continuance, that to open the question was to answer it, and that to consider whether it ought to be abolished was to abolish it. Although Spain, in its senility, is less sensitive to external influences, and less observant of changes going on around, than any other country, the slaveholders' axiom will hold true even there. Spanish slavery is doomed the moment the question of its rightfulness or utility is taken up for consideration.

"The island of Cuba is believed by native Cubans to be the worst governed country in the world. Its immense mineral resources, exhaustless fertility of the soil, the exuberant richness of its products, are all held to contribute to the aggrandisement of the grandees and hangers-on of the court of Madrid. The power and patronage incident to the local government are given exclusively to native Spaniards. Every opportunity of profit or speculation afforded by official station or administrative favour is conferred upon the Europeans, who constitute a class in society by themselves, and sedulously keep up the distinction between Castillanos, as they call

themselves, and the Creoles, as persons born in the island are always designated.

"The one object of the Spaniards, whether persons in office or private adventurers, seems to be to get money out of the vast productiveness of the country, and every one comes with the hope and determination of speedily making a fortune, with which to return to Spain. In order to keep the Creoles and free coloured people from making such progress in intelligence and wealth as might give rise to thoughts and schemes of independence, the government systematically debases and demoralizes the people, by promoting all such sports and practices as are favourable to vice and barbarism, particularly cock-fighting, bull-baiting, and lotteries.

"A few of the Creoles are educated in the United States, and these learn how basely their people are wronged by the parent country. But they were powerless even to attempt a remedy, until the overthrow of slavery in this country awakened a new hope of deliverance. Some of them fully understand that it is the presence of slavery which keeps them in this helpless subjection; but the great body of the Creoles have hitherto been too proud to consent to unite the freedom of the slaves in the same cause with their own independence.

"The formation of the Spanish Abolition Society in Madrid, and the failure of all attempts for its suppression, either by terror or by the power of the government, will hasten the auspicious result.

"The hopes of Spain to preserve her dominion over the island of Cuba by the abolition of slavery will be futile, because it is only through slavery that she has kept the people so long in subjection. Whether slavery be abolished or retained, there is no longer a sentiment in this country that will feel interested to interfere in behalf of the Spanish rule of the island."

ALABAMA.—The mixed Convention of republicans assembled in Montgomery, Ala., on Tuesday. The offices were very impartially distributed among the two harmonious races. Judge Smith, a white man, being elected President, and the darkies receiving half the remaining offices. Gen. Swayne, Gov. Patton, and others, were present.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS IN JAMAICA.

We are glad to learn that a commission appointed by his Excellency the Governor of Jamaica to enquire into the Woolmer's Charity has furnished a full and practical report.

The Commissioners say: "We have directed our attention to the following points of enquiry—

"1. The character and objects of the institution.

"2. The class of pupils admitted.

"3. The general improvement of the school.

"4. Its daily routine and management.

"5. Income and expenditure.

"6. The state of the building and premises.

"7. Adaptability of the institution to the educational wants of Kingston."

It gives us great satisfaction to state that the report of the resources, working, defects, and advantages of the institution is very fairly given.

Many useful "recommendations" are appended, and amongst the rest it is suggested that when vacancies occur, "preference should be given to the residents of the city of Kingston, and legitimate over illegitimate children."

The fourth recommendation will be conducive to improvement: "That the scholars to be admitted should be elected at full meetings of the board of management at the regular appointed times, and that the former system of admitting pupils by the order of individual trustees be entirely abolished."

The following minute of his Excellency the Governor indicates his enlightened interest in the matter:—

"Minute of the Report of the Commission on Wolmer's School:—

"This is a very good practical report. The good services of the committee must be cordially acknowledged.

It appears that extensive repairs to the building are indispensable. That a head master at least, and perhaps one or more assistant masters, must be obtained from England; that money must be saved in order to make the repairs without trenching upon the capital, if possible.

For all these three reasons combined, I think it will be advisable to close the boys' department for three months. As the holi-

days are in June, the boys' department can be closed from 1st of June to 1st of September, supposing the repairs can be concluded in three months; if not till 1st of October. The services of the masters of the boys' school can be dispensed with from 1st June, notice being given them now.

It is recommended that only four masters and four mistresses be engaged in future. I doubt if this number can thoroughly teach and look after more than 200 boys and 200 girls. It think it much better that a smaller number should be well taught than a larger number defectively taught. Moreover, I am doubtful if the building affords full accommodation for more than 400 scholars, and 400 is a large number for any institution.

I am therefore of opinion that it may be well to reduce the numbers even to below what the Commission have recommended, and that 400 should be the limit.

When the school re-opens, it can re-open with this number—the oldest scholars, say, the boys of 14 and upwards, and the girls of 15 (and upwards, being struck off, and the most irregular in attending and otherwise the least promising scholars being struck off till the maximum is reached.

The funds hereafter will afford more masters and mistresses; but I think all the spare money will be best spent upon industrial training and singing, and a little drill training.

I am not quite sure that the services of a really efficient head-master can be obtained from England for £200 a-year. I should be inclined to go as far as £250, if so much is found to be necessary for the purpose, and to procure a good second-master also from England for £150. The institution is rich enough to be well manned, and it is capable of being made quite a model school of its class.

As the head mistress has done so well, I think it would be a discouragement to good service to reduce her pay. I would leave it at its present rate, or say £140.

I think it of very great importance either that the new head-master should be able himself to teach choral singing in parts; or what, perhaps, may be better, that the new second-master should be engaged with special

advertence to his ability in this department. The people in Jamaica seem to me to be amongst the most musically inclined people in the world, and nothing has been done to develop their genius in this way. I am sure that nothing would popularize our educational system so much as the introduction in its modern effective form of this fresh element into the Jamaica schools.

I am doubtful of the advantage of attempting French and Spanish. It would not be so much out of character as the Greek and Latin suggested by the present worthy head master, and actually taught to a very few boys out of several hundreds. But still it would be out of character in a school which is intended for the children of working people, artisans, and very petty shopkeepers. An elementary education in English, including reading, writing, and speaking intelligibly and well—a useful acquisition of arithmetic—training in religion and morals—training in good working habits, and in the use of the eyes, hands, and limbs—training where possible, in some one branch of industry by which a livelihood can be gained, and training in singing as a present relaxation, and a future source of innocent amusement, in a country where innocent amusements are the great want of social life of the people—are what we should aim at, in my opinion, in a school of this class.

Possibly half-yearly may be found more convenient than quarterly entrance periods. But on this point the Commission are likely to know best. In other respects I agree entirely in the recommendation of the Commission, especially in the importance to be attached to needlework for the girls. If it were possible to give the girls a little training in the domestic work which makes the homes of poor and rich comfortable, such as cooking, baking, dairy management, poultry, the girl's chances of finding good places would be improved. But I fear little in this line could be done in a school in the town of Kingston.

Mr Aikman can be consulted as to a new law which should provide for the superintendence of a Council of education, as soon as the Government shall constitute one.

The outhouses should be cleared forthwith

and prepared for the early introduction of industrial training.

(Signed)

J. P. GRANT.

4th April, 1867.

The prompt attention of the government to the matter is worthy of recognition. We can have no doubt that in due time we shall have reports in succession respecting the endowed schools that have been suffered to fall into decay, and we trust that suitable remedies will be firmly and judiciously applied.

MRS. MOSELEY'S SCHOOLS.

The friends of Mrs. Moseley will be interested to know the progress of the fund for the erection of school premises at Cape Coast Castle, Gold Coast, West Africa. We subjoin the last printed list of the subscriptions obtained by the personal efforts of devoted Christian friends, with the single explanation that a few additional names have to be added for donations since received. The names marked with an "a" are of subscribers to whom Mrs. Moseley is personally known, and who can be referred by any who may desire a recommendation of the object. The sum required to commence and open the school is £800, and when once established it would in a great measure be supported by the native king, chief merchants, and other residents in Cape Coast Castle. Though a self-denying work, there is nothing in it of a romantic character. It is eminently practical. The money is required for buildings, which will be put in legal trust, for the education of the natives. Mrs. Moseley is well known to the people of the locality likely to lend their support and co-operation.

One of the most intimate friends of the family of the late Chief Justice Moseley has just been appointed Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, and in any case of difficulty, or when relief and change may be desirable, can always find home associations and rest at the residence of the Chief Justice.

The friends who know the special fitness of Mrs. Moseley for this work, without exception, desire that as long as she continues to direct the institution she may be left un-

fettered by any parties to work out her own plans. But as the time will come when this personal work cannot be continued, a society in England for the promotion of female education will, if needful, send out a teacher to occupy the place of our friend.

It has been one of the aims of Mrs. Moseley to obtain the recognition of the Royal Family for her object. In this it will be seen that her steady perseverance has been crowned with success. There yet remains a rather considerable sum to complete the amount required. We think the mention of the particulars we have given will be sufficient to induce all who have the ability and the desire to advance the cause of Christian civilization in Africa to take the opportunity to help on the good work.

Nothing can be more desirable for the improvement of the African race than the training of females by one so peculiarly fitted for the work as Mrs. Moseley.

CONTRIBUTIONS.	£	s.	d.
H. R. H. the Princess Christian of Schleswig Holstein	5	0	0
His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury	5	0	0
The Dowager Lady Buxton	10	0	0
Miss Burdett Coutts	10	0	0
Colonel Crichton Stuart, M.P. ...	10	0	0
Gurney Hoare, Esq., Hampstead	10	0	0
Rev. Canon Moseley, Bristol ...	6	0	0
Miss Vernon Harcourt, Penton Grange	5	5	0
A. Moseley, Esq.	5	0	0
I. Braithwaite, Esq.	5	0	0
John Wilson, Esq., Birmingham	3	0	0
William Moseley, Esq.	2	2	0
Rev. Edward Hoare, Tunbridge Wells	2	0	0
Rt. Hon. Sir John Pakington, Bart. M.P.	2	0	0
T. S. Harford, Esq., Blaise Castle	2	0	0
Mrs. Bruce	1	0	0
Vice-Admiral Hamilton, Blackheath	1	0	0
Miss Emily Moseley	0	10	0
Conrad Finzel, Esq., Bristol ...	1	0	0
The Bishop of Chichester	5	0	0
The late Rev. Wm. Marsh, D.D. ...	0	5	0
Rev. A. S. Latter, Fulham	0	5	0

Rev. J. J. Coxhead, Fulham ...	0	5	0
Mrs. Thomas (Canon, Pyon House)	0	10	0
Rev. Canon Venn, Hereford ...	0	5	0
Rev. J. Quin	0	5	0
Miss Cuppage, Kingstown	1	0	0
Vice-Admiral Harcourt	1	0	0
Society for Promoting Female Education in the East	20	0	0
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (in Books)	5	0	0
Moravian Brethren	5	0	0
Miss Vernon Harcourt (second don)	3	5	0
J. S. Harford, Esq. (second don.)	2	0	0
Miss Crowdsen, Kendal	1	5	0
Mrs. Cropper	1	0	0
Mrs. Hamilton, Castle Eden ...	1	0	0
Master and Miss Malcolm, Glenmorag	0	5	0
Mrs. Cumming, Tunbridge Wells	0	2	6
Miss Henchey, Hastings	0	5	0
Miss Cunliffe, 64, Upper Seymour Street	1	1	0
Miss Hamilton, Baker-street ...	0	10	0
Capt. Cairnes, (4th W. I. Regt.) ...	0	10	0
Mrs. Gibson	2	0	0
C. T. Braithwaite, Esq.	1	0	0
Miss Cairnes (collection)	1	0	0
Duchess of Manchester, Streatham	1	0	0
Thomas Clegg, Esq., Manchester	1	1	0
Home and Colonial School Society (in School Materials)	2	0	0
Right Hon. Lord Calthorpe	5	0	0
Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Spitalfields	5	0	0
Mrs. Head, Regent's Park	5	0	0
Mrs. Henry Kemble, Camberwell	5	0	0
Miss Portal, 64, Russell-square	2	0	0
Lady Georgina Needham	1	0	0
Marchioness Cholmondeley	2	0	0
Right Hon. Lord Colchester ...	1	0	0
Oliphant Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle	1	0	0
The Bishop of Ripon, Yorkshire ...	1	0	0
A Jew, in Berlin	3	0	0
Lord Radstock, 30, Bryanstone Square	1	0	0
Ladies' Negro's Friend Society, Birmingham	5	0	0
The late Bishop of Chester	1	0	0
Countess of Aberdeen	2	2	0
Miss Wilcox, Portman-square ...	5	0	0
Mrs. Malcolm, Glenmorag, Argyllshire	5	5	0

αMiss Archer, Leamington	0 13 6	Proceeds of African Bazaar,	
αMr. Archer, ditto	0 10 6	Willie's Rooms	43 10 6
αMrs. Clarke's Working Party		αMiss Portal (second don.)	2 15 0
Leamington	0 16 6	His Grace the Archbishop of Can-	
αMajor Brownell	2 2 0	terbury (second don.)	5 0 0
Mrs. Lester, Chard	2 2 0	The Dowager Lady Buxton (second	
αHon. Mrs. Cust	1 0 0	don.)	10 0 0
Rev. A. P. Parey Cust, Reading	0 10 6	Mrs. Henry Kemble (second don.)	10 10 0
αMiss Whytehead	1 5 0	Mrs. Crewdson, Kendal (second	
Mrs. Newburn, Wykeham Park ...	1 1 0	don.)	2 0 0
αMrs. Charles Willes, Banbury ...	0 10 0	A Christian Friend, Monmouth	5 0 0
Miss Muspratt	0 2 6	Mrs. Bannerman	2 0 0
Miss Mandy	0 2 0	A Friend, per Miss Cust	0 12 0
Member S. P. G.	0 5 0	Miss M. A. Saunders	0 10 0
Mrs. Colonel Bazette	0 10 0	P. H. Gosse, Esq.	2 0 0
W. Rainy, Esq., the Temple ...	2 2 0	Miss C.	1 0 0
Two Friends of Africa	1 5 0	S. S.	0 10 0
Lady Julia Bowens	0 5 0	Mrs. Dasent	0 10 0
Mrs. Malaher, Reading, collected		Miss Holmes	0 5 0
by	2 10 0	Rev. C. Paynter, Stoke Rectory	1 0 0
αMrs. Goode's Collecting Card,		Collection at Holy Trinity, Kentish	
Deanery, Ripon	0 3 0	Town	5 17 6
Hon. Mary Chetwynd	0 5 0	Mr. Thompson	1 0 0
Mrs. Stanley, 11, Gloucester-villas	0 10 0	Two Christian Sisters	0 5 0
Miss Eliza Westmacott	0 5 0	Gurney Hoare, Esq., Hampstead	
Miss M. A. Sotheby	0 2 0	(second don.)	2 0 0
Bishop of Chichester (second don.)	5 0 0	Col. Martin, Leamington	1 0 0
αRev. Edward Hoare (second don.)	1 1 0	Mrs. Rand, Bradford	3 10 0
αHon. John Carr, Chief Justice of		Mrs. Lindale	1 0 0
Sierra Leone	3 3 0	Miss Morris, Salford	1 0 0
αEllis Cunliffe, Esq., 64. Upper		Mrs. Goodman, Birmingham ...	0 10 0
Seymour-street	5 0 0	Mr. W. D. Reeves, Tiverton ...	0 5 0
W. E. Forster, M.P., Ekeleston-sq.	1 0 0	Mrs. Lindfaly	0 5 0
αRev. O. P. Vincent	1 0 0	Mrs. Harris, Bath	1 0 0
αLady James Stuart	1 0 0	Lady Ella Stuart, Tyrone, Ireland	0 14 0
αCaptain Caldwell	1 0 0	Mrs. Williams, Watford	0 5 0
αC. S. Webber, Esq., 25a, Norfolk		Mrs. Cooper	0 5 0
Crescent	0 10 0	Miss Heard	0 5 0
αDr. Easton, Connaught-square ...	0 10 0	Miss Coltman	2 0 0
Mrs. Morehead	0 10 0	Unknown, in stamps	0 2 6
αMrs. Thompson	1 0 0	Mrs. Mary Johnston	1 0 0
αMr. G. Chattell	1 1 0	Mr. Thomas Eaton	0 10 0
Miss Draper, Banbury	0 13 0	Rev. G. & Mrs. Southouse, Shanklin	2 3 0
Messrs. Coutts and Co.	5 0 0	Miss Unwin	1 1 0
αThomas Walker, Esq., the Temple	1 0 0	Friends in Reading	0 6 0
Mrs. Edgar	0 5 0	Rev. Mark French... ..	2 2 0
Mrs. Moorsom	0 5 0	A Well-wisher	5 0 0
Mrs. Lane	0 5 0	Viscountess de Montmorency ...	5 10 0
Broadway Chapel, Hammersmith,		The Duchess of Manchester (second	
Sunday School	0 14 6	donation)	1 0 0

Lady Mary Hope	1	0	0	Per Miss Jacobs, Brighton	2	0
Lady Millicent Barber	1	0	0	Mrs. Martineau	0	5
Lord Alfred Churchill	1	0	0	E. W. Barton, Esq.	0	5
Sir John Boileau	2	2	0	The Missions Library, per Mr. Suter,		
Lady Anna Maria Tollemache ...	0	12	0	100 Volumes		
Hon. Mrs. Cust (second don.) ...	5	0	0	J. T. Briscoe, Esq., M.P. for West Surrey		
Miss Florence Nightingale	0	10	0	has kindly promised £10 if other generous		
Rev. T. H. Barber	1	1	0	persons will do the same.		
Miss Dunlop	1	0	0			
Per Miss Dunlop	4	10	0			
Mrs. Walton, East Acton	1	0	0			
Rev. Henry Venn	2	0	0			
Charles Sterry, Esq.	1	0	0			
Mistress Fowler, Tottenham	2	2	0			
Mrs. B. N. Fowler	2	0	0			
Mrs. Charles Stuart	1	0	0			
Per Mrs. Clark, Leamington	2	0	0			
Messrs. Hannington, Brighton ...	1	0	0			
Miss Isabel Mandy's Collection ...	1	10	0			
Per Mrs. Malaher, Beading (second						
coll.)	12	18	6			
Collection at Penydarren Schools	1	6	0			
Coll. at Rev. C. Schwartz's, D.D.,						
School-rooms, Trinity Chapel ...	1	10	0			
Mrs. Finlay	2	2	0			
Messrs. Morgan and Sons, London	3	3	0			
Lady Wheler	1	0	0			
Mrs. Palmer	0	10	0			
Mrs. Bunbury	0	5	0			
Miss Moor	0	5	0			
Mrs. Vint	0	12	0			
Mrs. Perston	0	10	0			
Miss Saunders	0	5	0			
Miss Pim	0	5	0			
Mrs. Jenton, Ripon	0	10	0			
Mrs. Oakes	0	10	0			
Per Mrs. Kennedy	0	10	0			
Unknown, in Stamps	0	5	0			
E.H.	0	4	4			
Miss Lovell	0	5	0			
Miss Honohay (second don.)	0	10	0			
Miss Ada Mends	0	10	0			
Mrs. Stewart	0	2	6			
Mr. Condy	0	2	6			
Mrs. J. Parker	0	2	6			
Mrs. W. A. Parker	0	2	6			
Miss Saxby	0	2	6			
Miss Harriet Hart	0	2	6			
Miss Taylor	0	2	6			
J. H. Fordham, Esq.	1	0	0			
Miss Anne Forster	0	10	0			

THE FLOGGINGS IN JAMAICA.

Some "further correspondence relative to the affairs in Jamaica," just published, gives the depositions of a number of women (and some men) who were flogged without trial after the rebellion, together with the evidence of witnesses who saw the treatment they received. In the case of a charge of flogging against Mr. Christopher Codrington, a justice of the peace, Elizabeth Collins said:—

"I live at Long Bay, on my own plantation which I work. The same Friday in December last year that defendant flogged my daughter Charlotte Scott, I was taken before him at Mein's shop at Long Bay, in this parish, by one Michael Pearcey, a constable. Mr. Johnston was taken with me. Defendant asked Mary Johnston, 'Did you not hear Mrs. Collins wanted to catch one of my barrows in the place of one of her hogs I poisoned?' Mr. Pearcey told him, 'No;' and he swore her on a Bible and she still said, 'No.' He then said to her, 'You see that cocoa-nut tree? That woman (meaning me) is to be tied to it and get seven lashes, and if you refuse to tell me what that woman said, you will get the same.' The Mary said, 'Yes, she did hear me say I would catch one of his hogs.' He ordered Pearcey to put me up into a room. Pearcey did so, and awhile after brought me out, and the defendant ordered James McComock Reid to tie me to a cocoa-nut tree. Reid tied my hands and feet to the cocoa-nut tree and pulled down my clothes to my waist, and defendant ordered him to give me thirty lashes, which Reid did, with a cat, on my shoulders. I bled much, and was sick two weeks. I have the marks still. Mr. Christopher Codrington and Mr. Mein were present when I was flogged. Before martial law defendant poisoned a hog of mine, but I never said that I would take one of his in payment."

The man who administered the flogging, James McComock Reid, said :—

"During martial law I flogged Elizabeth Collins with a cat on her naked shoulders, at Long Bay. She was tied hands and feet to a cocoa-nut tree. I gave her more than twenty blows. The cat was made of black fishing lines. I did this by Mr. Christopher Codrington's orders. He was present and saw me do it. The woman's back bled. Mr. David Mein was on the left hand, with a sword."

Mr. James Codrington, who, it is pointed out, had not even the questionable justification of being a magistrate for ordering flogging, appears to have resorted to that mode of punishment upon very slight provocation. One, Ann Galloway, gave the following evidence against him :—

"On Wednesday, the 18th day of October, last year, I was taken by Charles Hunter before defendant at Long Bay, in this parish, and he ordered Daniel Biggerstaff to give me thirty-five lashes. He did not try me or examine me at all. Defendant made Biggerstaff drop my clothes, and made me naked to the waist, and he told Biggerstaff to tie me to a wain wheel, and he did so; and defendant told Biggerstaff to flog me, and Biggerstaff did so on my bare shoulders with a guava stick; defendant was standing by. My back bled, and defendant washed it with salt pickle; it burned me. I was in the 'family way,' and I was sick for two months and two weeks after the flogging."

In reference to these and similar cases the Earl of Carnarvon writes to Sir Peter Grant, under date of January 31st, 1867, that he has read the depositions "with the deepest regret, both at the unwarranted acts of cruelty which, upon the face of the depositions, appear to have been committed by some of the parties accused, and at the evidence which those papers contain of the political prepossessions by which unhappily the grand jurors have allowed their minds to be influenced in the discharge of their judicial duties." As there is nothing, however, in Sir Peter Grant's latest despatch to lead to the hope that a better feeling existed among the class from which grand jurors would be selected, his Lordship

refrains from instructing the Governor to take any further step for the prosecution of the accused. "At the same time," he adds, "if the local feeling has undergone any change, or if anything has occurred which in your judgment makes it more probable that a fair and impartial investigation could be obtained in the cases of these persons, you are of course at liberty to proceed."

REV. W. H. JONES.

Our active and persevering friend, in a note dated April 15th, 1867, sent us the following report of his meetings with an account of his expenses. In the strain and pressure upon us in connection with the Bazaar, the note was laid aside, but it is due to our zealous co-worker to give insertion to his account. The items do not include the sale of little publications. This is an innocent and useful business that Mr. Jones is quite at liberty to manage in his own way. The sale of the FREED-MAN is the only item we expect him to report.

	£	s.	d.
Stourminster, Newton	5	0	0
Trinity Church, Per Rev. W. W. Walker	4	12	0
Twickenham, Per Rev. Freeman ...	2	0	0
Turnham Green, Rev. Carr	5	0	0
Brighton Baptist Chapel, Rev. Isaac	0	12	0
Deverell Street Chapel, Rev. Frost	2	0	0
Parr Hill, Brighton	3	14	0
Puget School, Brighton, Mr. Sawyer	2	10	0
Belmont School, Mr. Hadlow ...	2	12	0
East Grinstead, Revs. Davis and Peck	2	2	0
Town Hall, Red Hill	2	10	0
Crawley, Rev. W. Cook	0	2	6
Reigate Chapel, Rev. Adeney ...	3	0	0

Mr. Jones is still at work and quietly gaining confidence and with greatly increased stability in the society, we have no doubt, the result will be satisfactory and for the advantage of the coloured people in Canada.

A SOUTHERN correspondent writes that this year negro women have almost entirely withdrawn from working in the field.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

Received for British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society.			
Sale of copy of "Abraham Lincoln"	0	4	6
Miss Ludlow, Refreshment Stall ...	10	16	7
Mr. Plummer for FREED-MAN ...	2	0	0
Rev. G. A. Coltart, after a Lecture by Mr. Jones, for Canada ...	9	4	1
John Carr, Esq., annual subscription	3	3	0
Rev. G. A. Coltart, after Lecture by Rev. W. H. Jones to children	3	9	10
Mr. Rimmel's stall.	0	13	0

SURPLUS LANCASHIRE DISTRESS FUND.

A meeting was held at Wolverhampton recently, under the presidency of the Mayor of that town, at which a resolution was passed in favour of applying the surplus of the Cotton Famine Relief Fund to the relief of the distressed Freed-men in the United States.

Anxious as we are to promote the interests of the Freed-men, we are by no means certain that the persevering efforts made by some of their earnest friends to obtain the surplus of the Cotton Famine Relief Fund, is either wise or equitable. The Earl of Derby in reply to a deputation which waited upon him recently, made certain remarks which in substance we gave to the gentlemen who are urging on this matter now two years ago; namely, that their application was one rather to be made to the Court of Chancery than to the Prime Minister. The gentlemen who have the matter in hand proposed some time since, to obtain the legal opinion of Mr. Thomas Hughes and of Mr. Ludlow. We ventured to assert when this proposal was made, that whilst we attached the highest value to the opinions of these gentlemen, it would without doubt confirm our own view, that according to the doctrine upon which the Court of Chancery has acted in similar cases, a doctrine known as the "cypress" doctrine, our Courts would probably hold that the funds contributed for the relief of Lancashire operatives suffering from famine, upon the famine being mitigated should be applied in some way for the benefit of those for whom the fund was originally accumulated. There are many such objects that it would be easy to suggest.

THE WESTERN CHARACTER.

VIEWS OF A NEW YORK EDITOR.

Theodore Tilton, editor of the *New York Independent*, who has been on a Western lecturing tour, wrote to his paper, from "The Illinois Prairie," as follows:—

"Probably no people in history, so young as ourselves, have developed in so short a time so many different types of human character as the American. Thus the New England character is distinct from any phrase of mankind which the world has ever before seen. The Yankee is a new product among the races. Even Shakspeare has left no sketch, no hint, of any such creature as Brother Jonathan. But the New England character of to-day is just as individualized, just as unmistakeable, just as original as the Brother Jonathan of the caricatures. A Boston man cannot, if he tries, conceal from a shrewd observer the marks of having been brought up in Yankee-land.

"Just as unmistakeable is the Southern character. You know it at a glance. It reveals itself in the manner, the gait, the hair, the complexion, the pronunciation. And it has its beautiful excellencies as well as its entailed deformities.

"But the Western character is, on the whole, the most representative of all American types, and best expresses what is called the American idea. The Western is the newest of American characters. It is a flower plucked from the rocks of New England and transplanted in the prairies. '*Qui transtulit, sustinet.*' But the present Western character is to undergo great changes—greater than the Southern or the Eastern. The typical and final Western man does not yet exist; for the best Western men are, as yet, partly Eastern. Many of them were born, reared and married at the East. But climate influences character. Western skies, land and lakes are busy at work moulding the souls of the Western people. The process is now going forward—the result cannot be guessed."

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THE FREED-MAN.

THE FREED-MEN.

BY REV. EDWARD ANDERSON.

At the late anniversary meeting of the American Missionary Association in Boston, Mr. Anderson spoke substantially as follows :—

“ I remember, two years and one half ago, marching with the U. S. troops into a town of Mississippi where Yankee soldiers had never been seen before. The news of their arrival spread among the colored people, and in a very short time the town was filled with negroes. They had left their masters, thrown away their old clothing, and arrayed in their best clothing came into town, in the expectation that they were to be cared for by the government. They were told that they must return to their masters, that contracts would be made for them and that they must labour and support themselves, and after they were made to understand the matter they returned to the plantations they had left. Many of their masters refused to receive them. One stalwart man returned with his arm lacerated by a pistol-shot. On going back to the plantation he had left, and informing his master that he had come back to work, the brutal white man replied, ‘ You have thrown away your rations and your furniture, and now you can go back to the Yankees, and carry that with my compliments,’ discharging his pistol at the former slave as he spoke.

The freed-men complained that their position was worse than when they were slaves. The government refused to care for them, and their old masters to receive them, and it seemed almost impossible to answer the question, what was to be done. The question is now answered. To-day these slaves are at labour. They have secured homes, with their families about them and their children in school. At Atalanta a tract of forty-five acres has been divided into little lots and sold to the colored people, to be paid for in monthly instalments. To-day on almost every one of those lots a cabin was erected, a garden planted, and everything is showing signs of thrift. There is also a lot assigned to the poor whites. Instead of cabins, that is covered with tents. There are to be found neither gardens, fences, nor any signs of cultivation. The men lounge

about shiftless and hopeless. When asked why they don't work they replied, because 'it was nigger's work ;' and when asked why they didn't send their children to school, they answered, because 'they were taught by Yankees.'

"The great hope for the country lies in the fact that the coloured people have learned that they must work and save and study to make themselves men. Give them political position, civil position, social position, and they will work steadily on and rise higher and higher until they hold the position they are fitted for; and we cannot decide to-day what that position is to be. The great hope in regard to the negro is that he is so eager to study. The feeble hands helplessly groping in the darkness have touched God's hand and been lifted up and strengthened. Go where you please among the coloured people and you find schools. In the city of Nashville you continually hear of General Fisk's school. Meet a coloured child there and ask him if he goes to school, and he says, 'I does.' Ask him where, and he says, 'Gen'l Fisk's school.'

"Two little coloured boys were disputing in the streets of that city (where they have two coloured schools) and one taunted the other with, 'You go down to the bone factory to school,' and the other replied, 'I don't care; *I'se larning*, any how.'

"I went to see an old woman in Grenada said to be one hundred and twenty years old. I found her sitting down over a large Bible given her by her minister, following along the page letter by letter, line by line, as she looked at it through her spectacles. I said, 'Do you know how to read?'

"'No.'

"'What are you doing then?'

"'Well,' she said, 'I'se got so old I can't learn the letters. I am three or four hundred years old. I tries to learn the letters, but I forgets them just as fast as I learns them. I was only looking to see how they looks, for when I dies and goes home to heaven I hopes to be able to learn to read the blessed Bible, and I thought I might remember how it looked to me here.'

"The people want to learn to read because they want to be able to read for themselves the promise and word of the Lord Jesus Christ. The men want to be able to read the newspapers to find out what is going on in the country, and to be better fitted to hold the ballot. They have a clear idea of the situation of political affairs. I attended a love feast and listened to speeches from several coloured men. One of them had attended a conservative meeting the Saturday night before, and in his speech he referred to it as follows:

"'There was a man that made a speech and said we niggers had wool in our teeth. I don't know what he meant unless that we talk nigger talk. I'se a nigger and I'se got wool in my teeth, but when the election comes we'll take some big tooth-picks and pick the wool out of our teeth, and if that is not enough we'll take the wool off our heads and stuff a republican chair and we'll take the republican candidate in it and carry him into Nashville.'

"We already see more than we dared to hope for: one child teaching another;

so that this work is going forward rapidly. Where they are urging us to send them teachers now, we shall soon find this work taken out of our hands into their own, and they will be found abundantly able to carry it on, and instead of the poor wretches that we saw two years ago huddled together in Federal barracks dying like beasts, we shall find a strong earnest people able to assist in the affairs of government—a people which will have been born out of the work done by the people of the North.”

THE FIRST AFRICAN CHURCH IN RICHMOND.

Richmond, June 13th, 1867.

Messrs. Editors.—We are often reminded that here in old Virginia we are living under a new dispensation. As we look around and witness the wonderful changes that have taken place within the last three years, we are ready to exclaim, What hath God wrought! I came to this city soon after the fall of the Confederacy, and have been engaged with the freed-men since that time, who number in the city some twenty thousand. The first African church is supposed to have a larger membership than any other on the continent, if not in Christendom. It has 30 deacons, and numbers on its records more than 4,000, with over 3,000 resident members. Many of the absent ones were sold to the cotton States before and during the war. When freedom came to them, many returned to their families and the church. Some cases of touching interest have come to my notice, one of which I will mention here. More than twenty years ago an aged mother had all her children sold away from her but one; that was a daughter on whom she leaned for help and comfort in old age. But her master decided to sell this daughter, then a young woman; and, said the slave mother, “I thought it would kill me.”

“Well, said I, aunty, what did you do then?”

“What did I do? why I prayed all night, and de Lord He promised me dat I should see my daughter again.”

And sure enough when the war closed, this long-lost child came all the way from Mississippi in search of her aged mother, from whom she had been separated more than twenty years, and of whom she had heard nothing. But when she found her the change was so

great that the mother did not know her; and when she was told that this was her daughter, she exclaimed: “Well, I knew I should see her again, for de Lord He promise me dat my daughter should come back some time.”

The religious interest here among the colored people, since the war closed, has been great. In one church the additions by profession have been nearly 700. Last Sabbath 17 were received, by profession, in the presence of a large congregation, and several strangers. Of these one had been the slave and the wife of a slave trader lately deceased. She is an excellent woman, and, though never legally married to him, he left her with his property; and the premises used for the confinement of slaves will soon be converted into a school for the instruction of colored men preparing for the ministry. Another was a little boy, twelve years old, who gave a very intelligent account of his Christian experience, and of his interest in Christ.

It does seem as though God is preparing this people, so long oppressed and wronged, for some good mission in the future. And is it not strange that the good people of the South do not more fully comprehend their duty to redress these wrongs, and to unite with the people of the North in every effort for their improvement? They are now free in the eyes of the law, and will claim their rights.

Yours truly

G. S. STOCKWELL.

Pastor First African Church.

THE FOOD CRISIS in what was termed the “burnt district” of Mississippi has passed away by recent abundant crops.

MEETING FOR THE RECEPTION OF MR. LLOYD GARRISON.

A large and influential gathering was held (June 30th) at St. James's Hall, to recognize the eminent and unequalled services of Mr. Lloyd Garrison in the cause of emancipation in the United States. The sentiments expressed on the occasion were not only complimentary but worthy of permanent record for their intrinsic excellence.

MR. BRIGHT, M.P., in an eloquent address sketched the course of the pioneers and martyrs of the cause. He said: "It is not forty years ago, I believe about the year 1829, that the guest whom we honour this morning was spending his solitary days in a prison in the slave-owning city of Baltimore. I will not say that he was languishing in prison, for that I do not believe; he was sustained by a hope that did not yield to the persecution of those who thus maltreated him; and to show that the effect of that imprisonment was of no avail to suppress or extinguish his ardour, within two years after that he had the courage—the audacity—I dare say many of his countrymen used even a stronger phrase than that—he had the courage to commence the publication, in the city of Boston, of a newspaper devoted mainly to the question of the abolition of slavery. The first number of that paper, published the 1st July, 1831, contained an address to the public, one passage of which I have often read with the greatest interest, and it is a key to the future life of Mr. Garrison. He had been complained of for having used hard language—but it is a very common complaint indeed—and he said in his first number:—"I am aware that many object to the severity of my language, but is there not cause for such severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retract a single inch, and I will be heard." And that, after all, expresses to a great extent the future course of his life. But what was at that time the temper of the people amongst whom he lived—of the people who are glorying now, as they well may glory, in the abolition of slavery throughout their country? At that time it was very little better in the

North than it was in the South, I think it was in the year 1835 that riots of the most terrific character took place in some of the northern cities; during that time Mr. Garrison's life was in the most imminent peril; and he has never ascertained to this day how it was that he was left alive on the earth to carry out his great work. Turning to the South, a State that has lately suffered from the ravages of armies, the State of Georgia, by its legislature of House, Senate and Governor, if my memory does not deceive me, passed a bill, offering 10,000 dols. reward—(Mr. Garrison here said 5,000)—well, they seemed to think there were people who would do it cheap—offered 5,000 dols., and ~~and~~ doubtless, would make up the difference, for the capture of Mr. Garrison, or for adequate proof of his death. Now, these were menaces and perils such as we have not in our time been accustomed to in this country in any of our political movements—and we shall take a very poor measure indeed of the conduct of the leaders of the emancipation party in the United States if we measure them by any of those who have been concerned in political movements amongst us. But, notwithstanding all drawbacks, the cause was gathering strength, and Mr. Garrison found himself by and by surrounded by a small but increasing band of men and women who were devoted to this cause, as he himself was."

In reference to the war and its results, MR. BRIGHT said: "It becomes us not to rejoice, but to be humbled, that a chastisement so terrible should have fallen upon any of our race; but we may be thankful for this, that that chastisement was at least not sent in vain. This great triumph in the field was not all; there came after it another great triumph—a triumph over passion, and there came up before the world the spectacle, not of armies and military commanders, but of the magnanimity and mercy of a powerful and victorious nation. The vanquished were treated as vanquished, in the history of the world, have never before been treated. There was a universal feeling in the North that every care should be taken of those who had so recently and marvellously been enfranchised. Immediately we found that the privileges of inde-

pendence were open to them, schools were established, in which their sons might obtain an education that would raise them to an intellectual position never reached by their fathers, and at length full political rights were conferred upon those who a few short years, or rather months, before had been called chattels and things to be bought and sold in any market. Take for granted, we may feel assured, that those persons in the Northern States who befriended the negro in his bondage will not now resist his struggles for a higher position. May we not say, reviewing what has taken place—and I have only glanced in the briefest possible way at the chief aspects of this great question—that probably history has no sadder, and yet, if we take a different view, I may say also probably no brighter page. To Mr. Garrison more than to any other man this is due; his is the creation of that opinion which has made slavery hateful and which has made freedom possible in America. His name is venerated in his own country—venerated where not long ago it was a name of obloquy and reproach. His name is venerated in this country and in Europe wheresoever Christianity softens the hearts and lessens the sorrows of men; and I venture to say that in time to come, near or remote I know not, his name will become the herald and the synonyme of good to millions of men who will dwell on the now almost unknown continent of Africa.”

After a graceful tribute to the English Anti-Slavery leaders and to “the most eloquent living champion of the slave, George Thompson,” Mr. Bright continued: “To William Lloyd Garrison it has been given in a manner not often permitted to those who do great things of this kind, to see the ripe fruit of his vast labours. Over a territory large enough to make many realms, he has seen hopeless toil supplanted by confederated industry; and where the bondman dragged his chain, there freedom is established for ever. We now welcome him amongst us as a friend whom some of us have known long, for I have watched his career with no common interest, even when I was too young to take much part in public affairs, and I have kept within my heart his name and the names of

those who have been associated with him in every step which he has taken; and in public debate in the halls of peace, or even on the blood-soiled fields of war, my heart has always been with those who were the friends of freedom. We welcome him, then, with a cordiality which brooks no stint and knows no limit for him and for his noble associates, both men and women, and we venture to speak a verdict which, I believe, will be sanctioned by all mankind, not only those who live now, but those who shall come after, to whom their perseverance and their success shall be a lesson and a help in those future struggles which remain for men to make.”

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, in moving an appropriate address prepared by Mr. Goldwin Smith said: “With regard to the cause, it was not too much to say that the cause of negro emancipation in the United States of America had been the greatest cause which, in ancient or in modern times, has been pleaded at the bar of the moral judgment of mankind. He knew that to some this would sound as the language of exaggerated feeling, but he could only say that he had expressed himself in language which he believed conveyed the literal truth of the case. He had, indeed, often heard it said in depreciation of the amount of interest which was bestowed in this country on the cause of the negro emancipation in America, that they were apt to forget the forms of suffering which were immediately at their own doors, over which they had some control, and to express exaggerated feeling as to the forms of suffering with which they had nothing to do, and for which they were not responsible. He had never objected to that language in so far as it might tend to recall them to the duties which lay immediately around them, and in so far as it might tend to make them recollect the forgetfulness of which they were sometimes guilty, of the misery and poverty in their own country; but, on the other hand, he would never admit—for he thought it would be confounding great moral distinctions—that the miseries which arose by way of natural consequence out of the poverty and the vices of mankind, were to be compared with those miseries which were the direct result of positive law

and of a positive institution, giving to man property in man. It was true, also, that there had been forms of servitude, meaning thereby compulsory labour, against which they did not entertain the same feelings of hostility and horror with which they regarded slavery in America. Although they rejoiced at the cessation of serfdom in Russia, what person felt in regard to that condition of things as he felt in regard to negro slavery in America. Undoubtedly the condition of compulsory servitude had been a stage in the progress of mankind, and they rejoiced that that stage had been passed; but with regard to negro slavery in America, it was not one, but many circumstances which constituted its peculiar aggravation and horror. It was a system of which might be truly said it was twice cursed. It curseth him that serves, and it curseth him that owns the slave. When they recollected the inseparable temptations which that system held out to maintain in a state of degradation and ignorance a whole race of mankind; the horrors of the internal slave trade, more widely demoralising, in his opinion, than the foreign slave trade itself; the violence which was done to the sanctities of domestic life; the corrupting effect which it was having upon the very churches of Christianity—when they recollected all these things, they could fully estimate the evil from which his distinguished friend and his coadjutors had at last redeemed their country. It was not only the Slave States which were concerned in the guilt of slavery; it had struck its root deep in the Free States of North America. And what were the Free States of North America? It might be said with truth that America was a country which seemed destined by Almighty God to test the question, what man can do best for himself. If such be the cause, what were they to say of the man and of the services which he had rendered to that cause? They honoured Mr. Garrison in the first place, for the immense pluck and courage which he displayed. The chairman had truly said that there was no comparison between the contest which Mr. Garrison had had to fight, and the most bitter contest of their own public life. In looking back to the contest which was maintained in

this country against slavery in their colonies, they might recollect that Clarkson and Wilberforce were denounced as fanatics, and had to encounter much opprobrium; but it must not be forgotten that, so far as regarded the entwining of the roots of slavery into the social system, there was no comparison whatever between that contest and the contest in America. The number of persons who in this country were enlisted on the side of slavery by personal interest was always comparatively few, whilst in attacking slavery at its headquarters in the United States, Mr. Garrison had to encounter the strongest objections which were entwined with the self-interest of mankind. It was, indeed a tremendous sea which ran upon the surface of the human mind when the storms of passion and of self-interest ran counter to the secret currents of conscience and the sense of right. Such was the stormy sea on which Mr. Garrison embarked at first—if he might use the simile—almost in a one-oared boat. He stood alone. He could not help saying that in their reception that day of Mr. Garrison they were entitled to think of him as representing the increased power and force which is exerted in our own times by the moral opinions of mankind. It was true that they had had lately some of the most tremendous and bloody wars which history recorded, and he, for one must admit that the time had not yet come—it was not even in sight—when they could turn their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; but if they looked to the great events to which he had referred, it would be seen that in our own time the march of great battalions had generally been in the wake of the march of great principles that in the freedom of Italy, in the consolidation of Germany, and still more in the recent triumph in America, they were to look to the triumphs of opinion as, in the main, the triumphs which had been won. He could understand the joy which must be felt by a great sovereign or by a great general when standing even amidst the heaps of slain, he could feel that he had won the independence of a country, or still better, had established the independence of a race. They could all, however, understand still better the joy of him

who, like their distinguished friend, after years of obloquy and oppression, and being denounced as the fanatical supporter of extreme opinions, found himself acknowledged at last by his countrymen and the world, as the prophet and apostle of a triumphant and accepted cause."

EARL RUSSELL said: "As one of his many sincere admirers and warm friends, I beg to join in this welcome to Mr. Garrison. I hold it to be a distinguished honour to be permitted to join in this tribute of admiration to Mr. Garrison. It is the fortune of our race that if many evils beset mankind, if the wrong is often deeply felt, if institutions sometimes prevail that condemn thousands and often millions to hopeless servitude, that the Almighty has planted in the breasts of some a spark of indignation against wrong, and readiness to encounter any evil, even to submit to martyrdom, in order to deliver mankind, and they will not rest until those evils are done away with and mankind attains to a happier fortune. Now, that spirit is found in Mr. Garrison. He felt for the wrongs of a portion of his fellow men; he at once devoted himself to the object of removing them; he encountered all kinds of danger, nearly death itself, in the pursuit of that salutary object, and he has happily lived to see the conquest of freedom over slavery, which, in the shape in which it prevailed in America and in our own colonies, has been rightly described by my noble friend as the worst evil that afflicted mankind. Having said thus much with regard to Mr. Garrison, you will permit me to join in another sentiment expressed by the Duke of Argyll, and that is, that this may be an occasion which will tend to draw closer the ties of friendship and affection which ought to unite us with the United States of America. Well, now, I have my own faults to acknowledge myself in this respect, because I certainly thought that when the Slave States of America endeavoured to establish their independence and at the same time to perpetuate the institution of slavery, the Northern States ought not only to have proclaimed their abhorrence but the abolition and destruction of slavery. Distance and want of knowledge of the circumstances of

America may have caused me to fall into error in that respect, but I was afterwards convinced by the distinguished and eminent man who represents the United States in this country, I mean Mr. Adams, I was convinced by him in frequent conversations on the subject that I had not rendered due justice to Mr. Lincoln, who was the friend of freedom, but ultimately became the martyr for that cause. I may now, therefore, acknowledge that the task which the Government of the United States had to perform was a totally different task—and a much more difficult one—from that which we had to perform when more than thirty years ago we abolished slavery in the West India Islands. Not having that slavery mixed up with our own domestic institutions; not having it involved and twisted into all our relations, whether political or social; not having what the United States had, the utmost difficulty in prevailing upon men whose interests were often bound up with the continuance of slavery, to disentangle all those ties, but merely looking upon it as a question for the liberation of mankind and as a religious question imposed upon us by our adherence to Christianity. I did not do justice to the efforts that were made by the United States Government; and I am now persuaded that Mr. Lincoln did all that it was possible to do, and that we are bound to give our tribute of admiration to the excellent policy which Mr. Lincoln and his Government pursued, and which has eventually ended in the entire liberation of the four millions of slaves. I may well say, as my noble friend has just said, that with regard to those animosities which prevailed some eighty years ago, between the people of this country and the people of the United States of America, all feelings of animosity have entirely departed from us, and that on the 4th of July which is approaching, Englishmen will feel as much admiration for the memory of General Washington as a man, I believe, of the purest patriotism of all the great men who have existed in modern times, and as much rejoicing at the freedom and free institutions of America, as the Americans themselves."

Mr. J. S. MILL, M.P., said—

"Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the

speakers who have preceded me have, with an eloquence far beyond anything which I command, laid before our honoured guest the homage of admiration and gratitude which we all feel is due to his heroic career. It would be needless for me to expatiate upon things which have been far better said already than I could say them; I would rather endeavour to recall one or two lessons applicable to ourselves, which may be drawn from his career. A noble work nobly done, always contains in itself not one but many merits; and in the case of him whose career and character we are here to consider, there are certain lessons which are specially deserving to be laid to heart by all who, like him, would wish to leave the world better than they found it. The first of these is to aim at things great and things difficult. Let the world sneer or censure as it will, do not pare down your endeavours to the level of those who would seek to disparage them. Fear not the reproach of Quixotism and impracticability or to be pointed at as the knights-errant of an idea. After you have well judged what it is you undertake, when you see it clearly in its true form and dimensions, go forward, even though you do it at the risk of being torn to pieces, like Garrison, by the very men who will in the end be your friends and aid you with their support. He did all his work at great odds, with none to help but a small though heroic-minded band of supporters. If you are right, the time will come when that small band will swell into a multitude. The time will come when you will have laid the foundation of something memorable and magnificent, and you may, like Garrison, be spared to see that work completed which, when you began it, you only hoped it might be given to you to forward. The other lesson which appears to me important to enforce amongst the many that may be drawn from our friend's career is, that if you aim at something noble and succeed in it, you will generally find that you have succeeded not in that alone. A hundred good and noble things which you never dreamed of will have been accomplished, the more fully and the more certainly, the sharper and more agonising has been the struggle which preceded the victory. The

heart and mind of a nation are never stirred from their foundation without great and good fruits being produced, and in the case of the great American contest, these fruits have been already great, and are daily becoming greater. The prejudices which gather round the frame of society like rust, and of these there was a plentiful crop in America—are rapidly melting away. The chains of proscription have been broken; it is not only the slave who has been freed, but the mind of America has been freed. The nation has been set thinking about the great questions of society and government; and the new problems which have to be solved, and the new difficulties which have to be encountered, have raised up the faculties of the people to corresponding activity, so that they have been freed, for many generations it is to be hoped, from one of the greatest dangers which can beset society—that of intellectual and moral stagnation. This, then, is amongst the benefits which America and mankind owe to our friend, and it is well calculated to deepen our sense of his merits. Let us remember, then, that though our best directed efforts may often seem wasted and vain, with nothing coming of them that may seem likely to better our own lot or that of others, though they may happen ninety-nine times in a hundred, still the hundredth time the success may be so great and lasting as we have never even dared to hope for."

MR. GARRISON responded to the address in a long and thrilling speech. He said: "I never cared to know precisely how many stripes were inflicted on the slaves. I never cared to go down into the Southern States, if I could have gone, for the purpose of going and measuring out slavery. I made it always a case of conscience between my Maker and myself thus: Did I want to be a slave? No. Did God make me to be a slave? No. I am only a man, I am only one of the human race; but he made no one of the human race to be a slave. My wife and children, dear to me as my heart's blood, though no better than other children, were they made for the auction-block? Never. And so it was all settled. Indeed, if we could only do this, we should never be led far astray; but the difficulty is

that we seldom or never comply with the golden rule. "Whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Here I wish to pay a brief tribute to the abolitionists of America. Putting myself entirely out of the question, I believe that in no land at any time was there ever more devotion and abnegation of selfish interests than in America amongst that small band of men and women who dared to stand up against the foul and false slave system of the country. Nothing can be said in their praise which they did not deserve; they were willing to make themselves of no account, and to renounce all separate purposes. On this occasion I do not feel warranted in making particular references to any one, because I should like to begin at the beginning, and go all the way through with them, and not omit any who laboured in the good cause. It was never my habit to make any question whether we should see the work completed in our own day, or what might be the opinions men formed in regard to us or to this cause which we laboured to forward by the light of faith planted in us. God means that we should be blotted out; how then shall we plume ourselves upon our ability in having done any great thing? It is all of God; it has been done through the truth which is of God, and to no mortal shall there be any glory given, but the whole of it unto God! And so we are thankful that we are permitted to live to see this day, for our country's sake and for the sake of mankind, and we are glad to see that our reproach is taken away. It is better, if possible, to have the good opinions of our fellow men, but if to gain those opinions we must part with rectitude and sully our souls, then no matter about bad opinions. Their good opinions will then not be worth having. My only singularity in this whole matter was in being happily permitted to be the first to raise the banner of immediate and unconditional emancipation. I am proud to say I did not unfurl that banner in a free State. I went to the State of Maryland and the city of Baltimore, as has been already mentioned; and there because I denounced the domestic slave trade in especial, I was arrested, tried, and sent to prison for a time.

Let me state a little anecdote in connection with that affair. In 1864, thirty-four years after I had been in prison, I went for the first time since then to visit Baltimore. I do not know that I could have gone at an earlier period, except at peril of my life; but the American Government was there in force, and the soldiers of the army were there, and therefore it was possible for me to go there too. I was very curious to see the old prison, and if possible to get into the old cell again; but when I went to the spot, behold! the prison had vanished; and so I was disappointed. On going to Washington I mentioned to President Lincoln the disappointment I had met with, and with great readiness of wit he said, 'So, Mr. Garrison, the difference between 1830 and 1864 appears to be this—in 1830 you could not get out, and in 1864 you could not get in.' This was not only wittily said, but it contained a truth very remarkable indeed; because I might have gone through the whole State of Maryland, denouncing slavery and the slave trade without stint, and nobody would have thought of bringing an action against me, or arresting me for the purpose of imprisoning me. Nay, Maryland herself had adopted the very doctrine for which she imprisoned me, and given immediate and unconditional emancipation to 800,000 slaves. Mr. Chairman, I commenced, as you remarked, the journal called the *Liberator* in Boston, in the year of grace 1831. At that time I was utterly unknown, without means, without friends, without resources, without money, without a subscriber, and yet no sooner had that little sheet seen the light and travelled southwards, than the whole slave power was raised, as though the South had been invaded by an army with banners. Oh! how weak was the instrument that did this! One of the most gratifying incidents of my life was to have been invited by the United States Government, together with my dear friend and coadjutor, George Thompson, to accompany General Anderson to Fort Sumpter to see the star-spangled banner once more unfurled on its walls. There was a time when I hated the look of that flag. It was heavy with the blood of the slave, and I would not have it over my head. It was not

my banner. It symbolises now a redeemed country, and I am therefore proud of it. We went into Charleston, meeting with a very cordial reception at the hands of the Freedmen, who extemporised a procession of a mile or a mile and a half long, and composed of old and young, and with a band of music they marched us through all the principal streets of that city, singing 'John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave, but his soul is marching on'—and giving cheers for Abraham Lincoln and a good many other persons. I began the Anti-slavery cause in the North in the midst of brickbats and rotten eggs; I finished the struggle on the soil of Carolina, in Charleston, almost literally buried beneath the wreaths and flowers which were heaped upon me. I have alluded to my friend George Thompson. You have all more or less participated in bringing slavery to an end, but in regard to my own country I know of no one who has done more, on the whole, to stir us up to a sense of our true condition, and to hasten the day of jubilee than my coadjutor George Thompson.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON, who met with a most enthusiastic reception, next addressed the meeting, and observed that one of the happiest reflections of his life was that he should have lived thirty-four years from the time when a shake of the hand by his friend who had just addressed them turned the current of his life, and, so far as he could perceive, entirely changed the nature of his future occupation, and at the end of that period have seen him, his labour done and four millions to whom he had consecrated his life redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, honoured in that hall by a meeting which, long and varied as his experience of public meetings had been, he must say was unique in its character. Since, with his friend Mr. Garrison, he followed the coffin which contained all that was mortal of William Wilberforce to his last resting place in the abbey adjacent, when princes of the royal blood, prelates of the church, and peers of the realm, the flower of England's nobility, and the cream of England's intellect, did homage to the memory of him who, when he commenced his work, was branded as a sickly

sentimentalist. Since that gathering beneath the fretted roof of Westminster Abbey, he had not seen another gathering of his countrymen and countrywomen similar in its character and position to the present. He hailed this as a glorious sign of the times. He prized it most of all because of the assurance it gave him that those who should succeed them in the carrying on of the work that they should leave unfinished had but to be encouraged by what they had that day beheld, and of a surety they would not labour in vain. He had ever loved America, and in her darkest days he believed in her ability to right herself. Three years and a half back he visited the country and found it divided against itself, state against state, citizen against citizen, two Congresses, two armies, two presidents, two constituencies. But now the din of battle is hushed, the graves were covered up, the eyes that had been weeping were dried, and the monster War had devoured the monster Slavery throughout their wide dominions. In 1845 he had been denounced as an officious intermeddler, whose doctrines were to be held in loathing by all good citizens; in 1864 he was received with respect by the President of the United States in the halls of the Capitol at Washington, and invited to utter all that he had in his heart to say. He could bear witness to the heartfelt gratitude which the people of America cherished for all who in those hours of trial had spoken words of comfort and good cheer for them in this country.

MR. STANSFIELD, M.P., MR. VERNON HARCOURT, and the HON. E. STANLEY followed in speeches characterized, as were all the rest, by international good will. The effect of these addresses given on this occasion can only be good. From the special character of the meeting we could hardly except a complete view of the course of the Anti-Slavery movement in America, as it will no doubt ultimately be given when the time shall come for a dispassionate historical review. All honour to the pioneers, and to Mr. Lloyd Garrison, their heroic leader, who signalized the termination of a long career of self-denying and devoted service by the moderation, equity and wisdom which strengthened the hands of

President Lincoln—when men of greater heat and less discretion would have caused him the most serious embarrassment.

The remarks of EARL RUSSELL at the meeting were perfectly just, and singularly judicious as to the course pursued by the American Government. That government was called into existence by the Republican party, who applied successfully anti-slavery principles in the momentous crisis before them, and adopted a policy which led to the ultimate extinction of the evil in accordance with a due regard to the Constitution, and so saved the nation, and with it the interests of modern civilization. The influence of the Christian churches in America has been far more powerful in securing emancipation than some earnest abolitionists are willing to admit. It must not be forgotten that the election of Mr. Lincoln in the first instance was strenuously opposed, on mistaken grounds, by the liberal press in England, and that at one time no one was more bitterly assailed than the honest and prudent President by ardent abolitionists. We must not be one-sided in our estimate of service, and it behoves us always to remember that while a certain amount of glorification may be useful as human nature is constituted, we must nevertheless, keep our attention calmly on truth and justice.

FREEDMAN'S ASSOCIATION FOR THE RESTORATION OF LOST FRIENDS.—An Association with this title has just been organized in the city of Washington. By those who framed the act of Congress creating the Freedman's Bureau, it was thought that ample provision had been made for the reunion of families which had been separated in times past by the institution of slavery, and during the late rebellion by the exigencies of war, but it has been found necessary to take further measures to carry out this humane purpose. The Association has the sanction and aid of such men as Senators Harlan and Yates, and Representatives Bromwell and Marshall. The following is the plan of its organization: "1.—Books have been opened in which, when completed, names of Freedmen from all parts of the United

States and the Canadas will appear alphabetically arranged under the head of the states in which they reside. 2.—In connection with the names registered in these books, a brief history of the individual will be kept, showing the present and former residence, former owner, and such other main facts as will lead to identification. 3.—When names of persons do not appear on our books, and friends desire to learn their present residence, we will seek them out through such channels as the Freedman's Bureau, the Union Leagues, the churches, the coloured schools, our own auxiliary associations, and by publishing and widely circulating lists of names of such missing persons. 4.—We are prepared to transact all ordinary matters of business in the government offices for freedmen when desired, although this is merely incidental to the main object of the Association." All letters of inquiry should be directed to the Association, 343, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington City.

THE FRIENDS OF IGNORANCE are rather active in their opposition to the effort for obtaining higher education in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Moore, a minister of the denomination, writes: "I have frequently heard from our elder in charge, that education was nothing, that he learned his education behind an old stump in the country; and such expressions would bring such loud hosannas, as though the Prince of Life was riding at the descent of the Mount of Olives. I have also heard from an elder expressions that were calculated to paralyze, as far as his influence goes. He never looked into a dictionary, to his knowledge, more than three times in his life. And, sir, he triumphed, as though he gained a greater victory over the devil by not opening a dictionary oftener. As for candidates for the ministry, we have many, some twelve or fifteen; some can and others cannot read; and there are night and Sunday schools in which considerable information can be acquired by close application and exertion, but they will not avail themselves of these opportunities."

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E. R. complains that he found the office in Fleet Street closed; he did not notice the plate at the door intimating our removal.

The Freed-Man.

AUGUST, 1867.

FAIR PLAY.

We have often pleaded for the Freed-men, as the pages of this journal will attest. Our readers will have patience with us if we now say a word for ourselves. We have nothing to ask, indeed, personally, but as the representatives of the object committed to our care it is time perhaps to break silence and to ask, not for compassion or for aid individually, but for *fair play*.

There is no demand that a true-born Englishman is more ready to meet than this, if it be fairly made. Well, our case is this:—At the very outset, this Society was overweighted with the heavy expenses for the great Exeter Hall Meeting. In the anticipation of more general and steady support the committee incurred liabilities beyond the actual resources of the society, and the reserve was freely voted away. Funds have been raised for special objects, but practically the claims of the Society have been in abeyance. We are free to say all this, because by our present arrangements we hope to place the Society on a permanent and inexpensive footing. The office in Fleet Street is given up in order to save the constant demand for heavy rent. In our present office, 28, Queen Square,

Bloomsbury, we are better accommodated without this pressure. To save the Society and to make it virtually independent, we have followed as nearly as possible the example of Mr. Lloyd Garrison. For a long time the service we have rendered has been without pecuniary recompense, and not only so, but at some personal loss. The time is not yet come when “working at great odds” in our case will be much admired. We have the strongest conviction, nevertheless, that the work in which we are engaged is quite as important as that of emancipation, indeed it is but the sequel or advanced stage of that stupendous work.

Now if we had two hundred friends, who would send us a yearly subscription of a sovereign each, we should have a firmer basis financially, or if the readers of the FREED-MAN, would each find four subscribers of five shillings each to the same extent, a solid footing would be gained. This is our simple statement, there is no scope for eloquence of any kind. Here we are trying to do the best to our poor ability, meeting our sable friends from America and Jamaica, to ask counsel and help. We are urged on every side to send the means of instruction, but are we to do this at our own expense, simply to pass on contributions for America, Jamaica and Africa, and pay the charges of the printer, postage, and journeys out of our own shallow purse? *Fair Play* if you please, ye friends of the Freedmen, for we want to be Freedmen ourselves, and with a little kind and considerate help we shall have much greater freedom of mind in working for the objects of the Society.

We suppose it is no secret that during the Jamaica prosecutions we were left pretty much to ourselves by all parties, bound to the spot officially without the power, from obvious causes, to make any effort, and yet expected to meet all demands. That disheartening time is now past, and if those who had not the same direct and inconvenient responsibility think we did right in holding on to be useful another day, we shall be glad to hear from them by an early post.

The recent excitement in London and on the South Western coast has naturally retarded our movements for the Bazaar, but we shall not neglect the fitting opportunity.

We are expecting shortly the return of our friend Mr. Estcourt from Jamaica. He will be prepared to give us full information on all points respecting the interests of the Freed-men, and the best modes of operation, for the advancement of their cause. We hear with concern that Dr. Bowerbank is the confidential adviser of the Governor of Jamaica. The antecedents of that gentleman are not such as to inspire confidence. There will be constant need for vigilance to prevent mischief and to afford protection to those who will be made indirectly to suffer.

We believe many of our friends are quite alive to this, and they are only waiting the arrival of our friend to consider the whole question in the light of the most recent and authentic information. Only let the work be done faithfully, it will not greatly concern us by what agency.

A new era is opening in connection with the millions of the freed-men apart

from benevolent aid to the suffering and destitute; it is of the utmost importance that we should keep up mutual correspondence. The social and commercial system is so sensitive to causes of derangement and disturbance from the remotest points that we cannot too carefully guard against the recurrence of evils that arise from learned and eloquent ignorance. The Emperor Maximilian was indirectly a victim or a martyr to the common European illusion on the negro question. Our most eminent statesmen will repeat their former mistakes if we do not take adequate pains to know what is really going on. This is not the time, then, to let the work of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society flag.

INTEMPERANCE.—We are sorry to learn that intemperance has broken out amongst the Freed-men in the Southern States. Their former masters will take no pains to check the evil, but General Howard has devoted his energies to correct the evil, and societies are formed of the *Sons of Temperance*. The Freed-men of Canada found their strength in abstinence, and have made great progress in consequence.

REMOVAL OF THE OFFICE.—We fear some of our friends have suffered inconvenience in not marking the change in our address. We occupy an office at 28, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, W.C. It is quite central, and the friends of the Freed-men will be welcome there any time they may favour us with a call.

“UNDER the new *regime* in Jamaica one of the members summoned to the legislative council by Sir Peter Grant is a coloured man, so is the Attorney-General, another member *ex officio*; the Advocate-General, the head of the stipendiary magistracy: are all men of this class—men of considerable literary ability—besides barristers, ministers of the Gospel, merchants and others.”—*Independent*.

DANIEL A. PAYNE

The desire of the Freed-men to obtain education of a higher order than that which has been hitherto within their reach, begins to attract considerable attention in America, and it is worth noticing on the part of all who are alive to their interests. It is a sign of vitality in the coloured race not to be overlooked. The nature of the aspiration for educational improvement, will be best understood by an illustrative example. We select that of DANIEL A. PAYNE, a bishop of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, now on a visit to this country. He was born in Charleston, South Carolina in 1811. His parents were both free persons of colour, and he may be considered as a man of composite order, for he inherits the blood of three races:—the Indian or Aboriginal, the African and the Anglo-Saxon. His parents were persons of simple and earnest piety. His father said of the infant, "I will name him Daniel after the old Hebrew prophet" At the age of five he lost his father, and when nine years old he was deprived by death of his mother's care. Early instruction however was obtained for him at an Institution called the "*Minor's Moralist Society*," founded by a few coloured gentlemen in the city, for the training of indigent coloured, fatherless and orphan children. Daniel when eight and a half years old, was placed by this association in a common school, where he spent three years and received instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. At the expiration of the term, he was sent to learn the business of a carpenter, and spent four and a half years in this employment. He was the subject of early religious impressions which were matured into deep and settled convictions. At fifteen he became a probationer, and in this relation he remained for three years when he joined the Church of which his parents had been members. Within three months after this event and whilst engaged in secret prayer, he felt as if the hands of a man were laid upon him, and the call came unto him: "I have set thee apart to educate the ignorant and oppressed race!" About this time the Self-Interpreting Bible of John Brown, of Haddington, fell into his hands, and he read with great interest the memoir of Mr. Brown, given as an introduction

to the work. He there found that the excellent Scottish divine, though left an orphan, acquired a knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and other languages without a teacher, became in turn a school-master, minister, professor of theology and an eminent christian author. He said to himself, "If John Brown could learn all things without a teacher's aid, why can't I? At any rate I will try, and see whether I can or not." From that time he became an earnest student. Murray's English Grammar was mastered, then followed in a regular series, Geography, Arithmetic, the first five books of Euclid, a work on Botany, "Burritt's Geography of the Heavens," the use of the Globes, and "Locke on the Understanding." Encouraged by this conscious progress, he resolved to study Latin and Greek, and procured without delay the needful apparatus, Grammar, Lexicon, and Greek testament. He was gratified to find he could translate a chapter with facility. He next devoted his attention to Chemistry, Natural Philosophy and Natural History. The department of Zoology interested him in particular, and to aid his researches he practised anatomy and prepared a collection of animals for a private museum.

In his 19th year he commenced to teach, opening a day school with three children at fifty cents per month, and a night school with three slaves, at fifty cents each per month. These educational efforts were attended with so many difficulties arising from poverty, opposition, misrepresentation and scandal, that at the end of six months, the young school-master dismissed his pupils because he found he could not supply his wants. Mr. Nathaniel Smith, a wealthy slaveholder, passing through Charleston at this time, on his way to the West Indies, heard of Payne, sent for him to the Planters' Hotel, and invited him to become his attendant. In the course of the conversation, Mr. Smith remarked that knowledge made the difference between the master and servant. This sentiment fired the ambition of young Payne. He left the hotel in haste to resume his studies, but on reflection he felt that he had from selfish motives relinquished too abruptly his proper vocation as a teacher. Smitten in conscience he went

immediately to inform the parents who had been his patrons, that with the opening of the year (1831) he would re-open his school.

To prepare himself for teaching, he studied with greater diligence, and his school became in many respects a model. The progress of his scholars was acknowledged by all, but in 1835 the school was suppressed with every other school for coloured children, taught by coloured teachers, by the laws of the State of South Carolina. Compelled to leave his native state Mr. Payne sought a field of usefulness in the free north.

He was furnished with letters of recommendation from his white friends in Charleston, and amongst these was a kind note of introduction from Dr. Bachman of the Lutheran church in Charleston to Dr. Strobel of the same denomination in New York. After reading the note Dr. Strobel said: Mr. Payne, I think you are providentially here to-day, for Dr. Martin, who has just left this house, informs me, that, "the Society of Inquiry on Missions consisting of divinity students at Gettysburg, at their last meeting resolved to educate a pious coloured young man of promising talents, to labour for the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of the free coloured people of the United States, and from what this letter says of you, I think you are just suited for the work." After due consideration our young teacher accepted the offers of this noble band of students, went to the General Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and there studied Christian theology.

In June, 1837, he joined the Frankean Synod, and held a pastorate in the city of East Troy till December, 1839. The climate being too severe for him, at the advice of his physician he went to Philadelphia, where he opened a select school, and there taught until June, 1843. He was then brought into connection with the preachers and laymen of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and was induced, in order to promote the welfare of the coloured race, to transfer his relations from the Lutheran to that christian denomination. He was appointed to Washington in 1843, and as preacher and teacher laboured with efficiency and much success. In 1845

he was removed to Baltimore, where he was five years pastor, and school-master for seven years. He witnessed great prosperity in the institutions under his care, and was instrumental in building the most handsome place of worship belonging to coloured christians of any order in America.

Appointed by the general conference of his church in 1848 to the office of historiographer, he travelled two years, from 1850 to 1852, collecting materials for his work, and has prepared five manuscript volumes of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1852 he was elected and consecrated one of its Bishops, and has been for fifteen years actively engaged in the work of his important office.

He entered in 1863 upon the undertaking which now engages all his energies, mental and physical, that of establishing on a broad and solid foundation a university for training secular and religious teachers, for the enlightenment and christianizing of his race, and preparing their youth of both sexes for all the duties of a high christian civilization, not only in the United States but in Central America, South America and Africa.

To awaken, if possible, a deep and practical interest among christian philanthropists in Europe in behalf of this enterprise is the object of Bishop Payne's visit. The college edifice was destroyed by fire in 1865. The trustees are now actively engaged in active efforts both to restore the building and to endow the institution so that the expenses of tuition may be reduced to the lowest point. The Bishop defrays his own expenses, and all his labours for the object are gratuitously given.

Dr. Leavitt, of New York, than whom we do not know a more intelligent and judicious friend of the coloured people, says: "I have known Mr. Payne for about thirty years. He is a native of Charleston, S. C., one of the most pure-minded gentlemen I ever saw, was driven out at the time of the burning of the mails in 1834, taken by the hand by Dr. Schumcker at Gettysburg, and sent into the Lutheran ministry. After trials he learned the Saviour's philosophy, that in order to raise up a people you must become of them, and has been now thirty years at work in the

African Methodist Episcopal Church. I have no doubt he will do great good with his college."

COMMON SENSE APPLIED TO NEGRO POLITICS.
A member of the African Methodist Episcopal Church writes: "There is a danger, that in looking with anxiety at our contest for political equality, and in the enjoyment of civil rights, and in our indignation at those who would withhold them from us, we may forget, or not pay sufficient attention to our *individual* improvement, morally, socially and intellectually. It is not alone in the halls of congress or legislature, on the platform and in pulpit, that American freedom is most successfully fought. The coloured man who owns a farm and cultivates it well and carries produce to market makes a place for his race far more effectually than the tongue of the most eloquent orator. A coloured man standing in the door of his own blacksmith's shop with a leather apron on is doing as much to elevate his race as the man in public station. *No race of people inferior in number or power to another race can live with them on terms of equality unless they have the same great current of thought and feeling, unless they imbibe the spirit of the age.* The present age in America is pre-eminently a practical and working age. The people's attention is in the work of developing the resources of the country. They are after sinking shafts and hoisting to the surface precious and useful metals, tunnelling mountains, yoking hills together, and spanning streams with bridges. They believe in individual accumulation, and glory in the increasing wealth of the nation. Coloured men, now that they have commenced thinking and acting for themselves, must be found in all the different branches of mechanism and labour, in agriculture and commerce. American oppression taught that we were fit only for plantation hands and servants. Now that it is fast crumbling away, let us teach the world that we have the power and disposition to enter into every branch of labour or mechanism that is required to make the physical resources of the world serve the demands of a civilization that is standing in the meridian blaze of the 19th century."

MR. ESTCOURT, the managing director of the Jamaica Agency Company, recently visited this island. Soon after his arrival he proceeded to those parts of the country where there are agencies of the Society—namely, Porus and Mandeville, in the parish of Manchester; Black River, in St. Elizabeth; Savana-la-Mar, in Westmoreland; Montego Bay and Seven Rivers, in St. James. He was everywhere warmly received by those of the labouring classes who are interested in the society; and at various places public meetings were held, at which he explained the objects of the society, and the success which so far it has attained. At Seven Rivers the gathering was a large and impressive one. The notice was short, and the people appeared in their working clothes, and a more sturdy and athletic set of men could not be expected; there were fully two hundred present, and by their appearance they proved to the Englishman that they are not such an idle set of vagabonds as they are generally represented to be. Mr. Estcourt expressed himself very much struck with the civility, good behaviour, and industry of the people. He thought that they were equal to many of the same class in England, and superior to many in Ireland. He also expressed the belief that with such a body of people the island cannot but regain her prosperity. All that is required are good government, just and equitable laws, and some encouragement held out to the industry of the poor."—*Kingston Morning Journal*.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Rev. Edmund Kell	1	0	0
John Stuart Mill, Esq., M.P. ...	1	0	0
Miss Helen Taylor	1	0	0
Wm. Cudworth, Esq.	1	0	0
Mr. Godson	0	2	6
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Mrs. Josephine Butler	0	10	6
Miss Unwin, for <i>Freed-Man</i> ...	0	2	6
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ERRATA in last number of **FREED-MAN**.

Pavilion, Brighton	3	14	0
Crawley, Rev. W. Cook	2	2	6

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THE FREED-MAN.

AFRICA AND THE FREED-MEN.

Some time ago we incurred a sharp rebuke for attempting to save the life of an African king. We were sternly reminded that as representing the cause of the Freed-men, we had no ground of action in the case, and that it was sheer impertinence, whatever lives were in danger, to go out of our proper sphere. We may be told now that we have no right to speak of Africa at all in the pages of the FREED-MAN, but that we should confine ourselves to a single string and play only one note. With all deference we are unable to take this view. We write for Freed-men who naturally take an interest in the land from which they or their ancestors were deported, and it will do them good that this remarkable region of the globe should come into their minds.

Great attention has been given to the exploration of Africa, and it is interesting to find that christian people in America are beginning to survey it more closely as a missionary field. We shall avail ourselves of an article in the *New Englander* for July, 1867, to show the views that are taken of this interesting subject.

“Glancing back almost a hundred years, we find James Bruce, our earliest of modern discoverers, landing in Alexandria, and setting out on his perilous journey seeking the head waters of the Nile. His travels gave, as the chief result, some knowledge of Abyssinia, and the countries in north-eastern Africa, and the course of one branch of the great river, the inmost secret of which, however, he was not permitted to learn. Twenty-five years more, and Mungo Park traverses the western region south of the Desert, and looks out on the broad Niger, destined on a subsequent occasion to become his grave. Burckhardt followed in 1813, and gave still further notions of upper Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia; though death intervened, cutting off his intended expedition to seek the sources of the Niger itself, though in a less degree than its eastern counterpart, long a mystery to the scientific world. The journeys of Hugh Clapperton, twelve years later, added large stores to the knowledge of the regions on the mid course of that river; unfolding also to Europeans Lake

Tsad with its marshy borders, and opening a highway across the Desert to the interior Africa. He too, like Burckhardt and Park, left his bones in the country he had sought to open to the world. So likewise did the Landels, whose successful researches in the same field, immediately followed; and Laing, and many others; and now it may be, the good and energetic Livingstone far to the South.

"It will be seen that at first the chief attention was long directed to the Northern and Central Africa, and especially the great tract south of the Sahara. Following many other adventurers, Richardson, Barth, and their companions between the years 1845 and 1856, occupied the same field, and their labors gave the richest results brought to light and thoroughly described; the great opportunities for trade revealed, the character and capacities of the inhabitants noted; and Africa rose at once in importance in the view of the trader, the student of science, and the philanthropist.

"Meanwhile such discoveries had been going on in other parts of the continent as had greatly increased the interest felt in that country. Missionaries, traders and scientific explorers had entered from every side, all intent on bringing to light the hidden wonders within the borders of that land. Krapf, Rebmann, Erhardt, under the English Church Missionary Society, spent many years on the East Coast, making many journeys inland, and brought a good stock of information regarding that portion. At the same time Dr. Livingstone, traversing the southern part of the continent and mapping out the Zambesi. To Robert Moffat, too, we are greatly indebted for a better knowledge of Southern Africa. Anderson also follows in the same section, and Du Chaillu, further north, entering from the West Coast, has laid up new tracts of territory. Now we find Burton piercing to the heart of the continent from Zanzibar; and, finally, the remarkable and crowning discoveries of Captains Speke and Baker, which have at last given us the sources of the Nile.

"The general form of the surface of the interior of Africa is pretty well ascertained. The customs of the natives over a large extent of the country are also known, together with their means of livelihood. The track of the slave trader is frequently crossed by these lines of travel, and misery and want and terror are found wherever he has gone. So that Africa in her afflictions and degradation, as well as her capacities for good, is being better understood.

"1. All the discoveries show that Africa is possessed of commercial advantages that will sooner or later be improved and give it the basis of a permanent importance and prosperity. From whatever side it is approached, there is found a richness of soil, and water privileges, and choice products, sufficient to warrant at length the prospect of a remunerative trade, apart from the horrors of slave-driving and after that has been wholly rooted out. Many tracts are found indeed to be desert and comparatively worthless; but there are also valleys teeming with the richest stores and rivalling in wealth, if not extent, that of the Amazon.

"Varied testimony from all sides assures us that Africa, under the proper influences, may at length support in comfort an immense population, and pour its wealth through its rivers into foreign ships, to be amply repaid in the treasures of civilization.

"2. The character of the native population again, is an important item in the future prospects of that country. Among the great number of tribes, there is of course a great diversity of character, according to position and extraction.

"It seems to be true that there is little cause of fear in regard to the native African's adapting himself to new circumstances. Many tribes at least will bear improvement and fit themselves for, and flourish under, a different state. Dr. Livingstone says that the native African 'is nearly as strong physically as the European, and as a race, is wonderfully persistent among the nations of the earth.'

"3. The terms of government have a bearing upon opening the country to civilization. Intercourse with foreigners, by regular trade, and the establishment of missionaries in that country, must at length lead to organized government; and if it can be sustained by the nations themselves, so much the better.

"4. The slave traffic is an important question in considering the welfare of Africa. It is the source of tenfold misery directly and indirectly. The chief foreign trade, we hope will ere long be discontinued. Domestic slavery in Africa will only cease with the introduction of practical christianity.

"5. What are we taught by these discoveries and the facts growing out of them, with respect to the probable course of missionary effort there?

"An immense territory has been opened; it must, it will be, at length missionary ground. Here and there are missions upon the coast, and great good has been done. But there is no foothold gained yet in Interior Africa. Till now it has not been possible. Various regions have been indicated as suitable fields for christian enterprise. Captain Speke says: 'For my own part I should wish for no better plan than that of a United Church Mission for opening those extremely fertile and beautiful territories at the head of the Nile to christianity and so to commerce and civilization. The three kingdoms, Karague, Uganda, and Unyoro, are in my opinion the key to Africa, and the centre from which the light ought to radiate.'"

It inspires hope for the race to hear an American journalist say, "Africa is a noble continent. Discoveries have revealed vast resources there: *and at no distant day, we believe christian blacks from this country, prepared by the teachings of such societies as the American Missionary Association, and others, will be hastening thither to carry the bread and water of life.* England has done much toward opening the field, but she cannot, neither will she desire, to occupy it all. *We believe that not many years will elapse before new and far more extended measures will be taken to save that land.* Africa is fast becoming the chief point of interest to the christian world; and it is but right that the church should

know its history and watch the opening of the doors there to Christ. The coast has for some time been partially occupied by the missionaries of various nations. Now is speedily drawing near the day when the inner portions of that land may be seized and held for God."

There is no necessity that we should always keep dwarfed and narrow ideas with respect to the Freed-men; the field is the world, and it may be that amongst our juvenile readers in Jamaica, Canada, and America, some will feel that the prospect of taking part in the work of regenerating Africa, will stimulate them to the utmost diligence in real self-improvement. At any rate it will do them no harm to read the outline we have given them of that large continent.

THE NEW ERA.

The transition of some four millions of people from slavery to freedom involves changes more extensive and permanent than as yet can be fully estimated. All interests more or less will be ultimately affected by this remarkable resolution.

The duties arising out of it need to be more carefully considered. In the past we have suffered much from easy indifference and chronic neglect. Philanthropists have listened to the wail of distress, and to their honour they have often interposed to prevent thousands from perishing by cold, hunger, and nakedness. But the Freed-men have taken a new position. They cannot be treated simply as helpless dependents. For evil or good they will all exert the influence arising from their freedom, and in order to safe and steady progress, all classes should combine to render their course one of credit to themselves and a benefit to society in general.

The matter of first and vital importance is that the more intelligent of the Freed-men should study carefully the best means of promoting their own improvement. There is much talk on the subject of education, and a degree of excitement natural to men who begin to look forward to the vast expanse of freedom opening before them. They resolve in the enthusiasm of the hour to equal if not to exceed all their competitors in the acquisition of knowledge. Real mental improvement however does not come by a fit of ambition, nor can rich and varied stores of information be obtained by any jerking movement. The negro race has suffered from many generations of injury and debasement. Men who are destined to make real progress will quietly consider their own deficiencies, and apply themselves with silent diligence to repair the loss. Almost every one bent on personal improvement has some means within his reach, which if faithfully used would give him a little purchase to overcome succeeding difficulties. Any Freed-man anxious to advance may learn something from the bitterest reproach, however undeserved, that he may from right principle and in a noble spirit turn to the best account.

An important point to aim at is thorough trustworthiness. Confidence is in-

voluntary. Men must rely where there are manifest grounds for the exercise of trust. Truthfulness at all times and in the smallest matters—honesty everywhere and in all circumstances—will give value to the humblest service.

Nothing indeed can give this but christian principle ; it is beyond our slippery nature without divine help to maintain real integrity ; but every Freed-man who is a friend to himself and to his race will keep it in mind.

The Freed-men should be prepared to act with a degree of manly independence combined with unaffected humility.

There are symptoms of indifference on the part of many who once were keenly alive to the interests of the negro. The question is no longer “Am I not a man and a brother?” He is recognised as a man, but there is a shrinking from the acknowledgment of him as a brother. He no longer needs to be petted—and no honour is to be gained by heroic achievements in his cause. The Freed-men must understand this and provide for themselves the means of instruction. The friends of the Freed-men have a course to take differing in some respects from that of former times. We must act toward the emancipated race in a way to inspire confidence. In commercial transactions let us study in every way to act with fairness and take no advantage of weakness or of ignorance.

Let us shew the Freed-men that we are ready at any moment to take our part in seeking the redress of grievances—to protect from injury ; and that we are on the alert to point out facilities for their advancement in a tone of kindness, and with fidelity, at the same time to guard them against a wrong or injudicious course ; our mutual relations will then become useful and happy. One thing in particular we may suggest as quite essential to progress—there should be no petty jealousies between men of *different shades of colour*. All have suffered from the prejudice of whites against the black or coloured race ; there will be the utmost fatuity and the most lasting disadvantage in keeping up alienation or reserve amongst those who are tinged with a sable hue in a different degree. Just as there is strength of mind and true force of character, littleness of this kind will be overcome.

VISIT OF MR. ESTCOURT TO JAMAICA, CUBA, AND AMERICA.

Since our last publication the Committee of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society have had the pleasure of welcoming their tried and devoted friend on his return from his visit to the West Indies, and the United States.

From various circumstances we felt a degree of uncertainty as to the course that should be pursued by the Society. The truth is, that until this visit of our friend, careful attention has not been given to the facts that are necessary for proper guidance in the steps to be taken for the protection and improvement of the Freed-men. Many intelligent and distinguished philanthropists have devoted themselves to the mission of enquiry and relief in critical emergencies. Their object was the alleviation of misery, and redress of grievances, and their labours can scarcely be over-estimated. Nevertheless the excitement necessarily

attendant on these trying and perilous occasions rendered it almost impossible to look dispassionately on the condition of the people in order to ascertain the capabilities and the resources to be developed for the permanent prosperity of the Islands. We now come into possession of data which will greatly aid us in the solution of the interesting and important problem in relation to Jamaica in particular. It must be understood by our readers that we are committed exclusively to no special scheme of improvement, nor are we bound to any party. Our aim is to come at the truth, and to state it impartially, in the hope that we may further the efforts of those who sincerely desire the furtherance of Christian civilization. We are perfectly certain that the object at which we aim will not be accomplished unless honest workers of all kinds are combined to some practical extent without jealousy and mutual depreciation.

Our friend Mr. Estcourt seems to have been strongly impressed in favour of the black population on the south side of Jamaica. He held twenty-two meetings and had an opportunity of speaking to about 3400 people and of listening in turn to views freely expressed.

It may be seen, Mr Estcourt says, by any unprejudiced person who explores Jamaica that all the labour of the Island, in tillage, cultivation, the conveyance of its products, and in the construction of buildings, &c, has been done by the black population under the greatest discouragements and disadvantages. The coloured, (or brown) population are occupied in trade or in various professions.

There is only one good road in Jamaica—a sort of boulevard round the island. The rudeness of the tracts in the interior cannot be imagined by persons accustomed to the highways or byeways of Europe. The products raised on the inland estates have to be borne chiefly on the heads or backs of the labourers, with the assistance, here and there, of the mule or pack horse. The loss of time and inconvenience in this mode of conveyance may be well supposed. Except in cases of extreme pressure from famine or other causes, the black people have no disposition to complain, and Mr. Estcourt is of opinion that a more docile or easily governed people, under any rational treatment, will not be found on the face of the globe.

Mr. Estcourt attended several places of worship, of various denominations, and was struck with the order, decorum, and evident interest of the people he witnessed. He related to the Committee several remarkable instances. The black people of Jamaica raise two-thirds of the ginger produced, two-thirds of the sugar, and one-third of the coffee.

They have suffered chronic loss and injury from two causes—the want of an opportunity for direct exportation, and the want of education to protect their own interests in the sale of their produce. They have had to commit their merchandise into the hands of men, who took the average of its quality and gave the weight of the goods without check on the part of the seller. Merchants

who have grown rich by these transactions complain that the black people will put stones into the bags of coffee and sugar, but when the buyer can assign the weight in his own terms, the balance of advantage rests with himself.

It may be readily supposed that any attempt to change the system will not be regarded with favour by those who have so long profited by wrong dealing. Nor will merchants in England of far more respectable character, be altogether pleased if their own profits are somewhat diminished by a corresponding reduction of the price of Jamaica produce. Competition may give rise to indirect opposition on the part of gentlemen who have been in their line of things sincere philanthropists. Right toward all men will however prove the best for all in the end.

Mr. Estcourt reports that he was deeply interested to observe the most complete absence of resentment for the wrongs endured in connexion with the Jamaica outbreak. The cruelties and indignities suffered by innocent people he (Mr. Estcourt) says will never be really known. The representatives of England have disgraced themselves in the wanton outrages they committed to a degree that it would be a shame even to mention. But the black people do not brood over their wrongs. The fact that the gentlemen composing the Jamaica Committee sought to secure for them, at such a distance and under circumstances of reproach and misrepresentation, the benefit of the common law of England has given them confidence and hope for the future in a degree far beyond that which they could indulge in the past. Mr. Estcourt, to our great regret, has to add that the thousand houses wantonly burnt down have not been restored, and that many of the frightened people are still hiding in the woods. After the distinct expression of our views in this melancholy case in the "FREED-MAN," we cannot now add a word on the subject. We confess that in silence we impose severe restraint. Mr. Estcourt says that by a contribution of five shillings for each dwelling from England and the co-operation of persons well known to us and worthy of all confidence, this act of humanity might yet be performed. We are not without hope that now that certain great and absorbing questions have been settled, the consistent and honourable course will yet be adopted with respect to the Jamaica victims. It will be so, if five or six influential men whom we could name, will give the matter their serious consideration in the Parliamentary recess.

Mr. Estcourt visited Cuba and reports that the planters are really preparing for the emancipation of their slaves. In the United States he saw much and conversed with many persons in relation to the condition and the prospects of the Freed-men. American friends of the Freed-men did not hesitate to say that money from England was no longer needed to meet the wants of their own Freed-men, and they expressed their surprise that we had so inconsistently neglected the people of Jamaica and other colonies.

Mr. Estcourt as the result of his observations and conferences has been strengthened exceedingly in the conviction that the most essential service that

can be rendered in the cause of the Freed-men, is to secure for them continued protection, to watch continually over their interests in every part of the field and to gain for them commercial credit in European markets for the sale of their useful and valuable merchandise.

They ask no eleemosynary aid; give a little education for their children, watch and report their general progress, protect them against injustice, and they will provide for their own wants and add to the strength of the nation of which they form now an integral portion.

Mr. Estcourt mentioned many examples to show the vigilance and courageous uprightness of Sir J. P. Grant. Certain subordinates who in the former regime fleeced the helpless black people in the name of law in the most extraordinary manner, have not only been checked, but compelled to make prompt restitution. The black population were the first to pay their taxes; but some officials neglected to apprise them when the tax was imposed, or the time when it was due. They managed in this way to add to a tax of *three pence* the sum of *eight shillings*, in the form of legal expenses. This large perquisite they have been given to understand will not be within their reach. It was a disappointment of this kind that made one of the magistrates denounce the charge of the Lord Chief Justice.

There is then solid ground for the maintenance of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society. Mr. Estcourt hopes ere long to visit the north side of Jamaica, and we may expect to receive from him still further information. The Committee were deeply interested in his statements and recorded their sense of their value in a resolution of thanks.

THE FREED-MEN'S BUREAU IN THE SOUTH.—The influence of the Freed-men's Bureau in the South is working unseen, but great changes among the coloured race. Fidelity to contracts is inculcated, and the Freed-men are encouraged to work industriously and live frugally. Instructions in the best methods of agriculture are not the least among the benefits conferred upon a whole people, white and coloured, who have heretofore expended their energies on one kind of crop, cotton, and have neglected everything else, with the exception, perhaps, of corn. The wheat crop has just been gathered in the far South, but with very little benefit to the sufferers in that region, for very few of the small farmers planted wheat, even in districts possessing the best soil for its culture. The present distress must continue till the corn ripens, and thus ignorance of the simplest laws of production has aggravated the horrors of the dearth. Advice

on such subjects from the bureau officers is doing an immense amount of good in a quiet way, but the results will not be seen till next year, when the industrious freed-man eager in learning, and applying his knowledge, will be found in a much more prosperous condition than his neighbour, who still exhausts his patch of ground in the old fashioned way.—*Philadelphia Enquirer*.

FREDERICK DOUGLAS notes the arrival at Rochester of his lost brother, Perry, and family. The letter concludes as follows: "The meeting with my brother after nearly forty years' separation, is an event altogether too affecting for words to describe. How unutterably accursed is slavery, and how unspeakably joyful are the results of the overthrow! The search now being made and the happy reunions now taking place all over the South, after years of separation and sorrow, furnish a subject of the deepest pathos."

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E. R.—Thanks for his kind and assuring note. We can only do the best in our power under the conditions.

The Freed-Man.

SEPTEMBER, 1867.

THE WORLD'S ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

A convention of Anti-slavery men is about to meet in Paris. The friends of freedom from various parts of the world will confer together, and we trust that good will result from this gathering of christian men and philanthropists. The British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society, at its last Committee meeting, passed the following resolution:—

“That it is expedient that this Society be represented at the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference, and this Committee authorize and empower J. H. Estcourt, Esq., to represent this Society on that occasion.”

Mr. Estcourt has just returned from Jamaica, and his report of the condition of the part of the Island which he visited will be found to be most interesting and encouraging. It is to be hoped that Mr. Estcourt will read a paper on the occasion, so that the numerous facts in his power to present, may be put upon record, for future use, as well as to stimulate present exertions on behalf of our oppressed coloured countrymen, in the island of Jamaica. We are glad to be able to record that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is stirring itself in the matter. We were

amongst those who deeply regretted its lethargic supineness, during the terrible American struggle, and even ventured to suggest on behalf of our Committee, the duty of that Society taking some decided course in reference to the slaveholders' rebellion. Hence, we are the more glad to see signs of life and activity in a Society which has a claim upon our sympathies, from the position it took in relation to the abolition of slavery in our West Indian colonies. If we might suggest one topic for the conference in Paris, it would be this: How are the thousand houses destroyed by the “Jamaica Tigers,” still in ashes and ruins, to be restored? Many of the poor sufferers so shamefully wronged and spoiled, are still camping houseless in the woods, and for these people our voice and appeal shall never cease, until restitution be made. Our representative in Paris is a man deserving of the highest confidence and respect, not only on account of his personal character, but because of his fidelity to freedom.

LEVI COFFIN.

Our readers will be glad again to hear of this devoted apostle of freedom. Mr. Coffin has arrived in London to attend the Paris Anti-slavery Convention. He nobly refused to come if the funds of the Freed-Men's Aid Society were to be applied to meet his expenses. Hence, in the liberal American fashion, personal friends made a purse to disburse the charges, and our valued friend meets any excess from his own resources. Mr. Coffin is the bearer of the following, among other papers:

"Cincinnati Ohio, July 27th, 1867.

"To whom it may concern.

"This especial commission is issued to the bearer, Levi Coffin, in pursuance of the following resolution adopted by the Advisory Board at a regular meeting held July 2nd, 1867.

"Whereas our General Agent, Levi Coffin, is about to go to Paris, to attend the World's Anti-slavery Convention; therefore resolved: that he be requested and authorized to convey our thanks to our friends in Great Britain and Ireland and on the continent, who have so generously contributed through us to the Freed-man, and that he be commissioned to receive contributions in our behalf.

"THOMAS KENNEDY,
"Res. Secretary.

"Western Freed-Men's Aid Commission."

Mr. Coffin is in good health and spirits, and we have learned from him much to encourage us in relation to the conduct and prospects of the Freed-man in the Southern States of America. The Western Freed-men's Aid Commission, is at present co-operating with that noble and valuable institution, the American Missionary Society. The Commission at Cincinnati still retains its corporate existence, but the arrangement has been very properly made for purposes of economy. Mr. Coffin visited the stations of the society he represents in the month of March last, and is thus able to present reliable information. He reports 143 teachers in the field under his supervision, and states that the progress made has been beyond his most sanguine expectations. A number of what the Americans term

"graded schools" has been established in different and important positions. Such schools, for instance, now exist at Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga, Athens in Alabama, and at Atlanta in Georgia. He finds that the coloured people are industrious and anxious to become self-supporting, wherever they have an opportunity. In his own quaint way he states "That some of the negroes are very nearly as mean as white folks."

Among other interesting cases, he mentions that of a man 60 years of age, who at the time of the emancipation did not know a letter of the alphabet. This man, he says, determined to be something. He is now a reading man, writes a pretty fair hand, has a knowledge of arithmetic, and is resolved to make himself useful in society. This man told Levi Coffin, "that he came to the conclusion that he would make something of himself." He is now attending day school, night school, and Sunday school. He resides in Tennessee. Could a white man do more?

Though Mr. Coffin is not here to advocate the cause he represents, he will be glad to receive aid for the great work in which he is engaged. Our friends can communicate with him through our office, and we shall be glad to be almoners of their gifts.

DR. FREDERICK TOMKINS.

Dr. Tomkins, one of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society, Barrister of Lincoln's Inn, intends spending the "long vacation" in the United States. The principal object of his visit is to present the claims of the International Memorial Church,

the foundation stone of which he is anxious to see laid in London next spring. He will be accompanied by the Rev. W. Spencer Edwards, for many years the popular and devoted minister of the City Road Congregational Church, in London, and till recently minister of the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel in Bath. Both Dr. Tomkins and Mr. Edwards, devote their energies to this work, without any remuneration, and it is hoped they will find many warm friends to co-operate with them in America. Help will be necessary.

Dr. Tomkins will visit many of the coloured schools in the United States, and will record in this Magazine from time to time, during his absence, facts and impressions, as they may present themselves to his own mind. His communications may be looked for every month during his absence. He sails for New York on the 4th of September.

AFRICAN MISSIONS.

A correspondent of the *New York Observer*, writes as follows:—It is the belief of many intelligent persons, that a new era is soon to dawn upon Africa. It is quite certain that if there is to be a change for the better among the people of that land, it must be effected by the instrumentality of christian missions, and the attendant blessings. Hitherto the obstacles to this work have been such as to hinder effectually the useful prosecution of christian missions in that part of the heathen world. But, with the downfall of slavery in our own land, the sudden liberation of the four millions of bondmen among us, may we not consider this great event of the nineteenth century as the voice of God calling upon all of His people to unite now in one grand missionary movement for the redemption of Africa? How else shall we atone for the multiplied

wrongs which we, as a nation, have committed against the African race? Nor can we begin the work too soon. But little has been done in this work in the past. Now it begins to open up to the intelligent christian in all its vastness, and to cause the enquiry to be raised, How best can this great christian enterprise be undertaken?

"I will venture to suggest whether there might not be an African Missionary Committee, composed of persons representing the several evangelical denominations in this country, to be located in New York, whose duty it should be to collect and diffuse important information in regard to the field of labour and the extent of the missionary work, as carried on at present by different societies, in this country and Great Britain. Since the close of the late war the writer of this article has labored among the Freed-men of Virginia, and has become somewhat familiar with their religious and educational interests. From observations already made, and the experience of more than two years of labour among them, it seems quite evident that God is now preparing them for a great work in the extension of His kingdom in the world. African missionary societies have been formed among them. They have the missionary spirit. And since the white man cannot endure the climate of Africa, does it not seem more than probable that He will now raise up many servants for this great work, from among these millions of Freed-men, who shall carry the Gospel to their fatherland?

"And since God, in His providence, has also established, on the shores of Africa, a christian republic, may we not regard that point as a base of operations for a grand missionary enterprise? Liberia now enjoys a measure of prosperity greater than ever before, while she is blest with a system of laws more in harmony with the teachings of the Gospel than any other nation of the globe. In the Yoruba country, missions and schools were established several years since; and though the missionaries were obliged to leave the field for lack of support, the schools have been continued, under native teachers, and, as I have recently learned from a returned missionary, in Abbeokuta the pupils in the day

schools number now more than 1,000. And what is still more encouraging, two devoted missionaries, who are now here, who have seen years of service in their country, will soon return to resume their labours there."

THE TROUBLES IN TENNESSEE.

A second correspondent of the *N.Y. Observer* writes—"As the contest for the offices of this State goes on, the peace of our Commonwealth becomes more disturbed, and grave conditions of society arise, causing much anxious thought among the people. This State, first to enter the Union, is now most disturbed of all and has less political liberty and equality than any other.

"It is a sad mistake, certainly, for the general government to allow itself to be superseded by a State militia, for the maintenance of order and the protection of all classes. In too many instances they take revenge for the past, become partizan—arresting men and taking human life without due process of law—terrifying loyal men even from the polls and from public assemblies. They refrain not from giving advice full of mischief, to the negroes; such as that they are to possess the lands of the rebels and the latter go into exile. The result is that the negroes, many of them, are becoming riotous. The fearful scenes that transpired at Franklin, a village a few miles south of Nashville, a few days since, are traceable to the evil counsel given to the negroes. In vain did all parties beg them to abstain from the violation of law and order. United States troops were quickly dispatched to Franklin, to the joy of the people. Our Federal officers here are brave and efficient men, and the troops under their command, so far as we are informed, behave like true soldiers. They protect all, black and white alike, and their presence gives no cause for fear or alarm anywhere.

"Many of the negroes deserve credit for the earnest desire they have to live in peace with the whites. They receive with caution the flattering promises of selfish men who have no further use for them after the elections are over. They are cultivating, on liberal terms, some of the finest lands in the State, and all

who wished to work, had no difficulty in obtaining all the lands they wanted. They have worked well, better than last year, as the condition of their crops prove, and with ordinary economy, they will have plenty for themselves and much to sell. It is remarked that northern men among us invariably counsel the negroes to be industrious, peaceable, and law-abiding. It is also becoming evident to our white population that to preserve peace between the two races and a just distribution of rights, and prevent the negro from being a mere machine at the ballot box, he must be taught to read, write and think; be educated mentally and religiously. By a harmonious action of the two races, by a combined effort of North and South, under the blessings of Heaven, the negro may lay his hands upon Africa, may quell the confusion and anarchy of the American tropics, and form an equatorial belt of plenty and happiness around the world."

THE LAST WORK.

It is of supreme moment to close well. The last rays of the sun are the most glorious, the last notes of the nightingale are the sweetest, and there seems to be throughout nature, a finishing touch that adds a charm to all the rest. The formal work of benevolence may have no animating spirit of tenderness or of sympathy, but where there is the true and simple aim, even the gift of a cup of cold water may be accompanied with a grace that neither poet nor painter can represent.

Articles were sent to our last Bazaar by a young lady who closed in this way her efforts for the good of others.

The following note will explain the case:—

"Madam—May I take the liberty of troubling you to inform me if a wool mat with convolvulus round the edges and moss fringe (in which a portion of the enclosed wool was used) is sold; if it is not, I should be thankful to have it returned to the above address, the mamma of the dear young lady whose work it was, is anxious to purchase it, it being the last of four mats she made for your Bazaar. She had been ill for two years and it was with great difficulty and fatigue

she was enabled to finish them. Three weeks after she was taken to the "rest prepared."

"You will, dear madam, easily enter into the wish of a devoted mother to possess this relic of her eldest child, who has been taken from her at the early age of nineteen.

"Trusting you will excuse the liberty I have taken,

"I remain, Madam,

"Your's sincerely

"_____"

The mat was found and returned. In acknowledging the attention given to her request, the correspondent inclosed a leaflet, which was a great comfort to the young lady at her last hour

"Child of my love, 'lean hard,'

"And let me feel the pressure of thy care.

"I know thy burden, child—I shaped it,

"Poised it, in my own hand—made no proportion

"In its weight to thine unaided strength,

"Before ever I laid it on I said,

"I shall be ever near, and whilst she leans on me

"This burden shall be mine, not hers,

"So shall I keep my child within the circling arms

"Of mine own love. Here lay it down, nor fear

"To impose it on a shoulder which upholds

"The government of worlds—yet closer come,

"Thou art not near enough; I would embrace thy care,

"So I might feel my child reposing on my strength.

"Thou lovest me? I doubt it not.

"Then loving me 'lean hard'"

There is great power in association rightly used. This "mat" will always suggest a lesson of instruction and comfort to those who knew the young dying worker, and the sentiments of the leaflet that cheered her in the final struggle.

Why should not those who render the society the needed support at the Bazaar have the satisfaction of recognizing in their purchases or contribution, the interesting object;

and as they put the articles they take home, in the place appropriated for them for use or ornament,—keep in mind the aim of the worker, and the object for which they were purchased, with simplicity and kindness, the occasion will become a festival of christian charity. May it be so, and *close well*.

Since the above was sent to press, the following letters have been received, which will form a fitting close to this interesting and affecting narrative:—

"August 26th, 1867.

"Dear Madam—I hasten to thank you most sincerely for the trouble you have taken and the sympathy you have evinced with the wish of my dear friend, to obtain again the last piece of work of her dear departed daughter; believe me dear madam we shall ever remember with feelings of gratitude your great kindness and attention to a stranger, who tho' she may never see you in this world, trust she may be permitted to recognize in the world to come,

"Trusting your Bazaar may prove a great success, with an earnest prayer that Heaven's best blessings may be with you and all your circle.

"Believe me, dear Madam,

"Yours gratefully,

"_____"

"N.B.—I wish it was in my power to add to your funds, but at present have so many calls that I cannot, all I can offer you is my prayers.

"August 26th, 1867-

My Dear Madam—Very many thanks for your great kindness in procuring our dear girl's *last work*, also for sending it, and your kind feelings all throughout, it is the right one, and the very last thing she had any hand in. I with pleasure enclose 5s. in stamps with again thanking you for your kindness.

"Believe me, my Dear Madam,

"Sincerely yours,

"_____"

WHO IS TO DO THE WORK ?

We can have no doubt that Providence will raise up the fitting agency for the protection of the millions of Freed-men, and the care of their interests, but at this moment we cannot

distinctly see the enlightened and steady band of persons who will charge themselves with the important work. If we look to religious societies we find them properly absorbed in raising funds to sustain their own operations. In any cases of injury or injustice, unless affecting the missionaries or the people under their immediate care, they would say instantly. "We think it better not to interfere." In some instances we have known ministers of eminent position, and considerable influence, positively discourage any further attention to the case of the *Freed-men*. A distinguished brother sent a message to this effect, when invited by a lady to attend a drawing-room meeting. It is sometimes very difficult to gain the attention of an excellent Levite to an object not in a direct line before his vision.

There is scarcely less difficulty in the attempt to gain the co-operation of the philanthropic class, who follow the traditions of the past. We shall have as before important conferences, interesting discussions, and elaborate reports on all questions relative to slavery. A large outlay is always required for purposes of this kind, and to the credit of their liberality, we have always men willing to defray the expense. We are however afraid that when much has been eloquently said and accurately printed, that little after all has been done.

Political leaders have too much to occupy their attention in parliamentary debate and party organization to look with deliberate care and kind feeling into this matter. It does not lie precisely in the way to interest any important section of their constituents.

Of course in a rousing theme, like the Jamaica massacre, when deputations are coming down from the provinces, and for the time, many are in a fever heat, honourable members feel corresponding interest. But let the excitement cool down, and what is the practical issue?

Are all men then insincere? No, but they are pre-occupied, and greatly overweighted.

If it were possible for a few right-minded men to meet for an hour or two informally, and to look at the *Freed-men* question dispassionately, and on broader grounds of party, they would not be long in reaching the

conclusion, that there ought to be a compact organization, thoroughly understanding the course of duty and resolved to sustain those who are devoted to the work. The light already thrown on the state and prospects of the *Freed-men* of our own colonies and in America, suggests much that may be done to facilitate their progress. But with more efficient means of enquiry and of help, we should find in other parts of the globe opportunities of doing good in a noiseless and inexpensive way, far beyond our present apprehension.

The practical conclusion, therefore, we arrive at, is, that all whose views are in accordance with our own should take a little pains to inform those who are likely to become co-workers. In the first instance, the strain of work may rest somewhat disproportionately on the few, but this is invariably the order of things in a good work, until its claims are better understood.

We feel greatly indebted to the correspondents and contributors, who have assured us of their generous appreciation of our labours and of their sympathy with the object. We have some who in the midst of toil and excitement, can look into a question of this nature, and render help in a matter that is doubly grateful to us, from the spirit in which it is given.

SPECIAL APPEAL.

Dr. Tomkins will be glad to be the bearer of special aid to the Orphan Schools of the *Freed-men* of the United States. The British and Foreign *Freed-men's* Aid Society is especially interested in the Orphan School at Washington, and also in the Storrs School in connection with the Western *Freed-men's* Aid Commission. Upon the return of Levi Coffin to America, and also upon the return of Dr. H. M. Storrs, the Committee was enabled to place £500 at the disposal of each of those gentlemen for the schools of the *Freed-men*. Will our friends make Dr. Tomkins the bearer of their gifts to the needy in the Southern States at the present time.

The negroes of Mississippi are picking up the bullets, &c., from battle-fields, which they exchange for spelling-books.

DR. J. W. WOOD, M.D

The above gentleman is now in this country soliciting aid on behalf of the "Free Hospital," Atlanta, Georgia." This object is to provide the means of relief and attendance for the sick, free of cost, irrespective of colour or condition. Dr. Wood has placed his credentials before the United States Minister, who writes as follows:—

"Legation of the United States,

"54, Portland Place, 9th July, 1867.

"Dr. J. W. Wood, of Atlanta, has exhibited to me his Credentials from the United States in connection with an attempt to procure assistance for the sufferers in, and around that place, consequent upon the war, and the failure of the crops since, I have no doubt of their being genuine. The List of persons in New York, who attest to it is well known to me and the signatures appear genuine.

"C. F. ADAMS."

Mr. Samuel Morley has generously contributed £100 for the object, and the Archbishop of Canterbury has sent a donation of 10. Dr. Woods may be addressed at No. 40 Montonville Road, Islington.

In England we need not say that we are strongly in favour of abolishing all distinctions on account of colour. We are therefore glad to learn that Dr. Wood, a Southern man and formerly an owner of slaves, proposes to administer relief irrespective of colour.

THE PROSPECT ON THE SOUTHERN COAST.—The Charlestown *Mercury* says that throughout Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, and the upper sections of South Carolina, the crops promise well. The wheat and oat crops have been harvested, and the corn crop is so advanced that it cannot be hurt. Cheering indeed are the prospects for food, and sections that have not in many years raised enough roadstuffs for their support will this season have more than they need. In the upper districts cotton is looking well, and, allowing for the damage done the sea island plantations, there is up to this time ground for believing that the crop may be fair in quality as well as in amount. There will be more money in the country this fall than there was last year, and it will be spent freely.

PAUL PLEADING FOR THE SLAVE PHILEMON.—

There, in his wooden cabin, often crowded by anxious hearers of the Word, sits a scholar and a gentleman, exhausted by the labours of the day. The lamp shines down on his bald forehead, lights up the keen, acquiline features of his oval face, shaded with grey hair, and glitters from the armour of the brawny Prætorian who lounges beside him, and from the links of the chain which binds them limb to limb. Paul dictates sentence after sentence to Luke, the learned physician, who carries his pen and inkhorn at his waist. He is inditing a letter to his friend Philemon, in far away Phrygian Colossæ, about a runaway slave, pleading for the outcast, promising that if in anything the slave has wronged his master, he (Paul) will be answerable for it. The thought strikes him that the promise will carry more weight with it if written by his own hand. He interrupts the flow of speech, cries, "Here, Luke, give me the reed!" and with benumbed labouring fingers inscribes these words, "I, Paul, write this with *my own hand*. I will repay it."—*From private Letters of St. Paul, by the Rev. Samuel Cox.*

PREPONDERANCE OF COLOURED VOTERS IN VIRGINIA.—Letters from Virginia assert that there will be a large preponderance of colored voters in the State. The newspapers at first exerted all their influence to discourage the registration of the whites, but finding that obedience to their advice would result in placing political power in the hands of a hostile party, they changed their tactics and now are endeavouring to remedy the blunder by encouraging registration. The sullen and obstinate adherents to the "lost cause," who have scornfully rejected the rights of citizenship and of suffrage on the terms proffered by the government, are now reaping their reward in the deprivation of all share in the management of civil affairs. The more moderate are disgusted with such blind disregard of the true interests of the State. Secession Counsels are becoming more and more discredited and the prospects are that the Reconstruction acts will be accepted.—*American.*

An effort is being made to establish a Freed-men's paper in Savannah.

THE ADJOURNED BAZAAR.

The following notice will inform our friends that the place and date for the adjourned bazaar is definitely fixed. We now ask for the aid and patronage of our friends in the Southern counties and especially in the town of Brighton. We hope to see many also from London, who availing themselves of the excursion trains, may not only hasten to inhale the freshening sea-breeze, but also kindly present themselves at the Bazaar.

NOTICE.

It is intended to hold a Bazaar in aid of the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society, in the Assembly Room of the Old Ship Hotel, Brighton, on Monday, September 9th, 1867, and two following days.

Part of the proceeds will be devoted to the establishment of Female Native Christian Industrial Schools. Aid is urgently needed for the advancement of education among the thousands of our black fellow-countrymen in Canada. Appeals are made to us in the most earnest tones not to relax our efforts on behalf of the 800,000 widows and uninstructed orphans of the Southern States of America.

The poor sufferers in Jamaica still need relief, and especially education that is really Christian and calculated to make them useful and happy members of Society.

We earnestly beg our Christian countrywomen to aid in this good work. Articles for the Bazaar will be gladly received at the office of the Society, 28, Queen Square, London, W.C., or by the following Ladies and Gentlemen:—

Mrs. Peter Taylor, Aubrey House, Notting Hill, W.; Mrs. J. B. Brindley, College Hill, Highbury; Mrs. Burr, 11, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, W.C.; Miss Ludlow, The Firs, Wimbledon, S.W.; Mrs. Estcourt, 1, Lady Margaret Road, Kentish Town, N.W.; Mrs. Conway, 6, Westbourne Grove, Bayswater; Mrs. Helen Bright Clark, Street, Somerset; Mrs. Chesson, 8, Catharine Terrace, Lansdowne Road, Clapham; Mr. Joseph R. Lower, Tunbridge, Kent; Mr. William Tuck, Milsom Street, Bath; Rev. John Waddington, D.D., 9, Surrey Square, Old Kent Road; Dr. Fred. Tomkins, Library Chambers, 3 Tanfield Court, Inner Temple; Mrs. Edwards, 12 St. Aubyn's,

Cliftonville; Mrs. Bomley, 6 St. George's Place, Brighton; Miss Friend, 73 London Road, Brighton; Mr. Beal, East Street, Brighton; and by any member of the Council or Committee of the Society.—Admission each day one shilling. Music will be provided, and every article will be sold at a reasonable rate.

THE SLAVE TRADE REVIVED IN TAHITI.—The poor Tahitians are not the only slaves in the island of Tahiti, which is sheltered under the flag of the French nation. Savages from other parts of the Pacific are imported in considerable numbers in French vessels, and with the sanction of the Government, for the especial benefit of the Soares Cotton Plantation, which is absolutely an *imperium in imperio*, enjoying the especial favour of the Governor, and enjoying privileges and immunities which are granted to no other merchant or planter. The suffering and harsh treatment endured by these poor creatures during the voyage, and after their arrival in Tahiti, recall the horrors of the African slave trade; yet not very long since there was an immense outcry raised against the Peruvians for carrying on a traffic of the same nature; several of their vessels were seized and the captains severely punished. It is to be hoped for the sake of humanity that when the eyes of the French Government and the shareholders of the Soares Company are opened to the real state of things at Atimaono, an end will speedily be put to the tyranny which has been too long suffered to exist, and at which the authorities here wink.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Sir W. Godson	1	1	0
John Clapham, Esq.	1	1	0
Dr. Sandwith, C.B.	2	0	0
Mr. Thomas Pierce	0	4	0
Thomas C. Ryley, Esq.	2	0	0
Rev. W. F. Clarkson, Lincoln ...	1	10	0
Mr. Partridge for "FREED-MAN"	1	13	10
Mrs. Wightwick	0	5	0

Andrews, Printer, 7, Duke St., Bloomsbury.

THE FREED-MAN.

THE OPEN COURT.

It is now admitted by all that the negro occupies an inferior and disadvantageous position. Leaving out of consideration his capabilities, he suffers, notwithstanding what has been gained by emancipation, serious disabilities. The Freed-men are millions in number. Acting in concert with upright and judicious leaders, it would be impossible to reduce them permanently to a state of social degradation. It will be as difficult now to denude their children of the power acquired even by the education already secured, as it would be to crowd back into the darkness of midnight the rays of the morning. But we must not expect from those who have but recently acquired knowledge the firmness and equability essential to consolidated strength. They will inevitably be the subject of many illusions, and fall frequently into great practical mistakes.

Now it is with this emancipated race that the representatives of the more advanced civilization are entering almost unconsciously into new relations. The labour of the Freed-men is essential to the stability of the commercial fabric. Despise the negro as they may, the most prejudiced and malignant of his enemies must know that his service in cultivation, and in manifold ways, could not be displaced without a shock to the entire system of trade.

The negro is now his own master. He has to dispose of his labour, or to bring the produce that may be raised on his own account. The strong therefore have to enter into business transactions with the weak. The intelligent practised trader has to deal with the uneducated or half-informed, at the same time alive to the danger of fraud and imposition. The danger of awakening unreasonable expectations of gain is one of the chief obstacles in the way of securing for the Freed-men of Jamaica the proper market value for the commodities raised by their industry. Those who are at heart opposed to any commercial agency for this purpose warn their friends from joining the association, by pointing out this difficulty. They say, "if you fail to show the negro

a return amply satisfactory, you must be aware he will say you cheat him ; and let your sales be what they may, will always suspect you rob him."

Nothing can be more natural than such suspicions. People who have been down-trodden—kept in ignorance—deprived of their earnings—cheated systematically, and who could only obtain a mockery of justice, are not likely to trust any scheme for their good, however well intended, but after a patient trial. Yet it is certain that without confidence there can be no improvement.

What then is to be done? The Freed-man must have an open, inexpensive and impartial court of appeal; he must be able at any time to bring his case freely before the attention of the conscientious and thoughtful portion of the community, who examine it closely, and promptly seek redress by all available means.

It is time to give utterance to the painful and humiliating thought, that in some notorious instances British philanthropy has been brought not under suspicion merely, but into the deepest discredit. It is said that English Anti-Slavery leaders were conspicuous by their absence in the Paris meeting. The reasons of their abstention are so well understood, that it is not necessary to specify them.

The old course of having a philanthropic mission for eleemosynary purposes alone is now entirely out of date. The conditions of society in relation to the negro are completely changed. We must adapt methods corresponding with this altered state of things. There must be a healthy course of action, and one that will deserve, if it should not immediately command, respect. We hear on every side that the Freed-men are now out of danger—well provided—and need no further support or consideration. The following is the most recent item of intelligence from the Southern States, and it reaches us as we write these lines:—

"SHOCKING BARBARITY TO A FREED-WOMAN.—Gen. Sickles, Commander of the Second Military District, in approving the sentence of fine and imprisonment, which was just passed recently upon Abram Jenkins, by a Military Court at Plymouth, N.C., for brutally flogging a young coloured girl, gives the following account of the case :

"It appears that a daughter of one of the prisoners, having attempted to beat a young coloured girl, met with resistance, which became successful, and resulted in the chastisement of the white by the black. This unlooked-for reversal of a long-accustomed relation filled the neighbourhood with consternation and rage. Couriers passed to and fro from farm to farm, inflaming the temper of the people, and concerting measures to produce terror among the negroes. A meeting of citizens was convened at a school-house near the residences of the parties. The accused were among those assembled. The magistrate Jenkins was invited to lend the sanction of his presence, and did so. Phillis, the young freed-woman, was sent for.

"Dragged before this self-constituted conclave of angry men, whom she had been accustomed from infancy to call masters, some of whom she now heard urging her incarceration, while one swore she would be hung, and all agreed that she must be imprisoned or whipped, the frightened girl exclaimed that she had rather be whipped than go to jail. This was taken as the expression of the assent which they desired. Some sort of writing was drawn up,

called an indenture, by which Phillis, having signed it, was made to bind herself as an apprentice to one Mrs. Harmon, who thereupon consented that her so-called ward should be flogged. Quite enough was thought to have been then conceded to the mockery of legal formalities, and the impatient assemblage, consisting of all the prisoners who have been convicted, except the magistrate, hastened to execute the penalty awarded.

"Phillis was conducted into an adjacent wood, where, at a spot some sixty yards remote from any road, she was halted and told to take down her dress. She not obeying with alacrity, one of the prisoners snatched it off her shoulders. Stripped to her waist, except her chemise, she was then whipped by five of these men in succession, by whom, according to the testimony of one of them, 126 lashes were inflicted upon her half-naked body, with rods three feet long and one-half to three-eighths of an inch thick. Her garment was cut through and through; blood ran from the wales raised on her lacerated back; one gash in her flesh, three days after, showed four inches in length; the heavy blows fell upon her person at random; she was pushed; she was pulled: she was kicked in the abdomen, till, at last, it seems that one of the accused, an applauding bystander, not utterly insensible to the sufferings and sex of the wretched victim, was so far touched by the spectacle of her torture that the cry was wrung from him, 'Boys, don't hurt her breast!'

"Having satiated their savage vengeance, her tormentors, fatigued by their exertions, withdrew; not, however, without considering the proposal of one of their number to return and give her ten more lashes each to stop her screaming. Finally, the poor child, wounded and groaning, was permitted to make her way to the house of her mistress where for days she suffered, scarcely able to crawl to her unremitted task, or even to wear her clothes without pain. In the revolting crime thus briefly outlined, all of these prisoners are shown to be eager participants. In the interest of outraged justice, it is to be deplored that the perpetrators have been adjudged to undergo punishments so inadequate to the enormity of the offence."

A case like this illustrates what may occur at any time in the widely extended regions occupied by Freed-men. The former oppressors of the negro will not witness his efforts for self-improvement and the gradual acquisition of his civil rights without mortification and the attempt in some way to exercise their tyranny. The restoration of Lieutenant Brand, indicates how faint in official quarters has become the memory of the Jamaica atrocities. It is said that Ramsay, after shedding the "innocent blood" of so many helpless victims is on his way to claim "the reward of his iniquity." He asks compensation for the loss of office.

The friends of right therefore, should not conceal from themselves the obstacles to be removed in the path of improvement. In this sacred warfare the "mine" is needful, as well as the "battery." Public opinion requires to be reinstructed in this question of the Freed-man.

Our Society has of necessity lived too much by expedients. There has been in consequence a considerable waste of labour, and probably to some extent a misdirection of effort. The public interest just now in the question of emancipation is tending to zero.

We cannot expect superficial and indifferent persons to buy a magazine devoted to the interests of the Freed-men. They have no desire for a moment to read anything on the subject; for the same reason they will not contribute

directly or indirectly for our object. All this we should fully understand. It would be very easy to succumb before this self-complacent nonchalance. But what would be the moral effect of our yielding? What would the negroes of Jamaica think, if at this particular juncture we should discontinue the Freed-men's magazine? They would justly conclude that audience in the open court of public opinion was denied them just when they were entering on a new commercial career, and a different order of things in which it was so essential that all should be "fair and above board." No people under the face of the sun know better than the negroes that it is only the workers of iniquity who seek to hide themselves. We have been slowly learning the nature of the impediments we have to remove. Comparatively small as the fund required is, to keep open the court of appeal for the Freed-men, it can only be raised with great difficulty. We have then to consider how the resources can be provided. An annual subscription of five shillings, extended over a sufficient number, might be the most feasible mode of finding a solid basis for our operations.

HOW IS THE WORK TO BE DONE?

"In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." When surprised by difficulty or unexpected reverse, we must give ourselves time to think, for "calmness hath great advantage." Whatever the emergency nothing is gained by impetuous and unreflecting haste. We invite our friends therefore, to pause with us for a while to look steadily at our position. Earnest and devoted friends have been working long and assiduously for the Bazaar. The members of our committee have been anxious to do justice to their efforts, by making the best arrangements in their power to effect a proper sale of their interesting and useful contributions. To do this, of necessity involved an outlay we were ill prepared to bear. We can testify to the care, ingenuity, and perseverance of our friends who managed the Bazaar at Brighton; we are sorry however to say that there was no adequate response on the part of the benevolent public, and the result is a present loss, rather than gain. If there had been remissness or indiscretion, this unwelcome issue would have filled us with self-reproach, but all concerned have really done the best in their power.

"Common-sense" will say this result might have been predicted with certainty. We are of opinion that "Common-sense" might say this with respect to any methods that might be devised for raising funds for our object, until opinion is better educated on the question of the Freed-men.

There is no change whatever in the state of things that renders the operations of the Society imperative. The order, stability and progress of society will be greatly affected by the course now taken in reference to the millions of the Freed-men. There is no question of the time more practical, and none that requires more careful consideration. Take a passage from the recent correspondence of the *Times*:—"The South is in a most painfully uncertain condition

as to the future of the whites, and the certainty of the negroes controlling it becomes more and more evident. It is truly astonishing that as now reconstructed, the poorest and most ignorant class there are to have power, while the men of education, wealth, and landed property are utterly debarred from any voice in the government. *Yet so it is ; for negro rule, at least is inevitable.* I have already reported such registration returns as have reached the north ; and other returns as they come in *nearly all indicate the negro ascendancy.* In Mississippi the negroes have 12,000 majority : in Louisiana, over 88,000 majority : while the total registry for south Carolina gives them 18,000 majority. Virginia is the only state that shows a white ascendancy, and this has a white majority of about 18,000, which is owing to the mild policy of General Schofield having induced the southern whites of Virginia to take part in reconstruction elsewhere, however, *negro ascendancy is inevitable ;* they are hereafter to form one half of all southern juries ; they are appointed to all kinds of offices, and knowing their power, they are organizing their party, and in several places calling out negro candidates for congress. The power developed by the blacks, and the *secret armed organizations discovered amongst them, cause great dread among the whites,* and have had a strong effect in keeping them aloof from reconstruction." Here is ample cause for reflection. This is the upshot of the scheme proposed by Mr. Stephens for founding the Southern Confederacy on a basis of slavery. It has ended in admitted "negro ascendancy." Now we submit with all earnestness of feeling, that a transition of this nature must be attended with the extremest peril if the Freed-men are left without education, and driven by injustice to their race to secret organizations. It would be treason to the cause of christian civilization not to watch the course of events and to diffuse the information needful to all classes as a safeguard. Prejudice and unreasoning hostility in the present aspect of affairs must tend to disaster. Our Society exists for a most important purpose. It is left just now with an empty purse, and under some pecuniary liabilities. It is clear that we cannot look for help to the general public. Many will rally round the standard of a party, who will not combine to advance a righteous principle. To give an illustration. We mentioned some time ago the case of the Freed-men, to a gentleman of great intelligence and amiability of temper, who has had the chief care of a school for the sons of missionaries ; he said with the utmost coolness ; " I would help the negroes to a rope, and sweep them from the earth into heaven as soon as possible." He uttered this sentiment with undisturbed complacency, feeling that his view was in perfect accordance with the prevailing opinion. Of necessity the youths under his care must imbibe the same spirit. The friends of humanity must not conceal from themselves the obstacles in the way of progress. The prejudices we have to encounter should only impress us more deeply with a sense of our responsibility. "Where there is no vision the people perish." Our friends should impose upon themselves a voluntary tax, in the form of an immediate small contribution. We are left alone almost literally penniless, so

far as resources for the work of the society are concerned. Our energetic colleague, Dr. Tomkins, is on his voyage to America. He has often advanced money from his private means to meet current expenses. We cannot however contract liabilities ourselves. Care and economy shall be exercised, but if we devote time, thought and labour, to the cause, we should be exempt from private pecuniary outlay. Many who receive the *FREED-MAN* have never sent us a subscription. They may have supposed help was not necessary. We believe that on receiving this plain and unreserved statement, they will be willing to share our burden, and if they take a personal part in the work they will feel a deeper interest. A little timely aid would give us a new start.

MOSES MOORE ON NEGRO REFORM.

Recently we received a visit from a respectable and well-spoken negro just arrived in London from the West Indies. In common with others of his race, he had been given to understand that once in this "land of philanthropy" he would find no difficulty in obtaining the means for acquiring a thorough education. He found out in a very short time that he had been grievously misled. His position in London soon became one of great embarrassment. He found temporary accommodation in the Asiatic Home, however, and by the aid of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton and other friends, received help to take him to Philadelphia, where he will have a far better chance of realizing his long-cherished desire.

As representing the views and feelings of the Freed-men we requested Mr. Moore to give a free statement respecting his own case and the present condition of the negroes in the West Indies. He has kindly furnished a communication which we have no doubt will be read with interest. He writes to this effect: "I am a native of Demerara in British Guiana, and have found my way to this country under very serious misrepresentations, to prosecute the studies needful for the legal profession, a profession, in my opinion, the most desirable in a negro in the British West Indies, as the one in which alone he can be useful in assisting his people to obtain redress for grievances under which most unfortunately they have been labouring.

Having received an education in the Sierra Leone Grammar School, under the late principal, the Rev. John Millward, and the present

head master, the Rev. James Quaker, I returned to my native country, where from the extent of its commerce and various industrial pursuits, I hoped by persevering labour to lay by a certain sum sufficient to secure a qualification for the legal profession. But the disadvantages under which negro workmen and agriculturists labour rendered this impossible. Acting on the advice of those on whom, from their personal experience of English philanthropy, I could rely, I resolved to come to this country, and for two years kept this object steadily in view. I spent a short time at Barbados, Trinidad, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts, and lastly at the Danish Island of St. Thomas. In this island and at St. Kitts, I delivered lectures on the past and present of Africa. In Trinidad I spent the longest time, as I opened a private school expressly for the admission of boys who had received a primary education. I may state here, that in Trinidad no religious instruction is afforded to children attending the public schools.

Leaving the West Indies on the 14th of July, in the steamship Douro, I arrived at Southampton after a pleasant voyage of thirteen days. On the 29th of the same month, I found my way to this great City, the centre of civilization and of all the arts and sciences which make the 19th century the most wonderful period of invention in the world's history. I came to London with a heart big with hopes of success in my literary mission—hopes that have been cherished for years; but alas! the bubble has burst! the enterprise has proved a delusion. I had in order to raise the money to commence my

studies resolved upon delivering lectures throughout the kingdom, the proceeds from them going towards defraying the preparatory expenses of my education. I was strengthened as to the possibility of this mode of procedure (amongst others) by a respectable barrister of the Middle Temple. Thus I plunged myself into the abyss of certain delusion, the penalty of the hazardous undertaking. I may mention just here that a Mr. Bentinck, one of my former schoolfellows, is now prosecuting his studies in theology in the Church Missionary College, Islington.

And now to the negro question in the West Indies.

The white man has had his say; let the negro himself have a word, for a one-sided story will never do.

It is generally understood in all civilized communities that to ensure and promote the happiness of the general public, there must be amongst other things calculated to make a contented and peaceable community, that impartial administration of justice which will call forth the confidence and respect of the governed many. But in the West Indies, and Guiana in particular, there has been (with few exceptions, and such exceptions prove rules,) a gross violation of justice by those in whom the magisterial powers are vested. There has existed (from the time I began to observe) a deep-rooted antipathy in the minds of the resident whites against their equally loyal fellow subjects the negroes. I cannot see any excuse for this ill feeling except as the white man says because a *negro* is a *negro*, no matter whatever might be his qualifications otherwise. That this state of things will continue, without any limits as to time and extent, there is no doubt, so long as the negro hater can oppress and tyrannise the negro with impunity, and so long as the negroes themselves do not form a part of the governing element. As long as the present state of things continues, there will be need of the interference of Anti-slavery Societies and redoubled government vigilance over the acts of the various local governments in the West Indies (British). It has been the policy of all civilized government, not to rest the legislative and executive powers in one person

or class, as such favoured person or class will make the laws for his convenience, and execute them to the disadvantages of the governed many. For politicians are aware that for the governed to feel that they are enjoying the rights and privileges of the constitution of the country in which they live, they are to have a share in the bitter as well as the "sweets" of the government. In the West Indies the negroes are qualified to help in bearing the public burthens, but unqualified to receive justice, or take any responsible service in the government. The violation of justice is of daily occurrence in the inferior court of law, where cases are tried in many instances with closed doors in presence of the favoured few whites. To the pretended administrators of justice, it would be out of course to give the negro justice, when his opponent is a white man. In the plantations or in the workshop the negro suffers equally from his employers who are all whites. The employer often promises one rate of wages and pays another, which is sometimes one half the rate agreed upon in the commencement of work. He stops his pay when he wills, but what can the negro do but be reluctantly content. Should he take his employer before the magistrate, it is but to increase the pains of his previous penance. As a matter of course the negro loses confidence and want of respect both in the employer and the officers of justice. There is such a unity among the West India whites, that to remove these causes of discontent among the negroes is impossible, except the negroes themselves constitute a part of the ruling agents. The cause of this distinctive unity amongst the West India Europeans, is the fewness of the whites, who though forming a small part of the population, have all the legislative and executive powers monopolised to themselves, and furthermore have no vigilant philanthropic eye to put a veto to any of their very often unjust acts to the negroes. It is a natural quality in man, to esteem anything that is rare, particularly when it can be used to his advantage. It is therefore because there are few whites, they esteem one another and meet often, and as a natural consequence imbibe the same feeling, sentiments and

character. This illustration will be best understood by an Englishman going to a foreign country where perhaps he meets his countryman and the only countryman. On each learning the country of the other, they need no introduction and therefore are inseparable; friendship is naturally formed, no matter whatever may be the qualifications of each, no matter the difference of opinions, whether they be religious, civil, or political. Fancy Dr. Livingstone meeting a British scavenger in the wilds around Tanganyika or the "Victoria Falls;" why no introduction is needed. I leave my readers to judge of what will follow. Such has been the nature of man in all ages of the world's history. Like for like. Look at St. Paul before Ananias. See the dissensions amongst his accusers when they learnt he was of their opinion. But this is not an age to follow the track of ancient images or customs when they are injurious to the happiness of any class or class in a community. It has been asserted, that the negro is insensible to liberty and therefore cares not how he is treated. Let me see how far this is true. The late Jamaica disturbance, as also previous repeated disaffection among negroes, resulting from oppression and tyranny, disproves this statement. The attempt in Demerara, in 1824, to obtain freedom, and that in 1833 in Jamaica, for the same cause, proves that the negro is equally susceptible of liberty. The proverbial patience of the negro under suffering, is no proof of his insensibility to liberty. But the West Indies have given birth to no remarkable negro. The fact money is power can answer for the negro not taking a stand in the literary or commercial world. For the West India whites possess all the money, and of course, dispose of it as it seems best to their advantages, no matter what it might cost the poor labourer or tradesman who receives his wages from him. The poor negro can earn no more than a from-hand-to-mouth existence, as it is the policy to lower the wages, when he could earn a sufficiency. Negroes, the resident whites say, require no boots, furniture, or carriage, as they were never made to wear or possess them. So strong is this idea, that no negro can be employed as clerk in any stores

or to any writing business in connection with Government. Such employments are for the whites. The negro was made for the cane-stumps, hoes, and outlasses; no disgrace I am proud to say. But what I argue is, that competent negroes; of respectability should also be appointed to Government situations. It is not so. No matter what might be the qualification of a negro he may have received by his merits, all the academical distinctions that Oxford or Cambridge could confer, but the fact that he is a negro disqualifies him. Whiteness in colour is the passport; never mind the brain—cultivated or not, it is just the same. But what I contend for on the part of the negro is not favour, but merits, and from merit itself a judicious selection of talented and discreet negroes, who would also be responsible servants of the public.

"No experiments have been tried where the negroes have failed in discharging the duties of any situation of responsibility. I would urge the giving the negro a fair trial, and if he evince proofs of incapacity put him down. But the failure of any one particular negro is no test for the incapacity of the negro race, than any British soldier or sailor in the West Indies can represent a Briton, whether religiously, socially, intellectually, or politically considered. Next negro nationality has been argued against, but I am glad to say no positive proofs have been brought to bear upon the question. Superficial philologists have founded their belief of negro incapacities on a flat nose, a woolly hair, and a black complexion. I have heard several depreciate the negro, but on no other grounds than "because he is not white. "Speak of the qualification of a man in the West Indies, you are heard with applause by all without exceptions. Add that, "but he is a negro, then will follow the pooh, poohs, and boohs. The so-called peculiar appearances of the negro cannot be removed, nor does he desire to have them removed. For the intelligent negroes know that nature delights in variety, and that as a natural course his distinguished appearance is one of the delights of nature. Man also delights in diversity, a continual sameness can by no means please a changeable man. Even the present variety of nature does no

seem to satisfy your never-to-be-satisfied, nature of man. How absurd would it be if all Englishmen with blue eyes should despise those who happen to have eyes not of their fancied colour, or that all tall Englishmen consider their countryman a degenerated being because they happen to stand below the fancied height of Adam's stature. But no; all rational men know that it is in these diversities that nature's beauty is contributed. But there are also deformities of nature which do not disqualify those whose lot it may be to be so distinguished, as in the following, out of countless instances. Was Dr. Isaac Watts a dwarf divine, not to be considered a man though he happened to be born a poet, because he was a manikin? Dr. S. Johnson could not be a man, notwithstanding his extraordinary genius, because he happened to be born with a hump-back and extremely ugly, and was Richard III, King of England, described as of a meagre and stunted body, with a withered arm and deformity of shoulders, not a man though he happened to be born a king? By the peculiar distinguishing faculties of West India anthropologists, these men, as well as negroes, are the "missing links between men and monkeys," only one remove and a half from the ourang-outang. Such nice distinctions would perhaps do well if inspiration had not failed to establish a standard or adjust a measure by which to prove a man by his form, nose, hair or complexion. The negro is therefore a man, and as such possesses all the qualities in common with others of his own species. Possessing all the qualifications which distinguish others of his kind, he needs society also, but not any kind of society, but each and only such as is common with others of his own species. Therefore the sooner we have a reform in West India society the better. Humanity demands a change for the better. Justice cries aloud for impartial administration. The nationality of a negro gives him a right to all the privileges and benefits of the provisions of the British constitution. Thanks to the Anti-Slavery societies and other distinguished negropholists, they have been doing much, and it is to be hoped that they should be encouraged when the government shall have taken a prominent part in

bringing about a thorough reform for the amelioration of the condition of the poor negro. But this reform must be brought about as early as possible, as it is a question of humanity. The appointment of discreet, judicious, and talented negroes of respectability to the government of our West India Islands will not fail to bring about a satisfactory and lasting reform for the material benefit of both colours in the West India circles. There is room enough, and there are qualified negroes to fill responsible government situations, if only they can move in the sphere. West India whites are heard to say, "if the negroes are employed, what must become of our children." This is selfishness; the world is large enough for both whites, and blacks; large enough for the twice estimated population of the whole globe.

"The importance of the promotion of the happiness of man is one of divine origin. The happiness of His creatures is one of the glorious attributes of the Almighty; and our government will have become co-workers with God, when they shall have taken the promotion of the happiness to negroes into their hands, by particular efforts in enforcing the rights of justice, sociality, and the promotion of meritorious negroes on equal terms with his white brother."

SOUTHERN CROPS.

A correspondent of the *New York Observer* says: "Since my last communication from this locality, we have progressed rapidly in building up the waste places that the rough hand of war had so ruthlessly smitten, and now the whole land is richly burdened with splendid crops of corn and cotton; and the Courtland valley, in this respect, can challenge any section of the country. The crops generally are very fine; the corn may be considered as made, and the first bolls of cotton are now opening. We expect to make half a bale of cotton to the acre, and on the best lands a bale, and from twenty-five to fifty bushels of corn. The Freed-men have worked well, and are jubilant over the prospect, which will secure them a good crib of corn, at least, for the ensuing year.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE report of Rev. W. H. Jones, from Jersey and Guernsey, is deferred.

The case of Mr. Gordon in our next.

The Freed-Man.

OCTOBER, 1867.

THE MINE AND COUNTERMINE.

"We are slumbering on a mine ready for explosion," said Governor Eyre on the eve of the Jamaica outbreak. There was a certain degree of truth in the sentiment, but not in the sense generally understood. The black population of Jamaica were not in a state of revolt. There was no organized plot. But it was true that elements existed that, brought into collision, would tend to disaster. In particular districts might be found all the evils of chronic neglect—ignorance, vice, superstition, and licentiousness, surrounded by contempt, tyranny and pride, waiting for an opportunity to crush out the detested victims of demoralizing influences at work for many generations. We know the sanguinary issue. Our concern has been to direct attention of the friends of the Freed-men, to the necessity of preparing a countermine, and warned by the past to prevent any further explosion. We believe this might be done at small pecuniary cost. Encourage education so that the black population may be able to some extent to protect themselves against the fraud practised upon them in trade, or in the payment of wages. Put them in a position to watch the course of justice in the courts of law, and really to know

that right is done. They have no local—no Island press that is efficient for their protection; give them some fair and impartial organ that can neither be bribed, nor diverted by influence of any kind, from its simple object. Appoint a few judicious and earnest men in England—not place hunters—to represent cases of injury or oppression, as they arise with firmness and moderation. Instead of suspicion, create confidence. Look especially to the condition of those who are so impoverished and helpless that they can take no step whatever for their own relief or improvement. This has been our simple aim. We admit with pain and sorrow that hitherto we have not succeeded.

The wretched people driven out of their homes, whose innocence has been proved, are still cowering in concealment in the woods. Thousands of pounds have been spent to bring the wrong-doers to justice, but the victims perish unheeded. Two hundred and fifty pounds would have restored the huts burnt to the ground, but that sum cannot be raised. No one has the anticipation that it will ever be provided. A conference probably would cost twice the amount. We may have many conferences yet, on the Anti-Slavery question, before the practical points are considered. Levi Coffin came all the way from Cincinnati to the conference at Paris, but he was not suffered to open his lips. There were sufficient reasons of policy in the Capital of France for his silence.

The aspirations of the Freed-men for mental improvement at this time are marvellous. We have a remarkable example of intellectual capacity in the

late Head Master of the Grammar School in Kingston, Jamaica. He is learned, eloquent and thoroughly devoted, though black as ebony. At the instance of Dr. Bowerbank and his associates, he has been removed from his post without compensation to make room for a European teacher.

Sir Henry Storks is alive to the injustice done in the case, and has cautiously commended the supplanted teacher to the special attention of the colonial office. His Grace the Duke of Buckingham in turn has recommended him to the notice of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. In this way he is made to spin round the wheel in England—a man of excellent character—great and varied intelligence—and of acknowledged usefulness—displaced without premonition, reason or explanation—and allowed no compensation. But for his colour, injustice of this kind would never have been attempted.

At the recent meeting of the British Association of Science in Dundee, it was deemed of importance to spend hours in a discussion to prove the inferiority of the negro race. No imaginable effect can be produced by the constant return to such debates but to sting and to irritate the people who suffer this cowardly and insulting disparagement.

There is growing uneasiness in the minds of many Freed-men. In the time of slavery, information was transmitted through the plantations, from Baltimore to New Orleans, in a most mysterious way. Common injuries make the coloured people one. Already they have sufficient intelligence to mark an inconsistent or dishonest course in the

race, that claims superiority and demands an exclusive ascendancy. They are silent as to the wrongs they have endured, but we must not conclude too certainly that they have forgotten the atrocities which they fear to mention. There is danger in half-education. Numbers added nothing to the strength of the slave; they constituted but millions of isolated units, with little or no combination. All their thoughts ran on escape. Fugitives, as John Brown discovered, could not be trained for revolution. We must not overlook the change in the condition of the Freed-men. The spirit of loyalty remains, but despair would greatly diminish its influence. We want therefore to give them if possible the patience of hope, and to encourage them in the course of improvement. We know that the FREED-MAN is prized by them. At present it simply exists. Its circulation ought to be gradually, yet widely extended. We ask nothing for the present Editorship. We want no monopoly. In the absence of Dr. F. Tomkins, the Editor, we are constrained to say that in every movement in this country on behalf of the Freed-men, we believe he took the initiative. This service has never been fairly acknowledged. The large collection made by the Congregational Churches was the result of his private, and most persistent efforts. The American brethren, Dr. Storrs, and Dr. Holbrook, were almost unconscious of the struggle behind the scenes. They received the credit of work done for them at a sacrifice very partially understood. But personal matters in such a cause are of little moment. We have advanced up the

steep to a point in which we have hardly strength, without immediate help, to proceed, and in which it is perilous to draw back. If the **FREED-MAN** should not appear beyond the present number, our readers will understand that it is from no want of interest, or of willingness to labour on our part, but because we cannot give time and effort, and in addition advance money to meet inevitable expenses. We see distinctly that the question of the Freed-men, involves the interest of commerce and civilization. Another outburst might entail a loss of millions. Justice will prove in the end most economical. The philosophers of the Anthropological Society, we know, like Mr. Stephens, the vice-president of the Southern Confederacy, ridicule the idea of fair dealing with black people. The pressure is increasing, tie down the safety-valve, they say, and take the consequences. No grander mistake can be committed, no greater crime against humanity can be perpetrated.

PUTTING ON THE "BRAKE."

The chairman of our Finance Committee has intimated to us that the **FREED-MAN** must "stop." The injunction takes us by surprise, for in a conference with him and our excellent colleague now in America, it was arranged that the magazine should be continued under all circumstances. Our supplies for meeting the necessary expenses of issuing the **FREED-MAN** this month are withheld. We trust that the Committee will eventually sustain no loss. The property for the Bazaar was intrusted to the chairman of the Finance Committee. He will have in

a few weeks the proceeds of the private sales, with the amount due for advertising and our expectation is that he will have a margin for everything required for the actual expenses of the Society. This year the Committee are freed from all responsibility with respect to the Secretariat, by our expressed willingness to give time and effort without remuneration so long as the resources of the Society should be inadequate. We freely make a present of our trivial personal expenses in attending the Bazaar at Brighton. Those of our colleague and friends who had far more onerous duties, it would be unreasonable and unjust not to allow.

There is a possibility that we may be writing for the last time in this journal; if so we should weigh our words carefully.

The abrupt withdrawal of necessary supplies, we must accept as an intimation that the service we have tried to render, is no longer needed, and that the Freed-men require neither aid nor protection. We have long had the impression that this was the view taken by the representatives of leading members of the Council and Committee of the Society. We gather from frequent communications, that the thing chiefly required now, is better trade with Jamaica, and such action as political leaders in Parliament may be disposed to take in particular emergencies. All the world must know that there are eminent men nominally connected with the Society, more than sufficient to secure by their contributions, example, and influence, with perfect ease, the funds requisite to

maintain an independent organ, to represent the cause of the *Freed-men*.

The few friends who may take the trouble to read these pages, need not be told that our own convictions are strong as to the necessity for protection to the Freed-men. In our judgment the *FREED-MAN* would not have the slightest value if it should take the colouring of a mere trade circular, or if it could be manipulated at pleasure by any political or sectarian party.

The only failure we dread is that of principle, and our greatest concern is that there should be no dereliction of duty. Nothing in the course of our observation for the last thirty years has given us more pain or humiliation in connection with public matters, than the treatment of the shelterless outcasts in Jamaica.

It has revealed to us a hollowness in the agitation for Jamaica, that has diminished our confidence to a degree that we never anticipated. It seems to us that the "tribunes of the people" have taken, if possible, a lower place than that of ex-Governor Eyre. The wretched fugitives from Morant Bay, have not, certainly, been abandoned in "ignorance" or in "mistake."

It was recently announced, at the final meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Relief Commission, that the private contributions sent from the Northern States of America, amounted to \$2,500,000. It is estimated by Mr. Estcourt that about £250 would be sufficient to help the fugitives of Jamaica to replace their huts, but we cannot learn that anything has been done. The future English historian

will find in this discreditable fact an inexplicable mystery.

We are bound to record our fixed impression that if British philanthropy is henceforth to take no shape but that of trade it will fail in its object. It is absolutely essential to confidence that the light of day should be thrown on all commercial transactions intended to benefit the negroes of the West Indies.

To withdraw the *FREED-MAN* at this moment from the hands of our readers in Jamaica, will only be to excite suspicion, and to indicate that things are tending inevitably to the old rut. With openness, and a really independent journal, accessible at any time to a Freed-man to complain of injustice, commercial enterprise on sound principles will prove an immense benefit. Assuredly this is the wrong time to silence the voice that, amidst grinding competition, and the strife of parties, is raised for the down-trodden, and the unrepresented.

It will be a relief to us, if the work should be transferred to advocates more competent than ourselves, so that they are honest and incorruptible. We ask therefore no personal consideration.

The workers for the Bazaar, and the subscribers (few in number), who have sustained our operations, will accept our grateful acknowledgement. Disappointment should not dishearten us in a righteous cause.

Our Divine Master in caring for the solitary and self-convicted outcast, said, "I have meat to eat, that ye know not of." The highest gratification of social life is that which arises from the "luxury of doing good," "doing good" to those who can make no "recompense." We

can desire nothing better in this world for our friends, than that the "blessing" of those that were "ready to perish," may come upon them. How happy would it be for our country if instead of the general apathy and cruel hardness exhibited in Bank deceptions, and in the disclosures of Sheffield and Manchester, the counterparts in another form of the want of humanity in Jamaica, there were more to share the blessing that attends disinterested kindness. But we have done. If the FREED-MAN should not appear next month, our friends in England, America and Jamaica must understand that it will be for the want of Funds.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Circumstances render it needful that in these pages I should speak with frankness and candour in my own name. My friend Dr. Tomkins, on leaving England, charged me to keep on the Society and the FREED-MEN, and with his accustomed generosity wrote from ship-board to assure me that he would defray all the expenses I might incur. I owe much in fidelity to my excellent colleague whose zeal and devotedness in the cause of the Freed-men I have had abundant opportunities of witnessing. The FREED-MAN I believe is registered in the name of Dr. Tomkins. It is therefore beyond external control. I shall have no difficulty therefore, if supplied with pecuniary means, in continuing this journal. I trust that readers who may be sincerely interested in the cause I have endeavoured to advocate, will render me a little help, at least until Dr. Tomkins returns that I may vacate my post honourably and not seem to be unfaithful to the trust committed to me.

As I write this, I have a cheering persuasion indeed that there will be found friends who will render this kindness. They will I think understand what a comfort and satisfaction it will be to my own mind, to be enabled by their generosity, to persevere until the work

can be transmitted to abler hands.

With respect to the Society itself, my position is not without embarrassment. In a note received and dated "2, Sherborne Lane, Sept. 19, 1867," Mr. Estcourt says: "I really do not know what we are to do with the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society. As to the Bazaar, I am out of pocket and there is nothing in that direction to keep us. FREED-MAN must stop a bit. As to Bazaar account, say 'the adjourned Bazaar;' we had a Bazaar, but for a variety was adjourned *sine die*."

It is due to myself to say that from the first I have declined all responsibility in financial matters. I make no pretension to their management. I shrink from incurring liabilities and in nothing am I more anxious than in the right appropriation of special subscriptions. The sewing machine for Jamaica has not been sent out, from the lamented death of Mrs. Teal; but I received the following memorandum from Dr. Tomkins on the eve of his departure for America:—

"28, Queen Square, Sept. 12, 1867,

"MEMO.

"Of the amount remaining of the account of the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society, £10 is to be reserved for the purchase of a Sewing Machine for Jamaica.

"Frederick Tomkins.

"To Dr. J. Waddington."

That sum in the bank belongs therefore to the special object for which it was intrusted to myself and must remain intact.

I have no right and no disposition to criticize the expenditure of the Society since I have declined responsibility. Yet I trust I shall be excused in submitting with all deference my views on the subject, as the result of observation and experience.

It occurs to me that the chief work to be done is to educate the public mind in the new phase of the Negro Question; this might be done in a simple unexpensive, and at the same time effective manner. Suppose a few intelligent and earnest friends who do not look at the question either through a trade or political medium to associate together for receiving and diffusing information, there is no necessity for a large

outlay of any kind. Let them pay for the magazine and charge themselves with the distribution of a number of copies where they are likely to be useful. Occasional meetings might be held in different localities to discuss the question freely, and yet with moderation. It appears to me that it is all waste to spend money for public demonstrations, where the public are not sufficiently interested. The amount spent in a large Exeter Hall meeting, would defray the expense of the **FREED-MAN** for a whole year. Sometimes it will be recommended to "flood the country with circulars and to have a stock to last for several years;" this means to bring in a deluge of printers' bills. The expense of a deputation to some pretentious convention would pay the rent of office. So with other items.

The Committee has never been asked to advance money. I trust that Mr. Estcourt, the chairman of the Finance Committee, is more than protected. A considerable sum is due from the Jamaica Commercial Agency Company, for advertisements in the **FREED-MAN**, which, I hope, will more than counter-balance his deficiencies. There is no cause, therefore, for alarm, but there is necessity for prudent consideration. Virtually, Dr. Tomkins has borne the burden of pecuniary responsibility. He has been often out of pocket, and left to his own resources in a way that no person would bear, but from devotedness to the object. But he has never faltered. In the most trying crisis he has said to me repeatedly, "As long as I live, this Society shall continue for the protection of the Freed-men." I have deeply regretted to observe the determination of some, who have been identified with anti-slavery movements to hinder and disparage Dr. Tomkins. I could give many proofs and illustrations of this indirect discouragement, but one will suffice. Dr. Tomkins visited Ipswich twice, and incurred the expense of the journey and of advertising. He was kindly received, and a very friendly interest was excited. A benevolent lady offered to place fifty pounds into his hand, but, in the noble confidence that is habitual to him, he preferred that it should be added to the sum to be sent from the town. The donation was transferred

subsequently, to another society that had not incurred a farthing of expense, nor put forth the slightest effort in the matter, with no explanation or apology.

When I entered upon the duty of secretary, I was given to understand that "all emancipation societies in the north to a man" would support the principles on which our society is based. It was found, however, that to a man they declined to help. Still I had assurance that there were noble minded individuals in different parts of the country, who would be disposed to show kindness to the helpless and innocent victims of the Jamaica outrage. The reply received from these gentlemen, with a few honourable exceptions, was to this effect: "We will not give a farthing for the people whose houses have been burned, and where fathers and brothers in the families, have been murdered; Government must make compensation." This was abundantly disheartening. I wrote earnestly, perhaps I might say in impassioned terms, to leading members of parliament, but with no practical effect. We were, nevertheless, told that commissioners would be appointed, to attend to deserving cases. The cost of the commissioners, I apprehend, would be about five times the amount of the sum needful to supply the people, driven into the wilds, with means to raise their simple dwellings. Mr. Estcourt has recently brought us the report from Jamaica, that nothing has been done as a manifestation of British humanity in the case. Now I confess, under these circumstances, I have not the heart to abandon these injured and miserable people. I have the firmest conviction that if the Freed-men are left without observation, and no independent organ to represent their case, their former oppressors will return as before, and avenge themselves for the mortification they have suffered in losing their prey.

It does not surprise me that there is no disposition on the part of many, whose co-operation might be expected, to support the **FREED-MAN** beyond a certain point. It does not represent cotton—nor sugar—nor produce of any kind, but a race of men whose toil is essential to the stability of commerce, but who have been neglected, tortured, and

cheated in every way, with no certain means of representation, defence, or redress. What the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society (or as it might be better named PROTECTION Society) wants, is a true and steady constituency. I believe this may be found. We have a few annual subscribers who are fully in accord with our object. Whenever a simple and unexaggerated statement of the case can be made, there would be found some persons in any assembly who would give a little help. I am not certain but that a shilling subscription openly enrolled, would not be best when the Society was firmly established by a few generous friends. At any rate if a hundred persons will send me a shilling per month, until Dr. Tomkins returns, the FREED-MAN shall not stop. I have had full proof of Dr. Tomkins; there is no service, no drudgery, he will not undertake. No disaster will daunt him, and the failure or comparative failure of a bazaar, will not be made the occasion of leaving four millions of Freed-men without a voice in London, when there is a movement in the Southern States to re-enact the scenes of the rebellion, and when Dr. Bowerbank is coming from Jamaica to seek the recognition of his services, or re-investment to office.

JOHN WADDINGTON.

AFRICA—HER LONG NIGHT, AND NOW DAWNING DAY.

Certain glorious events shine like stars amid the darkening shadows of the present time. Like the stars, they are not only bright, but are as worlds, containing untold secrets of developing blessing. Slavery all over the earth is doomed, since the unprofitableness of the slave trade, now that the great source of demand no longer exists, must soon lead to its extinction. In this we hear a cry proclaiming, "the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, prepare ye the way of the Lord; make straight in the African deserts a highway for our God." We read in I Chron. 4, that the Simeonites, a tribe remarkable for cruelty, dispossessed many of the descendants of Ham; being in that instance the instruments of the justice and providence of God. The expression in the 40th verse is remarkable,

"the land was wide, and quiet and peaceable, for they of Ham had dwelt there of old." It would seem that then, as now, the character of that family of the human race, was naturally gentle and amiable. The prediction of the long sufferings of that family, given by Noah, (a *prediction* it was, and contained no justification of the miseries it foretold) was accomplished by this, that the children of Ham were the earliest idolaters, and that vice and moral wretchedness followed, in consequence of false religion, this vice again, in its turn, entailing the retributive judgments of God.

Heathenism therefore was, as it is, the great source of the woes of the posterity of Ham, of whom we may believe Africa to contain the greatest number. That heathenism still reigns over a large portion of the continent, with all its horrible concomitants of devil-worship, witchcraft, and human sacrifices.

For these errors and their effects the only remedy is the Truth as it is in Jesus. Slavery with all its degrading influences, has been, of course, a terrible aggravation of the original evils produced by heathenism. Who, therefore, can wonder that the negro has not been always elevated in mind, and virtuous in character. The wonder is that the human type has not been altogether destroyed in these races, and that throughout these long ages of suffering they have given proofs, especially by so much gentle patience and enduring affection, that they, equally with less afflicted tribes, were originally created in the "Image of God."

We repeat that the death-blow given to slavery by its downfall in America, is a fresh call to missionary effort, above all for Africa, the chief sufferer from that accursed system. May God abundantly bless such efforts, and among them Mrs. Moseley's schools at Cape Coast Castle. Africa has assuredly a large share in the promise. "Many shall come from the South, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the Kingdom of God."

E. S. G. S.

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THE FREED-MAN.

SELF-EMANCIPATION.

No people can be raised unless there is in them a spring of self-improvement. All external efforts for their good, however well intended, will fail without the co-operation of those whose benefit is desired. Political agitation, changes in the policy of the government, or new commercial combinations, will leave the Freed-man stranded and helpless if they do not put their shoulder to the wheel and exercise the forethought, diligence, and self-denial necessary for real social advancement. Many, we know, have made progress, and their example is worth the attention of their brethren. It will be seen no doubt, in every instance, that the Freed-man who has become a Free-holder "began in a small way." He looked about him to see where he could earn an honest penny. He kept his own counsel, made no noise, and excited as little envy as possible. He did not spare himself, if with a little extra exertion he could add to his secret store. When his ordinary work failed, he found something else, however simple, and at any rate kept himself from rusting in idleness. He was equally anxious for self-improvement. Perhaps he had no school education, but he kept his eyes and his ears open whenever there was an opportunity to obtain sound instruction from a catechist, a missionary or some sensible christian friend. Not that he neglected his work, even for this, but he watched for the right and fitting opportunities, and above all, he looked for the wisdom that cometh from above, which helps all work and lightens all care.

Growth that is real, by the keenest eye can never be seen in its active process. The hand of a child grows, but no one can discern the actual movement. So it is with the stem or the leaf of a plant. The degrees of true progress are alike regular and difficult to mark in their onward course. The effects however are visible enough. An honest, truthful, kind, and diligent negro will leave his rough shanty for a frame house, provide comfortable clothing for his family, and useful furniture. He will secure of necessity respect and confidence, and add to the strength and welfare of his country. Knowing

himself the disadvantages from which he suffered for want of education, he will take care that his sons and daughters shall have learning of some kind, and be trained to read the best books within their reach. Now no one can take this course without becoming a social benefactor. We all know however, that such instances of quiet and prudent thrift, are not so numerous as might be desired. Slavery was a condition not without its indulgences. A slave might be "happy as a pig," though not as a man. He had no care for the future, and it was in vain for him to make provision. He could laugh, sing, and dance, without thought for himself or much concern for others. Freedom on the contrary, brings with it responsibilities and care for which thousands were not prepared and in which they had no proper and kind direction. Chronic habits of improvidence were formed, and families acquired them with great facility. Jamaica without roads exhibits to the world the proof of selfish thriftlessness. So that the planter, or cultivator could on "horseback or manback" send his produce to the distant market, what did he care for the common good?

There is often the same neglect in drainage. An improvident cultivator sees no immediate use in working to keep open a sluice or a drain. It is fair weather now: why should he think of the rainy season. A missionary in the West Indies reports: "no money; not a single estate in the district on which they can labour and earn wages: they have solely to depend on their own grounds for provisions to support themselves, and to sell, to buy salt, provisions, and clothing. Very often the heavy rains sink the land, knock down the trees, and rot the provisions under ground. So then labour is lost, and just about harvest they are left almost destitute of food. This, however, in a great measure is to be attributed to their own neglect of *keeping their drainage open properly*, and their kokers in proper order."

It is curious to observe that some of the native cultivators in Jamaica are beginning to see that the education of their children will be useful to prevent their being cheated in weighing; they have not been convinced before that sound instruction would make them a blessing to the community.

European planters have too often sought their own present advantage altogether regardless of the general welfare. The waste lands of the West Indians, if brought under proper cultivation and made available on equitable terms to the black and coloured population, would have maintained, in comfort, a population fivefold the present number, but it was supposed to be the interest of the planters to restrict cultivation to their own estates.

The "Sugar interest," and the "Coffee interest," acted on the same narrow ideas.

Hence the indiscriminate importation of Asiatic labourers with all their demoralizing influence. Mr. Henderson, of Buxton, in British Guiana, says: "The population of Buxton, including the contiguous village of *Friendship*, was 4,262 in 1861. Nearly the whole of the villagers are of African descent, and almost exclusively agricultural labourers. All the plantations in this district

are overstocked with indentured Asiatic labourers, who have shut out, to a great extent, the creoles from those estates where they and their fathers formerly laboured. Although slavery has long since passed away, its degrading and demoralizing effects continue to be developed: while the pernicious influences of hordes of degraded heathens have militated greatly against the moral and spiritual improvement of the creole population."

Capitalists possessed with the idea that the chief end of man is to raise cotton, have bought lands without waiting to enquire whether they were suitable for their object and regardless of existing unfavourable conditions.

Sugar has been the grand desideratum with other planters, to the exclusion of all other considerations. Mr. Wallbridge, of George Town, Demerara, says, "The creole natives, the great mass of the emancipated people and their connections, are not nearly so well off as they were twenty or twenty-five years ago; having been, in the meantime, almost entirely superseded on the sugar estates by Asiatic immigrants. And thus, whilst the sugar interest here is more prosperous than it has been for many years, and the sugar crop of 1866 is more than treble than that of 1846, and this too with better prices in the markets; the people generally do not share in this prosperity of their former masters.

"This state of things is anomalous, and it cannot continue for ever in a country like this, when so many other things *could* be done besides making sugar. The natural resources of this colony are almost boundless, though as yet but little has been done to develop them and make them available for meeting the wants of the great bulk of its inhabitants. By force of circumstances, no doubt, other lines of productive industry will by-and-by be struck out, though meanwhile the pressure of these circumstances is painfully felt by not a few.

"Hitherto, the policy of our leading men, too readily yielded to by the Colonial office, and therefore by our local government, was to discourage enterprise on the part of the people in any other direction than sugar cultivation, in the vain hope of driving them back to the sugar plantations. But the failure of these coercive measures, and the obtainment of labour from India and China, and also, I believe, the prevalence of more liberal and enlightened views among the new generation of our planters, have led to the abandonment of this old-time policy, and there is now in some of our most influential men a disposition to further the efforts of the people in any direction likely to prove advantageous to them. But it will *take time* to bring about the consummation which the friends of the people desire and hope to see ultimately realized."

We fear that missionaries have sometimes unconsciously yielded to a narrow and selfish policy. Their aim has in some cases been to make a good financial report, and in the principal towns they have gained the subscriptions of planters at the expense of consistency, and find that they have lost their patronage, and at the same time forfeited the confidence of the people.

Simple devotedness with a real desire for the good of all has proved ultimately safest and best. Mr. Lindo, a native pastor of this spirit in Jamaica, says:

"The general aspect of the station is encouraging; the congregation satisfactory; the members of the church as a whole, are earnest and devoted; the attendance of the day school had not been for years past so largely and uniformly regular; a class commenced during the year for elder children who have left school, and who meet me once a week, is above fifty; the Mount Airy School is increasing in number; and we are not without evident tokens of the divine blessing."

This healthy state cannot be attained everywhere at once. No Utopian scheme of any kind can raise Jamaica by magic. It behoves then every Freed-man to make himself acquainted with the wants of his country, and the true conditions of improvement. Selfishness is sure in the end to bring its own punishment.

It was said to the people of Israel, in Babylon—"Seek the peace of the city, whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it, for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace."

The only true policy for all is to consider the good of the entire community, and this under all discouragements and difficulties. Make every man to feel that he has a personal interest in the prosperity of the land in which he lives, and to seek the happiness of the entire race of man, and this from the purest and highest motive, and then real emancipation will begin; but if the promoters of any scheme, legislative, political or commercial, begin to say, now we have gained *our* object, let the Freed-men care for themselves, they will find as all others before them have found—disappointment, discredit and loss.

ROBERT MOFFAT.

The communications from the venerable missionary of the Kuruman, are exceedingly interesting. We remember well when his work was decried, and not a few impatient people at home would have deserted him altogether, and broken up his station. "Africa," he says, "to me is very dear, the children's school under the care of my daughter, and Bible classes, &c., conducted by John Moffat, continue to prosper, and encourage our warmest hopes. The printing press, or at least the printing office, has been pretty well occupied during the past years for printing, stitching, binding, &c., go on all in the same apartments. Spelling books, Catechisms, and Hymns, &c., have been printed for the Matevele Mission; a new edition of supplements to our hymn book, containing upwards of 130 hymns, and a Dutch spelling book for the Griqua Mission, have also been printed, and a work on arithmetic translated by Mr. Price is being put in type. All the time I can spare, is devoted to revising and printing the New Testament, a half-sheet of which, I lately forwarded. In reference to this work, I must add, that despairing of being able to obtain the judgment of my missionary brethren on its merits early enough, from the distance between us, it will be impossible to have it finished within anything like

a reasonable time. The want of the New Testament being much felt, now that the stock is exhausted, some of our brethren have strongly recommended that the Bible Society be solicited to supply the want with a reprint of a thousand copies of the first edition. To this I at first objected, but seeing no other way of meeting the case, have consented, and have just written in the name of my brethren to the Committee of the Bible Society to that effect."

Of the Kuruman mission, Mr. Moffat says: "A most gratifying feature of the present time is the increasing desire of great numbers far and near to learn to read. This gives us great encouragement in every department of our work, as without this little stability can be expected. We know too well from past events that where people are able to read, and have the Bible in their hands, the most glorious results have followed, as in the case of Madagascar. The general indifference to education, notwithstanding all the inducements and means afforded, has all along been a sad barrier to progress. It requires a long time, however, to raise a people from barbarism to that state in which they can be safely left to find their way unaided. We have found it so in Africa, where so much labour is required to raise the converts above pupilage. We want to see more of the manliness which disdains to be dependent on others for everything. But, though we have not seen all that we have longed and prayed for, a great deal has been accomplished.

"The influence of the Gospel first manifested on this Station has now extended over a great extent of country reaching hundreds of miles beyond us. About thirty towns and villages may now be pointed out where Divine service is held and schools carried on. Although many of these little hills of Zion are far apart, yet we believe, through the Divine blessing, they are destined to irradiate the surrounding gloom. It is not for us who have the 'sure word of testimony' to entertain the shadow of a doubt on that point. 'He must reign.'"

Amidst delay that would have broken down a hundred lath-and-plaster men of the common type, Mr. Moffat held on his noble way, without the shadow of encouragement except in his Divine Master. In disaster and sorrow of every kind he remained hopeful and diligent. When he could not do one thing, he turned his hand to another, and at a time when not a few would have come croaking home or sought an inglorious rest, he gave himself to that glorious work of translating the Bible. We want more men of the same stamina everywhere. They are not to be hired for money nor called out by some ephemeral excitement. Dr. Bushnell does his best to shew how they are made, and gives the following ideas of the way to make a ripe and right old age: "As a first, all-inclusive matter, the man needs to be Christian; not somewhat of a Christian, but a thorough supremely right Christian. A certain show of serenity may be gotten by the philosophic habit, but this is only for a few. Integrity will do something; temperance will do something; but nothing can harmonize a soul inwardly and settle it in peace, but a spiritual re-connection with the life of God in the faith of his Son.

"Such a way of Christian piety needs, also, in order to the best result, to begin early; if possible in early childhood. A late born piety will not be sufficient. The new nature will not thus become a second nature. The old man will have only a young piety, strengthened by no experience, blurred and blunted by his own blind habit, requiring generally a struggle quite too hard to keep his new beginnings good. Nothing can duly saturate and shape the soul's habit but a piety that becomes an ingrown property and flavours the life principle itself. Here, as nowhere else, the child is father of the man. The old man's peace belongs to what is inmost in his habits; the truth of his feeling, the luminous glory of his faith, the loving sweetness of his dispositions. Right opinions are nothing till they are lived out thoroughly enough to become dispositions. Right principles must be so ingrained by long observance, that no will-force is needed to keep them in their place. Old men do sometimes take up new principles; but the difficulty is, that the principles cannot sufficiently take up them. They require to be so domiciliated in the soul, that we no longer assent to them, but have them reigning by their own determinations. Then the old man's very nature becomes harmonic and steady; so that, when he breaks, there is a sovereign order in him that cannot break; so that, when his memory gives way, he does not have to keep himself right by continual self-recollection, for there is a right and even divine keeping in him, that goes on by itself."

It will also be observed, as regards the kind of piety most wanted, that religious frames are much less significant than a close-drawn friendship with God. The flame-element commonly runs low in old age, and an old man trying to be raised in frames, or seeming to think that he is, makes but a feeble, rather absurd, figure. But if he has grown old in God's friendship, living in the sense of his society, and having the sun-rise of his mind in the testimony that he pleases God, a kind of holy custom settles on his feeling that keeps the embers of his life in a glow, when the flames of emotion have subsided. As he sits a patriarch in his chair, so his mind sits serenely in the chair of his customary piety; and he worships serenely, leaning on the top of his staff, as one whose piety, grown old in habit, is fixedly rested on God.

W. H. JONES.

Enquiries are often made respecting the relation of Mr. Jones to the British and Foreign Freed-Men's Aid Society. There is no mystery in the matter. The Society has never been in a position to employ paid agents to travel in the country and canvass for subscriptions. For a long time service of all kinds rendered at the office has been gratuitous. There has neither been messenger or clerk. We have been content to promote our object as opportunities might be afforded. Mr. Jones came to us well recommended by the Methodist Episcopal Church of America. He received a salary from his own people, and was willing to provide for his own travelling and other expenses, by lectures and the sale of various publications. He expressed his readiness to work in

his own way to diffuse information, and to create an intelligent interest in the welfare of the Freed-men, and to accept in the issue what the Society might be able to grant. At that time there were indications to warrant the hope that a considerable sum might be appropriated. Dr. Tomkins prepared the way for Mr. Jones by holding meetings in different towns, and advertising his movements. The disastrous bank failures, and other causes, greatly diminished the sources of the Society, but the kindness shewn by the contributors to the Bazaar revived the expectation that there would be a surplus for Canada; the result has proved otherwise. When the prospect of help from this quarter became doubtful, it was suggested that all Mr. Jones might receive should be transmitted to Canada. This course was adopted. All we asked of Mr. Jones was, that he should keep within the certain range of correspondence of the office; apprise us of his arrangements and report with exactness and regularity all his receipts, not for our satisfaction simply, but for his own credit and the protection of contributors, distinctly intimating to all that he was not an agent in our service or under our control. We trust this simple statement will make the matter clear. There are peculiar difficulties arising from the long continued visit and operations of a negro agent in this country arising from the different habits of the people and the unintentional occasion of offence or annoyance that may be given.

Great discretion is required on the part of any representative of the coloured race in view of the prejudice and hostility felt by many. He ought to be habitually circumspect in speech and in deportment. He should contract no debts, avoid all exaggeration in statement, be punctual in all his engagements, give his report with unfailing regularity, and never be beyond reach by the daily post. With prudence, humility and diligence, acting in this manner he may do a large amount of good; indiscretion on the contrary may prove the occasion of a serious extent of evil, and it is far better to be at home, than to have the good attempted evil spoken of. We are coming firmly to the conclusion that on the whole it is desirable to diffuse information, to give a fair representation of the wide field of operations, and to leave those who are interested to act on their own convictions. Let the Society grow from a simple but vital root. There may be less shew, but there will be more reality. A spring can never rise higher than its source. It requires no great genius to shew kindness, but in simple and sincere benevolence flowing from a divine source, there is a power that no genius can equal. A writer in one of the periodicals says:

"Howard was not a great man, though he was a great philanthropist. He possessed no towering genius, and as to acquirements, although his information was respectable in amount, he could not write and spell his own tongue correctly. Perhaps it was specially of the Lord to use such an instrument in so great a work, that none might be able to say, I also would be a philanthropist if I were a greater man. But Howard was true though he was not great. I

his private life had not sustained his public efforts, his public efforts, wanting a foundation, would have fallen flat on the ground. If the unhealthful cottages on his own property at Cardington had been left wet above and wet below, while he secured the rents out of the squalid inhabitants, he would not have been able to pour the balm of humanity on the barbarism of British and continental prisons. It was love that led him forth, and truth that made him strong. This is the way to win a battle. There lie the black, dense, imposing masses of the foe—the sins and sufferings of humanity. They are legion. Plunge into the nearest flank of the cloud-like host, and lay about heartily—*every man his own philanthropist*; it is probable your stroke will smite down some enemies and set some wretched captives free, but at the lowest and the worst, the effort will be healthful exercise for your own spiritual life. Have always in heart and hand a private, personal philanthropy. Within your reach there is some person or some family, drawn by vice or poverty, or both down towards the gulf, like a boat above the rapids of Niagara; rush in; lay hold. Wrap the line of human love around those that are ready to perish. Hang upon them, and haunt them, and refuse to let them go. Speak to men for God, and to God for men; and when you are tempted to despond, remember the words—“Love one another as I have loved you.”

It is not possible to imagine that half-a-dozen people, however humble in their station, with the spirit of Howard, or rather of the divine philanthropist, could have given their energies for the relief of the unsheltered victims of the Jamaica Outrage, without touching their case in some way. What tears were shed over the tragic narrative, and the affecting report of the Commissioners—what eloquent speeches in Parliament—what earnest remonstrances in the saloon of the Colonial Minister—what columns of rhetorical denunciation in the daily press—what earnest pleading and persuasion, and yet somehow, no way could be found for practical help. The year that is rolling onward to its close, has not a few causes of humiliation, in the bribery of electors, the want of commercial integrity, and in the succession of crimes of violence. The conscience of England has been perverted and blunted, but it will be the saddest thing of all if selfishness should wither the heart of our country. We trust this will not be, and that yet there will be a fair opportunity for the really benevolent to manifest their compassion, if those who have *said* so much about Jamaica will allow them to act, or the men will come forward who will give ground for confidence that something really effective will be *done*. Perhaps some humane Hebrew philanthropist like Sir Moses Montefiore will go on a special mission, and wipe out the stain for us. Dr. Hodgkin, if he had been spared, would have gone out with him at an hour's notice.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. JONES. No report.

MR. GORDON. No statement.

THE Chairman of the Finance Committee will attend to Miss Teal's application.

The Freed-Man.

NOVEMBER, 1867.

THE FREED-MAN.

Thanks to our kind and considerate friends who have begun a subscription list for the Magazine fund, the **FREED-MAN** continues to make its appearance. The first step is gained, we hope to a safe and useful course. We have no desire to over-estimate the **FREED-MAN** as a monthly publication. As to its literary pretensions, it is a very simple affair, but it happens to be the only public organ that aims to be representative of four millions or more, who ought to have fair consideration. The Freed-men in our colonies more especially need to have their condition constantly kept in public view. We say this quite irrespective of negro peculiarities. Here is a race of people in most respects at a disadvantage—with imperfect or injurious training—poorly instructed, unable, or it may be indisposed, to adopt the best means for their own improvement or protection. Naturally they may easily become the dupes of the designing, or the victims of the cruel. Events have shewn that they cannot be neglected without corresponding injury to the mother country. The mistakes made on the Negro Question arising from cupidity and pride, cost America myriads of lives, and millions of

treasure. We are very far from being out of danger. It is not wise therefore to put these people practically out of sight.

If this be admitted, nothing can be more suitable for protection and right understanding, than a really independent monthly periodical, unpretentious, but honest and impartial. There is no necessity that it should have any peculiar literary charm. Vigilance is chiefly required to note the circumstances that arise indicative of the real state of things, in order to prevent mischief, and to suggest without delay the means of redress.

To render this service efficiently, it is essential that the editor should be independent, and free to point out incipient evils, from whatever quarter or in whatsoever form they may appear. He can pretend to no infallibility, but unless he is left to watch the interests of the four millions of his sable clients without distracting counsels or menacing suggestions, his position will be embarrassing and his efforts perfectly useless. It is equally necessary that he should not abuse the confidence reposed in him for any private or particular interests.

Keeping steady in view the great object before him, he should not be subservient to any party, or lend himself to any prejudice. There should be found at all times in such an organ a generous appreciation of the work done by others privately or openly, for the welfare of the emancipated race. For example, the members of the Society of Friends have unquestionably been amongst the truest friends of education in Jamaica; from principle, from be-

nevolent feeling, and from habit, they are ready to lend their steady help; if on any account any of them fail to recognize the importance of our work, this is no reason why we should overlook or depreciate their service. Nothing can be more unworthy or more injurious than the keeping up of a little feud in the presence of adversaries to right and freedom, who are so numerous or so powerful. What does it matter whether our Society shall sink or rise, so that the real work of humanity is steadily advanced? One point is vital. The FREED-MAN must be solvent, and manifestly so. The practical question for those who are friendly to its object is to consider how it shall be kept free from every incumbrance of debt.

Let us look fairly at the difficulties we have to meet. We fear that the friends of the negro race are much fewer than many suppose. The fund for the purpose must come from a small number of contributors. Their kindness must never be thrown away. Direct contribution is the only means of support to which we should look. We have no moral right to use the money contributed from the best and simple motive in any kind of speculation.

For the same reason it is unwise and unjust to contract liabilities with no prospect of meeting them punctually and honourably. However small the fund devoted for the object, let us keep the expenditure within the amount. False shame may object to a revelation of weakness, but honesty, if feeble, may become strong. It costs far more to keep up appearances than to do real work. The deceptive policy of bustle, parade and pretention, is

thoroughly understood. Let us try the more original plan in statement and in action, of keeping by the exact truth.

If we do these things, the most subtle and determined opponent will have hard work to put us into a corner. We wish our readers therefore clearly to understand, that in continuing the FREED-MAN we are committed to no desperate enterprise. It would be a great personal convenience to us just now, to transfer the work into other hands, because of the claim on our best attention arising from other duties. We were rejoicing indeed in the prospect of being entirely freed from our post, when the absent editor threw across the Atlantic a cord of kindness to lash us to the helm. In other words, Dr. Tomkins writes to say, that he will take the personal pecuniary responsibility of paying the printer, and the printer accepts the terms. We have no alternative therefore but to keep on a little longer, with this condition, that we may be allowed to record in the FREED-MAN every penny we receive and what we are under the necessity to pay to meet inevitable expenses. We accept no other responsibility, and if our friends agree to strengthen our hands we hope to tell the editor on his return, that his kind and generous offer to pay the printer, has entailed upon him no loss. We incline to the belief indeed, that he will find a little surplus to meet other claims. We shall try our best that it may be so. The subscribers of the FREED-MAN will allow us to remind them that the year closed in August, but we go on a few months to begin anew at the beginning of next year. We

have been expecting for some time to have a remittance from our friends in Jamaica. If we do not hear from them they must expect their turn in the stirring up.

A WORD

FOR THE CONSIDERATE.

The truth it is said should not be spoken always, and at all times, nor to all people. There is a prudent reserve needful for the preservation of mutual confidence, and for the continuance of hearty co-operation. This we have borne in mind through months of almost solitary anxiety. But if a degree of reticence is needful in ordinary circumstances, there are seasons when it is essential for safety, for credit, and for usefulness that there should be the greatest transparency, and that the case as it is, should be made unmistakably manifest. In the last number of the **FREED-MAN** we felt bound within certain limits, to put our readers in possession of the facts necessary to establish a right understanding with the real friends of our object. However interested they may be in the welfare of the emancipated race, they cannot render efficient help unless, the executive of the society is equally in earnest with themselves in the furtherance of the cause. Without this, all their efforts will only be baffled and neutralized. Let them know where the impediment exists and there is a probability that it will be removed. Our friends have had time to consider what would have been the effect of the abrupt suspension of the **FREED-MAN** without notice and on the very eve of its publication. The Society of necessity must have lost its

visibility. The air would have been filled with idle rumours and injurious surmises, and the person left as its most prominent representative, and easiest of access must have suffered the reproach, met the enquiries and received the remonstrances of all who had complaints to make or claims to present. Now we must go a step further and to avoid offence as much as possible put a case hypothetically. Suppose the Secretary of a benevolent society from being conversant with the condition of the objects for whose welfare it is intended deeply concerned for their protection and relief. Their wants and perils are before his mind day and night. He is constrained to defend them against wrong and to provide for some of them timely succour. But the times are adverse,; parties who might help are divided or bitterly opposed. Other questions arise that absorb attention and engross interest. No substantial aid for the time can be gained. The supposed representative of the cause of humanity and civilization contents himself with striving to husband the small resources that may be available. Personally he adds nothing to the elastic item of "incidental expenses." He receives no remuneration for service, and so that a margin for safety and honesty may be kept, he cares under the circumstances for no requital. He finds however that without his knowledge and beyond his control, expenditure is incurred, that in a different state of things would be legitimate, but in the emergency is unwise and perilous. Virtually nevertheless he is made responsible. But we have no need to pursue an imaginary case further. We

trust that there will be just consideration. There never was a period when the condition of the Freed-men required closer and more careful attention. There are signs of re-action in America. The indications in Jamaica are not all hopeful. There is improvement in the circumstances of the Freed-men, but all observant men must know that there is constant danger of relapse. We want to see this Journal made a vigilant sentinel, a sound adviser and a faithful guardian. It may be so with a little considerate and timely help.

LETTER OF GENERAL PRYOR
TO AN AMERICAN JOURNAL.

"New York, Oct. 5, 1867.

My Dear Sir:—I was apprised, before the receipt of your letter, that a certain paper in Virginia had stigmatized me as a "Radical," and had otherwise imputed to me sentiments inimical to the interests of the South. But the silly story I disdained to contradict, while it rested on the authority of the irresponsible person who propagated it. Since you say my silence is construed into a sort of acquiescence in the reproach, I empower you to repel the accusation with the utmost energy of indignant denial. I have not the vanity to imagine that my opinions are of the least consequence to any one, but, because they have been brought into controversy, and have been the occasion of subjecting me to some unmerited animadversion, I will tell you, very frankly and freely, in what relation I stand to the politics of the day.

"In the first place, then, neither with politics nor parties have I the least concern or connection. On the downfall of the Confederacy I renounced forever every political aspiration, and resolved henceforth to address myself to the care of my family and the pursuit of my profession. But for all that I have not repudiated the obligations of good citizenship. When I renewed my oath of allegiance to the Union, I did so in good faith

and without reservation; and as I understand that oath, it not only restrains me from acts of positive hostility to the Government, but pledges me to do my utmost for its welfare and stability. Hence, while I am more immediately concerned to see the South restored to its former prosperity, I am anxious that the whole country, and all classes may be re-united on the basis of common interest and fraternal regard. And this object, it appears to me, can only be attained by conceding to all classes the unrestricted enjoyment of the rights guaranteed them by the laws, and obliterating as speedily and as entirely as possible the distinctions which have separated the North and the South into hostile sections. With this conviction, while I pretend to no part in politics, I have not hesitated in private discourse to advise my friends in the South frankly to "accept the situation;" to adjust their ideas to the altered state of affairs; to recognise and respect the rights of the coloured race; to cultivate relations of confidence and good-will toward the people of the North; to abstain from the profitless agitations of political debate; and to employ their energies in the far more exigent and useful work of material reparation and developement. Striving, out of regard to the South, to inculcate this lesson of prudent conduct, I have urged such arguments as these: That the negro is, in no sense, responsible for the calamities we endure; that, toward us, he has ever conducted himself with kindness and subordination; that he is entitled to our compassion, and to the assistance of our superior intelligence in the effort to attain a higher state of moral and intellectual developement; that, to assume he was placed on this theatre as a reproach to humanity and a stumbling-block in the progress of civilization, would be to impeach the wisdom and goodness of Providence; that considering the comparative numbers of the two races in the South, it would be the merest madness to provoke a collision of caste; in a word, that it is absolutely essential to the peace, repose and prosperity of the South that the emancipated class should be undisturbed in the enjoyment of their rights under the law, and should be enlightened to understand the duties and interest

of social order and well-being. But it has appeared to me that the chief obstacle to a complete and cordial re-union between the North and the South is found in *the suspicion and resentment with which the people of these sections regard each other.* Hence, while on the one hand assuring the Northern people of the good faith with which the South resumes its obligations in the Union, I have thought it not amiss, on the other, to protest to my Southern friends that *the mass of the Northern community are animated by far more just and liberal sentiments toward us than we are apt to suspect.*

"And thus, leaving to others the ostensible part in the work of reconstruction, and abstaining studiously from all political connection and activity, I have hoped in some measure and in a quiet way, to repair the evil I contributed to bring upon the South, by availing myself of every appropriate private opportunity to suggest these counsels of moderation and magnanimity. Passion, to which, in truth, we had abundant provocation, precipitated us into secession; reason must conduct us back into the path of peace and prosperity.

"Hard it may be to purge our hearts of the resentment and prejudices engendered by civil war, but until our minds be enlightened by a philosophic comprehension of the exigencies of our situation, we shall never recover the repose after which the wearied spirit of the South so eagerly pants.

"At whatever risk of personal interest—and you know it involves both obloquy and sacrifice to talk as I do—I am resolved to employ all of energy and intellect I may command, in the incessant endeavour to promote peace and good-will among the people of the late belligerent States. What the country needs, what in a most especial manner the South needs, is repose; freedom from the throes of political agitation, and leisure to recruit its exhausted energies. The experience of the last six years should have impressed on the minds of the American nation this most salutary lesson—a lesson sooner or later learned by every nation in the development of its own history—that civil war is the sum and consummation of all human

woe. Protesting solemnly the integrity of motive by which I was then actuated; yet, I never look abroad upon our wasted fields and desolated homes; I never contemplate the all-embracing ruin in which we are involved, the sad eclipse of our liberties and sinister aspect of the future, without inwardly resolving to dedicate all I possess of ability for the public service to the task of averting another such catastrophe, and to that end of cultivating a spirit of forbearance and good-feeling among all classes and all sections of the country.

"These, my dear sir, are the opinions, very briefly and dogmatically delivered, which I entertain touching the actual condition of the Southern States, and the policy proper for them to pursue in the present juncture. They are the result of anxious and conscientious reflection, of much observation on the popular temper of the North, and of extreme and unabated solicitude for the welfare of the community to which I am attached by the strongest ties of filial devotion. With the utmost sincerity of conviction, I believe that by a system of conduct in conformity to these suggestions, the Southern people may achieve a prosperity and happiness equal to any they ever enjoyed; while on the contrary, I am as firmly persuaded that by a vain and impatient resistance to an order of things they cannot change, and to a destiny they cannot escape, they will infinitely aggravate the miseries of their present condition, and besides bring down upon themselves calamities appalling to contemplate.

"I am not acquainted with the classification of parties, but if these opinions make me a 'Radical,' then I am a 'Radical;' for they are deliberately the opinions of

"Very truly yours,

"ROGER A. PRYOR."

COLONIZATION OF LIBERIA.

The first vessel that left this country, under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, with emigrants for Liberia, was the "Elizabeth," which sailed in February, 1820, with eighty-six black men from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Since that date, no year has passed without

the sailing of at least one vessel upon the same benevolent errand; and in some years the number of vessels that have departed for Liberia, laden with emigrants, have amounted to seven or eight. Last year there were 621 emigrants; in 1832 there were 796; and in 1853, 783; in other years fewer. The total number of settlers in Liberia, by emigration from this country, is 11,909; of these, 4,541 were born free, 344 purchased their freedom, and 5,957 were emancipated to go to Liberia. The Maryland Colonization Society has also settled, at "Maryland, in Liberia," 1,227 blacks, and the ships of the United States Government have landed, on the coast of Liberia, 5,722 negroes taken from the decks of captured slavers.

Of the 11,909 negro emigrants from the United States, 154 were from the New England States; 428 from the Middle States; 289 from the West; 10,365 from the Southern States, of whom 3,733 were from the single State of Virginia. During the fifty years of its organization, the American Colonization Society has received and expended in its work 2,141,507 dols., the largest receipts being in 1859, when 180,303 dols. was paid into the treasury. Since its organization, the Maryland State Society received 309,759 dols., and the societies of New York, Pennsylvania and Mississippi, during their independent operations, received 107,640 dols.

The nation that has thus been founded is engaged in commerce and agriculture, possesses a college, and a system of common schools; and in view of its age, position, origin, and the obstacles to its advancement, may be reckoned a perfectly successful experiment. A New York correspondent thus describes the commercial activity of Liberia, and also alludes to its moral influence upon Western Africa. He says:

"Eight vessels have been built here, five within a year—averaging twenty tons burthen. These have been built in our own ship-yards, by our own citizen ship builders. Besides these, twelve boats of the size of large whale boats have been built or purchased from foreigners, and ply between different trading points, purchasing palm oil. In addition to these, one or two small crafts have been pur-

chased abroad; orders for two more are soon to be met, and five more are now building.

"During the last few months, the Liberian traders and merchants have shipped larger quantities of palm oil than ever before in the same period. A few items will serve to show the progress which is making in this line. A friend informs me that he saw shipped at Palmas, in the mail steamer for Liverpool, one hundred and two casks of palm oil; and, a few days afterwards, in another steamer, one hundred and four casks were shipped from Grand Bassa.

"A like increase in the number of country cloths shipped from our ports is noticeable. This trade is mostly confined to Mesurado county, and consequently the cloths are brought in larger numbers to Monrovia than any other place. One merchant in this town received no less than 1,170 within twenty days. They are generally about six feet in length; but some are of an extraordinary size and very beautiful; one of my neighbours has one 22 feet long and 10 feet wide weighing 13½ pounds.

"Goods in abundance from England, Holland and Germany are now brought to our shores. Three steamers arrive every month in our waters; one, the mail steamer, stops at Cape Palmas; another belongs to a trading company in London, and stops at Monrovia and Bassa; the third, the property of still another company, runs between Sierra Leone and Sinou. Thus you will see that we are well supplied with English goods, and as the skill of our traders increases, they will soon be enabled to meet the demands of our natives. This will increase the intercourse between our civilized people and the heathen. Already at several of our trading ports the Liberians are striving to carry their religious character and their Christian habits with them. At Grand Cess sixteen men with their wives and children are gathered into a trading community; and the rule among them is 'that no trading is to be done on Sundays; if any palm oil is brought in on Sundays it is to be confiscated.' This rule, I am told, is rigidly enforced. Such communities, in the course of time, will line our coast, and penetrate the interior. By and by they will demand ministers and teachers!"

COOLIE SLAVERY.

It was recently stated that a cargo of coolies had arrived at New Orleans from Cuba, to be used as labourers on the Mississippi sugar plantations, and it is stated that Ah Yuo, a commissioner from the Chinese Government, has concluded a contract with a number of Louisiana, Alabama and Texas planters, to bring 5,000 Chinamen to that country for their use, and that they will soon arrive. Now that this new form of slavery is about to be introduced into that country, one that is scarcely less revolting than the African slavery, the following facts derived from a foreign source will be read with painful interest, and may serve to enlighten some minds.

"The principal ports from which coolies are drawn are Hong Kong, Macao, Canton, Amoy and Swatow. Emigration from the north of China has been attempted, but without success. The northern Chinese are greatly attached to their homes, poor and miserable as these are, and would look with suspicion upon any proposal which would remove them from their accustomed haunts. The French Government endeavored to induce the peasantry to emigrate by issuing advertisements, with detailed conditions, in some of the principal northern cities, but their invitations produced no effect on the population. Bonded coolies are demanded by and deported to the following places, which are arranged in the order of their importance and urgency of demand:—to Peru, to Cuba, to British West Indies (principally Demerara and Trinidad), Dutch Guiana, Tahiti, India, and Java. The coolie trade to Peru and to Cuba is entirely in the hands of private contractors—Peruvians, Spaniards, Portuguese and French. It is carried on entirely from Macao, with the exception of one establishment at Canton, that of a Frenchman, who ships to Havana. There are at Macao six or eight depots, from which about 80,000 or 40,000 coolies are shipped every year to Peru and Cuba. The coolies are furnished to the depots by recruiting agents, Chinese or Portuguese, many of them men of very disreputable character, and not a few more than suspected of being connected with piracy. It is almost needless to remark

that they resort to most unscrupulous means for obtaining recruits.

"Coolies at a Macao depot cost the trader from 35 dollars to 70 dollars each. The number of ships at the disposal of the Macao traders is limited, English and American ships being forbidden to carry Macao coolies, and it being seldom that German vessels can be induced to engage in this service. The ships employed are under military equipment and discipline, somewhat resembling English convict ships; the coolies on board them are only allowed an airing on deck by squads of twenty to forty together, and the whole proceeding resembles the middle passage in its general features; but the coolies being far less submissive than negroes, revolts and mutinies frequently occur. Suicides are common, and the mortality is very great, averaging as high as 26 per cent. In April, 1866, 550 Chinamen were burned to death on the ship *Napoleon Canavero*, in a conflagration purposely kindled by some mutineers. During the eight months from August, 1866, to April, 1866, no less than 16 cases of mutiny—many of them having very serious results—were reported in Hong Kong papers, all but two of them having occurred on board ships sailing from Macao. These circumstances tend to raise the price of a Macao coolie. At Callao they are sold at an average price of \$300, and at Cuba they often 'fetch' \$500. The contracts run for eight years. The Macao coolies are all males, no woman being ever shipped there; the men are selected entirely for physical qualities."

SOUTHERN ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The *New York Observer* says: "Our readers have been informed that the Messrs. Appleton & Co., and other publishing houses of this city, have made large donations of school books to aid in carrying out the purposes of Mr. Peabody's munificent donation to the cause of Education in the South. The character of those houses is too well known to believe that any other than suitable and truthful books would be sent as their donation, but the following extract from an article in the *Houston (Texas) Telegraph*, copied from the *Louisville Courier*, with the

endorsement that 'it expresses our sentiments exactly,' is a specimen of the manner in which the gift is regarded by some people in the South:

"Those eminently philanthropic humanitarians, Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., and A. S. Barnes & Co., publishers, somewhat noted, have opened their large hearts, and presented the Peabody Committee with one or two hundred thousand copies of text-books for the use of schools to be established under that most munificent gift. Now we would rather see two hundred thousand vipers uncoil themselves and crawl over the whole face of our country than the same number of the Messrs. Appletons' or the Messrs. Barnes' text books. They are no more nor less than text lessons, inculcating the most undying, malicious hatred of our people—text-lessons of the vilest and most slanderous lies that were ever fabricated to instil poisonous and erroneous ideas into the pliant minds of our coming generation. We visited the "mammoth establishments" of these people during a late Northern tour, and we glanced through some of their "publications," some of which will be of this same generous donation to the Peabody Fund, and we do now most solemnly declare that rather than see one of our Southern youth imbibe the prejudice, learn the lies, con over the slanders herein, we would see them grope on for ever with only the great lessons of nature, which we avow teacheth no falsehoods, as their "textbooks."

"We are disposed to do all in our humble power to restore our unfortunate country to its former happiness and prosperity, we are willing to strike hands with all those of the North, and we know, thank God, there are many noble and glorious spirits there, unshackled by bigotry, fanaticism, or prejudice, who will walk with us to that end; but from the malicious, fanatical, fratricidal, Puritanical, psalm-singing, Appletons, Barneses, and Harpers, Good Lord deliver us."

THE THINGS OF OTHERS.

Look not on your own things only,
Ye do not live alone,
Not by one man or by one race
Can all earth's work be done.

And the members of the body,
Which seem the feeblest, share
The labour, and are even,
Perchance, most needed there.

Look not on your own things only,
Ye cannot see them so:
Too dim the eye of Selfishness.
Ever the Truth to know.
Along life's crowded pathway
The multitude goes on,
And he must fall or cause to fall,
Who deems himself alone.

On the things of others, also
Look, every man and race,
So shall all live in fellowship
Of wise and helpful grace.
Alas! for how much longer
Shall men devourers be,
Consumed of one another,
Though but one family?

If there be who are higher
Than others of their kind,
By richer gifts exalted
In soul, or heart, or mind—
It is that they may minister
To those they soar above:
The privilege is aye to serve
In God's great realm of love.

E. S. G. S.

Ipswich, October 16th, 1867.

CASH STATEMENT FOR THE MONTH.

CONTRIBUTIONS.		£	s.	d.
Rev. R. Shaen		1	1	0
Wm. Shaen Esq.		1	0	0
John Carr, Esq.		1	0	0
Anna Maria R.		1	0	0
William Grundy, Esq.		10	0	
Benjamin Scott, Esq.		5	0	
William Tuck, Esq.		5	0	
Miss Saunders and friend		3	6	
Miss Saunders		2	6	
M. A. Jacob		3	0	

5 10 0

Paid freight for Jamaica—portage and postage for Magazines and Letters		0	19	3
In hand		£4	10	9

Anarews, Printer, 7, Duke St., Bloomsbury.

THE FREED-MAN.

THE SCHOOL-MASTER IN THE SOUTH.

"Let the soldier be abroad if he will: he can do nothing in this age. There is another personage, a personage less imposing in the eyes of some—perhaps insignificant. The school-master is abroad, and I trust to him, armed with his primer, against the soldier in full military array." The truth of this famous sentiment of Lord Brougham is receiving a most remarkable confirmation in the progress of education in the Southern States of America. "While I was waiting for the cars in a store in Corinth, Miss., last week," wrote a gentleman, under date of April 29th, 1867, "an old gentleman came in and enquired, 'Do you buy lead?' On receiving an affirmative reply, he said, 'My little contrabands have been packing up bullets on the battle field, and have sent them in by me to buy spelling books!'" In the light of this thrilling incident we may see at a glance the vastness and the moral sublimity of the change that is coming over the South. Our own countrymen owe it to the credit of their own intelligence to make themselves better acquainted with the facts, that are second to none in importance. The flippancy with which some speak of the work of education amongst the Freedmen of America, and their desire to dismiss the whole subject from their attention, only reveals the shallowness of their views and the very doubtful character of their interest in the great movement. We avail ourselves of a most able article in the *New York Tribune* of October 18th, 1867, to supply information that will be exceedingly welcome to the friends who are concerned to secure the continuance of the *FREED-MAN* and to maintain its impartial and independent character. Before the war a million men connected with the Slaveocracy monopolized the property, the capital and the education of the Southern States, and controlled eleven millions of labourers, who were treated as serfs without property, and systematically left uninstructed. While the slaves were kept in ignorance by the force of all, the "poor whites" were as effectually debarred from receiving education.

The United States Census report of 1860 shews that in fifteen slave states education was given to one in every four and four-fifths. Comparisons with

individual States, are equally conclusive; but we need not weary the reader with the figures. It was the boast of the slave-holders that in the Southern States education was untaxed. The reason was this; no rate was made for the support of free schools for the poor, but the higher schools and colleges for the exclusive class were liberally endowed. The object was to keep the "poor whites" and the negroes down on the same level. Fifteen years ago a scheme was proposed to employ the whites in manufactures, but it was fiercely denounced in the famous "Gregg pamphlet" on the score that if the whites were brought together they would naturally pick up new ideas of labour and the value of education.

The policy of the dominant class was to keep up the mutual alienation. Faded "Yankees" and "poor whites" were employed as overseers, drivers, and slave catchers, and it was the kind master who healed the wound and rescued the slave from his pursuers and persecutors. The war has resulted not only in the emancipation of the negroes, but in the liberation to a great extent of the degraded whites. The north charged itself with the duty of educating the South, beginning with the negroes, and it is nobly fulfilling its generous task.

"Necessarily the labour had to be performed in a great measure through the various missionary societies of the North, and those early engaged in the work. We have at hand the several annual reports of the American Missionary Association only, of all those engaged in the work, but these reports are particularly interesting and suggestive. On May 1, 1867, this Association finished the sixth year of labour among the Freed-men of the South. When the Rebellion began, a few slaves, eagerly seizing the opportunity for attaining their freedom, gathered near Fortress Monroe and were held by Gen. Ben. F. Butler, as "contraband of war." Near the Fortress, and on the very spot where the first slave ship landed its cargo, the American Association built its first school for these Freed-men, and sent them food, clothing, and teachers. Other teachers 'followed the flag' as it penetrated into the South, and established schools in the rear of the armies until the close of the war, when the force of teachers was increased and the efforts of the Association were extended to all the States lately in Rebellion. The results of the labours of 1866—7 were most encouraging, and show not only an increased desire on the part of the Freed-men to obtain education, but renewed efforts on that of the Association to impart it. The statistics of the Association show that 506 teachers were in its employ that year, and that they gave schooling to 56,919 coloured scholars. These labourers are sustained by the free contributions of the Northern people, and the work is necessarily limited to the amount for which the contributions will pay. The receipts for 1865 were, 253,000 dols. in cash, and 105,441, dols., or a total of 358,486, dols., or nearly three times the amount given by the entire Slave States in 1860 as endowment for their free schools. The expenditures of the American Association from May 1, 1866, to May 1, 1867, have been stated at 500,000 dols. The necessities of the coloured children alone, are estimated to be at

least 20,000 teachers instead of 506; and the cost of these at the inadequate salary of 150 dols. per annum would be 3,000,000 dols. instead of half a million. This estimate is based on the supposition that there are 1,000,000 coloured children requiring education in the South—a rather exaggerated estimate I imagine; but as there are at least three-fourths of that number, and as not more than 150,000 are now being annually taught, there is still room for doing more good.

“The chief agency in the education of the Freed-men, however, is the Freed-Men’s Bureau, under Gen. Oliver O. Howard. This department of the Government was organized by Congress as the best legal method of giving aid to, and securing the rights and education of the Freed-men, and has been in operation for three years. The third semi-annual report of the Superintendent of the Schools of the Bureau, is dated Jan 1, 1867, and represents the condition of the schools at that time. It includes the day, night, and Sunday schools under the charge of the Bureau, and numbers conducted and supported by the negroes without white aid, and shows that on Jan. 1, 1867, there were 1,496 schools, 1,737 teachers, and 95,167 coloured and 470 white scholars in attendance. Add this to the totals reported by the American Association, and the result of the labours of these two agencies alone reveal the startling intelligence that 2,243 are engaged in educating 152,086* coloured, and 470 white scholars. It is believed that in the present disorganized state of Southern society a smaller proportion than this of white children are in attendance on the public schools. Four hundred and seventy whites only, take advantage of these schools! The number is small, but it is the entering of the wedge. ‘Many of my pupils, writes the teacher of a coloured school in Southern Virginia, ‘teach white children at home, who are too prejudiced to come to our school.

“Nothing can exceed the enthusiasm of the negroes on this subject, and the earnestness with which they pursue the opportunity for obtaining an education is finely illustrated in the facts and incidents collected by the various agencies. They have established private schools, supported by voluntary taxation, in almost every county in Virginia. There are more coloured than white teachers of Freed-men in Maryland. In Georgia the negroes have during the passing year organized 175 private schools, for which they demand teachers, and offer to pay for their services; while in the same state 51 of the 146 schools in operation in January were supported entirely by the Freed-men. The superintendent of education in that State says in his report of the above facts, that so far as his knowledge extends he has observed no abatement in the desire for education which was so enthusiastically exhibited by the coloured people ‘when

* These figures do not represent the number of coloured persons in the South who are studying, but those actually in the schools. Mr. Alvord, the Freed-men’s Bureau School Superintendent, reports the great desire prevalent among the negroes who cannot be accommodated in the schools, to do the best they can without teachers, and he estimated the more advanced to the study of the spelling book at more than half a million.

freedom came,' and he adds that they make quite as rapid and substantial progress as any pupils I have ever seen in schools of similar grades. *The Macon (Georgia) Daily Telegraph* in giving an account of the coloured schools of that city, says :

"In the morning schools about 600 attend; and as many as 350 sometimes attend the night school, which, indeed, may be denominated a *mixed* school, on account of the heterogeneous character of the pupils; for from old men of 70 down to the mere child, and from the old married dame to the sprightly yellow lass, all sizes and ages may be seen there.'

"Except in the town of Chattanooga itself there did not exist in 1860, within a radius of 20 miles, a school of any character whatever. Children have been born in the rural districts of Northern Georgia and East Tennessee, have grown up to be men, entered the rebel armies, and perished without having any practical knowledge of a school house. Now, Chattanooga has six schools for 600 coloured pupils, and there are numerous others in the vicinity. The following significant letter from the Alabama superintendent of the American Association is a sample of hundreds from every State of the South :

"'MONTGOMERY, ALA., Feb. 14, 1867.

"'I fear I have called upon you almost too heavily. I am very anxious to have more teachers. Have houses rented standing empty for want of teachers. Send us a good teacher for Gen. Hardee's plantation, and one dozen more if you possibly can. I want two for Girard, two for Gainsville, one for Evergreen, two more for Marion, where Mr. Steward is doing finely; two for La Fayette, &c., &c. We have the houses ready, and will pay board and transportation.'

"A teacher at Beaufort, N.C., writes in this vein :

"'I have one Latin scholar. Instead of being envious, the others seem proud of him. The members of my Primer class are nearly all men and women who work out during the day, and have little time to study. But they are learning very fast. One man from Mississippi came two nights and learned the alphabet. He returned home thankful for so much. When he bade me good bye I saw tears in his eyes, while he wished 'they would send teachers down where he lived.'

"Of the 152,086 coloured children before mentioned as being in the schools now established at the South, it is interesting to know, as fixing the degree of proficiency attained, that about one-seventh were learning the alphabet, three-sevenths could spell and read easy lessons, two-sevenths were advanced readers, one-sixth were studying geography one-half were studying arithmetic, one-third could write, and one-fiftieth were engaged in studying the higher branches. Only one-seventh were over sixteen years of age; and one-fifth of those in attendance on the schools of these Agencies paid their tuition regularly. The Bureau supported seventeen industrial schools, for the benefit of 1,279 scholars, in which sewing, knitting, straw braiding, cutting, repairing, &c., were taught,

but more particularly was attention paid to preparing the pupils to become teachers of their own race. It is not believed that it is possible nor is it considered politic to supply the whole South with Northern teachers; the Freed-men are eager to become their own educators, and numerous normal, training and industrial schools, in which they are taught not only how to teach but to live economically and like christians, are being organized. The American Association is now engaged in building and equipping ten of these normal schools and as at Hampton, Virginia, a farm and a training school for coloured young men desirous of becoming farmers. The desire in the negroes to become teachers is one of the most encouraging of the developments. The proportion of coloured to white teachers now in the employ of the Bureau American Association is about one to five.

Although the unfortunate prejudice between the poor whites and negroes still exists, and the former do not generally accept of the education thus tendered to all alike, yet the bitterness and acrimony is less publicly displayed, and the open opposition to the existence of the schools is almost entirely removed. If the press of the South was not under the control of the remnants of the old aristocracy, its commendations of the negro schools would be encouraging to our friends. The fact that the newspapers thus controlled, are lately becoming aroused to the importance of re-establishing schools for the whites is encouraging. Two years ago the papers bitterly assailed and abused the negro teachers actually inciting the whites to riot. Six months ago they quieted down, and like the politicians, ignored the subject, as if in doubt how to treat the movement then so full of promise; to-day they notice and in many instances commend the negro, and what is more important, urge the improvement of the white schools. The *Norfolk Virginian* of July 2, 1866, rejoiced openly at the breaking up of the coloured schools of that city. The *Norfolk Journal* of June 1, 1867, published an article on the re-established schools which the editor had inspected, and in which he said that he was 'literally astonished at the display of intelligence by the pupils. Abstruse questions in arithmetic were promptly answered, difficult problems solved, the reading beautifully rhetorical, and the singing charming. A system of quiet healthy gymnastics was combined with the intellectual culture of the pupils. The ladies who teach in this school were courteous and kind, and took great pleasure in exhibiting the various faculties of their scholars. Their exertions must necessarily advance the coloured boys and girls among us to a high order of talent, and more encouragement must be given by our Councils to our public schools to prevent our white children from being outstripped in the race for intelligence by their sable competitors.' In March 1867, a resolution was introduced in the City Council of Nashville, Tennessee, providing for the opening of the free schools for coloured children. After the usual routine of committees and reports, this measure became a law, and a conservative Nashville paper consoled those citizens who were inclined to grumble at the increase in their taxes with the reflection that 'these schools are the sure and

indeed the only means of transforming the enfranchised slaves into intelligent, hard-working, frugal, and, therefore, tax-paying citizens.'

"Such statements of facts like these are having their natural effect in arousing a wholesome rivalry between the white and coloured scholars; and that it is accompanied by no increased bitterness of feeling, but, on the contrary, is generating a spirit of kindness, is clearly evident. The Freed-men's Bureau Superintendent of schools in his report says that 'the last six months have been marked by important changes. The white population of the South has essentially modified its opinions as to the safety and their pecuniary interest in the education of the negroes.'

"In the majority of the States the whites are favourable to the establishment of schools, or at least offer no resistance. These are encouraging statements and go to indicate that the prejudices between the two races will disappear as rapidly as the ignorance is dispelled."

The friends of the Freed-men have every reason to feel satisfied with the part they have taken in the advancement of this great work, and we have no doubt that acting from sound principles and looking beyond merely national interests, to the great cause of humanity, they will continue to watch the whole movement and lend to it all the aid in their power. It is one thing to contribute to the hubbub of a popular agitation, and another to gird ourselves for real work when the excitement has ceased; the exalted spirits who rose for the hour to the "greatness of the occasion" no doubt feel rather flat now that the "enthusiastic meetings" have subsided to a dead calm. They tell us the Americans feel rather indignant at the offer of continued help or sympathy. Perhaps there may be some who cherish this cheap indignant feeling. It will be found that it is nearly all they have ever done for the cause at any stage, and on enquiry it will be found that they have some scheme of their own in which they feel more than a general interest, "By their fruits ye shall know them."

MOSES MOORE.

We have had the pleasure of receiving a very satisfactory note from Mr. Moore whose previous career was sketched by himself in a recent number of the **FREED-MAN**. In a note dated "631, Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October 23rd, 1867," he says: "I have much pleasure in reporting to you my arrival in Philadelphia, on the 18th of this month, making the passage in fifty-one days from London. We had a very stormy voyage, so much so that we had two very narrow escapes from a watery grave. I have every reason to believe I shall do well here in school teaching as already the expectation is held out to me to fill at once the place of school-master that has become vacant. Just now I am staying at the residence of the Rev. Elisha Weaver, a coloured minister and editor of the *Christian Recorder*, the organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in this city. He has voluntarily given me an asylum on very honourable terms. Also he has taken me into his office where I assist in

writing articles for his paper. How providential are the dealings of God!" We see in the case of Mr. Moore, how a word in season of encouragement and direction may be useful. He has our best wishes. There are some indications that the political anti-slavery party in Philadelphia is rather wavering, the Society of Friends keep quietly and steadfastly to their work of education, but the politicians are not so interested in plans of benevolence, and somewhat uncertain as to the direction they may take: just as it is here. A correspondent of the *Boston Congregationalist and Recorder* writing from Pennsylvania, says:

"One does not wonder at the cheerful contentment which marks the people of the Keystone State as he traverses their glorious heritage. Rich bottom lands whose grass half hides the sleek cattle, as along the Delaware, successive ridges of high yet not over steep hills tilled to their tops, as from Philadelphia to Harrisburg, picturesque glens and river courses among the hills, as about Easton, fertile valleys of fifteen to twenty miles width, guarded on either hand by mountain ranges, as the valley of Cumberland, wild mountain scenery like that of the Alleghanies—these are but part of the natural beauties of Pennsylvania.

"The tourist in Pennsylvania will frequently see men with untrimmed beards and broad brimmed sugar loafed black hats, long hair, and somewhat peculiar costume. Their very name was unknown to me until I resided a while in the Cumberland valley. There are three divisions of them named, if I have the right orthography, Dunkards, Menonists, and River Brethren. I believe that one set shave the head. They are of German origin. They are very upright, sober and thrifty. They used to be very ignorant of books, but now many of them educate their children. They support their poor, never go to law, commonly abstain from voting and have conscientious scruples about fighting.

"Gov. Curtin respected these scruples during the conscriptions, and when he was subsequently a candidate for re-election profited by his kindness. They were holding a protracted meeting near C———where it was very likely an ordinance would be passed forbidding any voting. It appears that the excitement of the times had led a few to break over the established custom. Suddenly the worthy Governor appeared in town and with his intimate friend Col. McC——, visited the meeting. The proposed ordinance was not passed, and at the next election the regions where the sect was numerous, gave unprecedented Republican majorities.

"I spent a Sabbath at Chambersburg. Two years ago I had visited the place and found the streets lined with chimney stacks, open cellars and *debris*. Now I found long lines of stones, four stories high with iron fronts, beautiful residences, and elegant public buildings. Already the new town compares favourably with the pleasant Chambersburg of old.

Chambersburg abounds in negroes. Every democrat will tell you that they are a worthless class, as if it were possible that they could be anything else than degraded, where no one will sell them land, where no church will admit

them to the body of the house, where, while white children have fine large school buildings and pleasant schools, *their* children must be thankful for low studded, poorly lighted, wretchedly ventilated school rooms of a single story with smoke grimed walls, (I speak in this particular from observation two years ago) where men of all parties denounce negro suffrage, where the spirit of caste ceases not with the grave but coloured dust is not allowed to pollute any cemetery of the superior race save that of the paupers.

"The negroes recently from the South are much superior to the old coloured residents. To me it is not strange. Why should not a thoroughly outcast position be worse for the character than a system where self-interest led at least one man to take some care of the negro.

"One noble lady of C—— whose name is remembered with gratitude by many who experienced her kindness in the hospital, or the field during the war, has sought to help up the coloured people. With hardly a word of encouragement from democrat or republican, she has persevered in her hard task. She has met them in assemblies of 200, and tried to induce them to save their money, buy land and erect houses. For a long time she could find no land. Nobody would sell for 'niggers,' or if anybody would the Germans would anticipate her in buying to prevent coloured ownership. At last one of the bitterest democrats sold her \$2,500 worth, and from that the negroes have bought 15 lots, and have put up seven or eight houses. They have also deposited in the bank, under her influence, \$800. All this she has accomplished during the last eight months."

The statement respecting the inferiority of the provision for the negroes as to school accommodation indirectly confirms the report Mr. Jones gives of Canada. Their politicians, unless they have a higher aim than party strife, are sure to push the negro to the wall. It is for those who have the nobler spirit of humanity and greater sincerity, to come forward and avert the dangers that yet threaten the cause of freedom and christian civilization.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. M. M. Personal considerations are of small moment. We dismiss them. Let us be faithful to its *object*, and the Society will be in no real danger.

The Freed-Man.

DECEMBER, 1867.

FORECAST.

The present state of things in relation to the Freed-men should be thoughtfully considered by all who take a sincere interest in their welfare. Their condition varies in different countries. In some places they are completely removed from the observation of those who laboured for their emancipation. It was enough to know that they were set free; in what condition and with what prospects, there was not much concern to know, and only in the lurid light of some insurrectionary outbreak will their attention be again awakened. We had a fearful gleam of light on the condition of Jamaica. Thousands of pounds were spent to obtain the desired information and in the effort to secure a judicial condemnation of the needless and criminal sacrifice of life. But here public interest terminated. We were in a position to know, that practically the case of the Freed-men was ignored. The absorption of thought and the diversion of effort on other and more exciting questions, rendered the persistent representation of their case very unwelcome, not to say offensive. The FREED-MAN would have been silenced months ago, but for the conviction of one or two persons, that its discontinu-

ance would involve moral defection in a cause that has lost none of its importance with the course of events. There is a sure return to the chronic state of indifference on the part of many who regard themselves as the chief representatives of the cause of negro emancipation. With this lapse of interest on one side, there is the steady growth of the oppressive spirit on the other. Any one who has marked attentively the American correspondence of the *Times*, must have observed a preparation for what is called the *reaction*. The enfranchised Freed-men are charged with using their privilege of voting ostentatiously, and the determination is expressed to put them down. A correspondent of an American journal writing from Georgia says: "You would hardly believe were I to tell you the absurd hopes excited in the Southern bosom by recent democratic successes. One result the planters regard as certain, 'we shall all be paid for our niggers' they say, 'in less than three years.' I know of several planters who have already made out all the necessary papers, with descriptions, affidavits &c., to support their claims. A recent telegram tells us: 'the white Conservative Convention in South Carolina, has issued an address to the people of the country protesting against the negro supremacy.'"

All this means mischief. Our commercial classes to a large extent, under a sad delusion, lent their support to the Southern Confederacy, and the same spirit still exists. The consequences of a return to an arbitrary and oppressive system will not be confined to the immediate sufferers. Injustice is ter-

ribly inexpedient, as events have shewn. It would have been grateful to the feelings of every one concerned for the honour of our country, if, at any stage of the Jamaica agitation, the proposal had been made, to restore the humble dwellings of the innocent sufferers of Morant Bay. If ten, if five, if three of our public men had been so minded, this act of humanity would have been performed. With a little friendly influence on the part of the same public leaders, the Society represented by this Journal, would know nothing of embarrassment; but the probability is, that with one or two honourable exceptions, no parliamentary friends has the time to glance over its pages. The strain arising from public questions is so constant, that a periodical of this nature is never looked into. Is it wise, is it honourable, is it right, is it safe, to remand these four millions of people into the shade?

Happily a very small number of sincere friends will suffice to hold up the light steadily. We have received indirectly the intimation that after the independent course we have taken, we must expect to suffer the penalty of pecuniary liability. That will not disconcert us, if at the eleventh hour we receive the simple aid required, in the form of small subscriptions. Let us know the course in which things are drifting, that we may be prepared. One word more. The representatives of the Freed-men should understand that in order to the necessary confidence, there should be no uncertainty as to their principles or aim, no fitfulness or caprice, no random speculations, and no irregularity or neglect. We are

quite sure that there are conscientious and benevolent people in this country, far more than enough to afford all the support needful for this object if the proper means are taken, and it is really deserved. They will now generously overlook the loss incurred by well-meant but unsuccessful speculations, if they can clearly see simplicity of aim and an unwavering purpose. Confidence is involuntary, where there is transparent candour, exactness and fidelity in the least thing as in the greatest, and a moderate share of common sense, trust is a matter of necessity. Just now that confidence is of such importance that it is utterly inexcusable not to adopt the methods by which it may be secured. We hope on the return of the editor, to be relieved from a post, in which we must in frankness say, it was unfair in every way to place us. We shall not however regret either the inconvenience, or the trial, if the advocacy of the cause of the Freed-men shall be thereby continued. There was no honest course open to us but to make the attempt at least to avoid an abrupt and unexplained termination of the Journal. We are fully sensible of the kindness of those who have forwarded subscriptions, and grateful for the kind terms in which they have shewn the appreciation of our service. We can desire no greater satisfaction than to see the FREED-MAN perpetuated and made, as it soon might be, more effective.

THE HURRICANE AT ST. THOMAS.

A terrific hurricane broke over this island on the forenoon of Tuesday, the 30th of October, and continued until

four o'clock. It commenced almost without any warning or indication, the barometer standing steady, about 30 degrees, up to that time, and within one hour a great part of the town was in ruins. Stone-built houses were hurled together, and vessels in the harbour were either sunk, smashed to pieces, or driven ashore dismasted. Some of the crews were saved with difficulty, but a large number were drowned, and many persons ashore were crushed under their falling houses or knocked down and killed by uprooted trees, tiles and slates which were flying about with fearful velocity. On the following morning (Wednesday) the inhabitants wandered from their dismantled houses, there to realize the immense destruction, to look after the dying, and to recover and bury the dead. The shore was strewn with the washings of the ocean, timbers and spars of vessels, smashed boats, &c.; here and there a corpse.

As viewed from the sea the spectacle of desolation was equally appalling. The harbour was seen strewn with wrecks, the lighthouse gone, and many houses roofless. A confused mass, near the middle of the harbour, built up of crushed hulls, broken spars, and loose cordage, was formed by the ship, *British Empire*, lately out from England with 3,800 tons of coals for the use of the Royal Mail Company; alongside her was the steamer *Columbian*, belonging to the West Indian and Pacific Steam Navigation Company, in from Liverpool, but half an hour before the awful crash came, with a cargo valued at more than £200,000, and now showing nothing but funnel, masts and rigging above

water; right underneath these two were a French bark and a brig. Nearer to the shore lay the Spanish war steamer, *Nunez de Velasco*, and a French mail steamer, these two alone, out of the many vessels lying in the harbour, lived through the hurricane. Dotted over the harbour were masts showing a few feet above water, marking the spots where the various schooners and other craft had gone down; and on the beach all around lay other vessels, hurled by the force of wind and wave far upon the land, some positively in the streets of the town. A further survey showed more equally terrible casualties. Round the island to the left of the town, looking from the sea, lay in one cluster, five large steamers, including the *Derwent*, belonging to the Royal Mail Company, so crushed together that to distinguish masts and funnels proper to each was impossible.

The sad intelligence came that other steamers of the company were lost at sea; the *Wye* and the *Rhone* with 150 souls on board had perished. The *Tyne*, sadly crippled, her foremast and its rigging lying on the deck, steamed into the harbour, bringing the intelligence. By four o'clock on the afternoon of the 30th October, 292 bodies had been washed and buried. The anxiety and suspense of the friends of the seamen and passengers felt at Southampton before the arrival of the *Douro* was most intense. The list of the saved has been read by hundreds of anxious eyes to ascertain whether the name of a husband, a son, a brother, or a friend was enrolled among those who had escaped with their lives. The consternation and distress of the great

majority was indescribable. A subscription is open for the relief of the wives and families of those who have perished, under the auspices of the Mayor of Southampton. The loss of the Royal Mail Company is estimated at £240,000 sterling.

The Consul at St. Thomas offers to receive subscriptions, and would have made an appeal for the black population who have suffered, but some of them, he says, have behaved badly.

TORTOLA.

This island, the scene of a great calamity, in the recent hurricane, belongs to Great Britain, having become a British possession in 1666. It is twelve miles in length, and four miles in breadth, and consists mostly of a range of hills rising to 1,600 feet in elevation. On the northern part is a harbour within which the principal town is placed. The government was vested in a President and Executive Council, and a Legislature. The President was Sir Arthur Rumbold, Bart., who arrived at the end of the year 1865, succeeding Mr. Longden. The population was estimated at 6,441, of whom scarcely a twelfth was white. The cultivation of sugar, once considerable, had almost been abandoned; the island was not adapted for it. The single ridge which formed the island of Tortola, was from 800 to 1,200 feet high, with sides so steep that they could only be cultivated in terraces, supported by low stone walls; and the cost of carrying canes to the mill would alone make the cultivation of sugar unprofitable at the present ordinary prices. There are some fertile spots

between the foot of the ridge and the sea, but of no great extent. The industry of the people was being directed to cotton, of which 35,533 lbs. were exported in 1867. The exports amounted in value to £8,638; they consisted chiefly of cattle and small stock, and cotton. The trade was conducted almost entirely with the Danish island of St. Thomas. Of those who made any religious profession, the majority were Wesleyans. Forty per cent. of the births were illegitimate. The Blue Book of the colony for 1865 gave an unfavourable account of the progress of education in Tortola. No children over twelve years of age were admitted into the daily schools of the Church or Wesleyans, it being desired that they should be then engaged in husbandry, but the Colonial Secretary reported that, in fact, the growing generation was less disposed to labour than the preceding, and that every year showed the labouring population to be fast falling into a state of semi-barbarism.

NEGRO POPULATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

General Howard, the superintendent of the Freed-men's Bureau, has written a letter in reply to an inquiry made of him, whether the negro population has increased or decreased since 1860. He states that carefully prepared statistics warrant the conclusion that since 1860 the aggregate negro population of the United States has increased. The decrease, heretofore alleged, he says, was based in part on his report of last year, which was estimated from meagre, and in some cases, inaccurate statistics.

The apparently diminished rate of increase of that population in the entire South is accounted for by negro population from 1850 to 1860. General Howard estimates that at the close of the rebellion they numbered 4,500,000. As a reason for an increase during the war, he says that with the exception of about 250,000 who were in the Northern army, the negroes were "but little exposed to the hazards and vicissitudes of war, and to a great extent preserved their organization as labourers throughout the struggle. One of the best arguments against the theory of gradual extinction, based upon the alleged thriftlessness of freedmen is found in the fact, that, despite the terrible drought of 1866 and the consequent failure of crops, and discouragement of farm labourers, and despite damaging rains, and overflow in the Mississippi valley, during the present year, the cotton crop of 1867 is estimated by high authority at 2,500,000 bales, being nearly two-thirds of the largest crop ever produced, and the grain crop is double any ever raised in the Southern States, while there has been a fair yield of rice, sugar, and tobacco." The annual report of the Freed-men's Bureau, which will be presented to Congress this month, will show that during the last fiscal year the Bureau furnished an average daily of 11,658 rations to destitute persons in the South: that it possesses 215,024 acres of abandoned land, and 959 different lots and buildings in towns; that it gave relief to 233,372 persons, the highest number being in July, 82,000, *and considerably more than half being destitute whites*; that it has in operation 2,207 schools, with 2,442

teachers, of whom 699 are negroes and 139,735 negro scholars. The negroes however own 391 school buildings, and pay the tuition fees of 10,026 of these scholars. The Bureau during eleven months ending with August expended \$3,597,397. The Bureau goes out of existence by legal limitation in July, 1868.

DESPATCH FROM THE PRESIDENT OF TORTOLA.

The following despatch was received Nov. 22nd, at the Colonial Office from Sir A. Rumbold, President of the Island of Tortola:

Virgin Islands, Tortola, Oct. 31, 1867.

My Lord Duke—It is my most painful duty to acquaint your Grace that a terrific hurricane burst over these Islands yesterday. The storm lasted from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m., but the greatest force was from 12 to 2. In that brief space of time two-thirds of the miserable tenements of the town were blown down, the gaol destroyed, the church, the hospital, pier, school house, Wesleyan chapel, and poor house are also destroyed, and my own dwelling unroofed, and rendered uninhabitable. The loss of life cannot as yet be correctly ascertained. I have, however, already been officially informed of above twelve deaths in the town—two at Peter's Island, two at West End; while I hear that a quantity of people are killed in other parts of the country, and scarcely a hut or habitation is left standing. All was bright and verdant; the withering blast has passed over it, and not a fruit or other tree remains. The works of the few remaining estates are all totally destroyed. It is impossible for any pen to convey an accurate account of the appalling misery. There is not fifty pounds in the public chest, and the chief tax—the house tax of the year—is just falling due, and of course cannot be collected. If ever any calamity appealed to public sympathy, I am confident this will awaken it, and I trust your Grace will be able to point out some hope of relief, as we cannot levy any taxes from this impoverished community. I shall send down to St. Thomas as

soon as I can get a boat to go; but all the sloops and canoes belonging to the place are either destroyed or very much damaged, and I do not know how soon I may be able to do so; and I trust, from charity and other sources, we may be able to obtain some flour and corn meal; meanwhile starvation, or very like it, appears to be impending, for nearly all the small store of flour in the town was damaged by the tremendous sea which swept in and carried away houses and individuals.

I forgot to add that the doctor's house is destroyed, the clergyman's very much damaged, and I and my family are compelled to take refuge in the public offices, where the paupers and police are also sheltered.

I have &c.,

(Signed) ARTHUR RUMBOLD.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham
and Chandos, &c.

P. S.—The deaths in Road Town amount to 22—1-20th of the population.

THE SOUTH.

The Congregational and Boston Recorder says: "Four of the seceded States, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and Virginia, have now wheeled into line, and by large majorities voted to hold a convention to reorganize their State governments in accordance with the act of Congress. Twenty five negroes were elected to the convention in Virginia. Of course this result has been achieved only by the help of the negro vote which went almost in solid phalanxes against the policy of the old rebel leaders. Only about 600 negroes in the entire State of Virginia could be persuaded, or coerced, into voting the conservative ticket. Senator Wilson, who comprehends the whole matter at least as well as any other man in the nation, predicts that thirty out of thirty-seven States will cast their votes next fall for Gen. Grant as the Republican candidate for President; and he says that the reports now coming from the South, that there is danger of a negro insurrection are utterly false and merely manufactured to influence the Northern elections. The 'Conservatives,' with that eminent unwisdom which seems to cling to them like a fatality, have largely laid up grief for themselves by

ignoring these elections. It seems to be settled that, in a vast number of places, scarcely any whites went to the polls. It is clear that a 'white man's movement,' which shall if possible rescind the negro's new right to the ballot-box and the jury box, and radically modify the reconstruction policy of Congress, is among the new hopes and aims which have been excited at the South, by President Johnson's policy and by the determined tone of some late elections at the North. Some of the late slaveholders have even gone so far, on the strength of what has happened, as to prepare lists of the slaves held by them at the breaking-out of the rebellion, with the idea of making a claim hereafter "at a proper time" for their then current cash value. Verily there are none so blind as those who will not see. The yellow fever has been declared no longer epidemic at New Orleans. The council of New Orleans have undertaken to repeal the School ordinances, but the Mayor has vetoed their action, and his veto is sustained.

A GLORIOUS FUTURE FOR AFRICA.—*The African Repository* gives some most interesting statements under the above heading. On the western coast alone, within the last fifty years, some two hundred Christian churches have been organized, and upwards of fifty thousand hopeful converts have been gathered into those churches. Two hundred schools, several seminaries, and a College at Monrovia, are in operation, and not less than twenty thousand native youths are receiving a Christian training in those institutions at the present day. Thirty different dialects have been studied out and reduced to writing, into most of which large portions of sacred Scripture, as well as other religious books, have been translated, printed, and circulated among the people; and it is believed that some knowledge of the Christian salvation has been brought within the reach of five millions of immortal beings who had never before heard of the blessed name of the Saviour. Bright Christian lights now begin to blaze up at intervals along a line of sea coast of three thousand miles, where unbroken night formerly reigned.

THE NEGROES IN ALABAMA.

A correspondent gives an interesting account of the recent election in Alabama, which looks quite hopeful as to the docility and intelligence of the coloured men there. We make a brief extract :

We have just held our election in regard to a Convention, and delegates to it, according to the order of Gen. Pope, as the initiatory measure for re-construction, and the result has been triumphant in favour of the Radical Republicans. In this County, some 3,000 Freed-men appeared at the polls—proud of the privilege for the first time of exercising the right of franchise—all deeply in earnest for the success of that party which achieved for them their liberty, and secured to them equal rights with the white man. Their former masters used every means in their power, by promises, and threats, and deceptive arts, to induce them to vote the Conservative ticket—but all to little avail. They seemed to understand what they were about. When coloured men were proposed as delegates, they refused to vote for them—saying they wanted men for such offices who were wiser than they, and knew better how to form a State Constitution. They are sensible of their ignorance, but are learning fast.

BE MASTER, AND NOT BE MASTEREED.—It is not by regretting what is irreparable that true work is to be done, but by making the best of what we are. It is not by complaining that we have not the right tools, but by using well the tools we have. Where we are, and what we are, is God's providential arrangement; and the wise and manly way is to look our disadvantages in the face, and see what can be made of them. Life, like war, is a series of mistakes, and he is not the best Christian, nor the best general, who makes the fewest false steps. Poor mediocrity may do that; but he is the best who wins the most splendid victories by the retrieval of mistakes. Forget mistakes; *organize victory out of mistakes.*—*Christian Treasury.*

DR. TOMKINS is visiting the schools in the West. He mentions in his letter an article in the **FREED-MAN** which has not yet reached us.

To the Editor of the "*Freed-Man.*"

Dear Sir,

I have just finished my operations in Jersey and Guernsey. The following is a correct account of the moneys collected for Canada. The amounts do not include the sale of books, &c.

I feel it my duty to add, that I was everywhere most cheerfully received, and my sincere thanks are due to the kind and generous people of the Channel Islands. Permit me to say that sympathy for our cause is not decreasing, but on the contrary, the people seem delighted to hear of the success the Freed-men are making in the education of their children, as well as raising themselves in the scale, of being as men, which is to me, not only a source of pleasure, but encouragement.

Yours truly,

W. H. JONES.

MONEYS COLLECTED by the Rev. W. H. Jones, in Jersey and Guernsey, to be devoted to educational purposes for the Freed-men in Canada.

	£	s.	d.
Prince of Wales's Assembly Rooms,			
St. Helier's, Jersey...	...	4	10 0
" " " " "	...	4	0 0
" " " " "	...	4	0 0
" " " " "	...	2	11 0
Queen's Assembly Rooms	...	4	16 0
St Aubin's Assembly Rooms	...	1	4 0
" Wesleyan Chapel	...	1	6 0
Wesleyan Schoolroom, Gury	...	3	1 8
Cassell-st. Schoolroom, St. Helier's	...	1	5 0
St. John's Independent Chapel	...	3	0 7
" Wesleyan Chapel	...	6	1 0
St. Martin's " " "	...	7	15 0
St. Peter's " " "	...	2	13 5
Eden " " "	...	4	4 0
St. Mary " " "	...	5	15 0
St. Ouwen's " " "	...	6	6 0
St. Lawrence's " " "	...	8	15 0
Trinity Ebenezer " " "	...	4	14 0
" Augures " " "	...	1	13 0
Galaad " " "	...	1	15 0
St. John's Parochial School	...	1	10 0
Trinity " " "	...	1	10 0
Independent Chapel, St. Saviour's	...	1	0 0

Primitive Methodist Chapel,	St.	£	s.	d.
Helier's	1	1	6	
Mr. De Grushe, St. John's	1	0	0	
Mrs. Edmonds	0	10	0	
A friend	0	2	6	
Clifton Hall, Guernsey	4	1	0	
„ „ „ „	6	15	0	
„ „ „ „	4	0	0	
St. Sampson Public Hall	1	16	0	
Eldad Chapel, con.	2	10	0	
St Paul's Chapel, Meth. N.C.	2	12	6	
French Wesleyan Chapel	3	2	0	
Morley „ „	1	6	0	
St. Sampson's Commercial Hall	1	2	0	

INVENTORY OF CLOTHING sent by the Ladies' Working Circle, in connexion with Trinity Congregational Church, (the Rev. W. Tyler's) Mile End New Town, Spitalfields district, London, to the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society.

In the Cask :—

	£	s.	d.
62 Flannels and			
58 Calico under garments for Women and Children	8	9	10
8 Flannel Jackets	0	17	6
24 Small Calico Shirts	0	11	10
8 Pinafores	0	7	4
1 Print Dressing Gown	0	5	0
9 Pairs Children's Stays	0	6	0
4 Comforters	0	1	0
4 Neckties	0	2	0
33 Worsted Caps	1	13	0
In a separate Parcel:—			
2 Woollen Rugs	0	6	6
1 Patchwork Quilt	1	0	0
	£14	0	0

The Patchwork Quilt was made by the girls of the King Edward Refuge, Albert Street, Mile End New Town (Spitalfields district), and presented by them to the British and Foreign Freed-men's Aid Society.

THE SEWING MACHINE.

A benevolent lady has very kindly attended to the commission to expend the Ten Pounds

sent by the friends in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

It may interest them to see the Bill:—

	£	s.	d.
1 23 Machine in covered			
Table	9	10	0
2 doz. Needles, extra 2/6	0	5	0
1 Bolt „ „	0	2	0
1 Thread post spring, do.	0	0	6
1 Oil stone for sharpening			
needles	0	1	0
5 doz. reels cotton ...	0	12	6
	10	11	0
Less by agreement	0	11	0
	£10	0	0

FREE: 1 extra Shaft Screw, 1 do. Crank Pin,
4 do. Screws for fastening Legs to Cross Bar.
Machine sent this day to Mr. T., West
India Docks, addressed Miss Teale, care of
Captain Stophor, Barque "Arcadia," Passen-
gers' Luggage.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Joshua Wilson, Esq.	5	0	0
S. Harwood, Esq.	5	0	0
Miss Saunders	0	1	0
Mr. E. Ridley	0	5	0
	10	6	0
Balance in November	4	10	9
	14	16	9
Advanced to Printer ... 5 0 0			
For Sewing Machine ... 1 0 0			
Paid for freight, &c. ... 1 2 9			
	7	2	9
	£7	14	0

MR. ESTCOURT informs us of the arrangements proposed on the 26th inst. Before carrying them out it would be well to consult Dr. Tomkins, who is the registered proprietor of the **FREED-MAN**. The plan would be hardly acceptable to him. The deficiency in the funds of the Society mainly arises from the loss on the publication of Mr. Ludlow's book. If this were met by the private generosity of a few friends, there would be no further difficulty. As to ourselves, we shall be happy to give our best attention to any proposal from a valid authority.

Andrews, Printer, 7, Duke St, Bloomsbury.

